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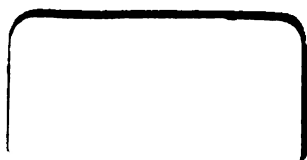
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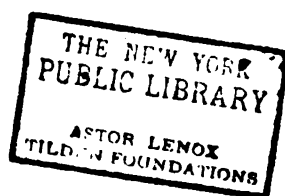


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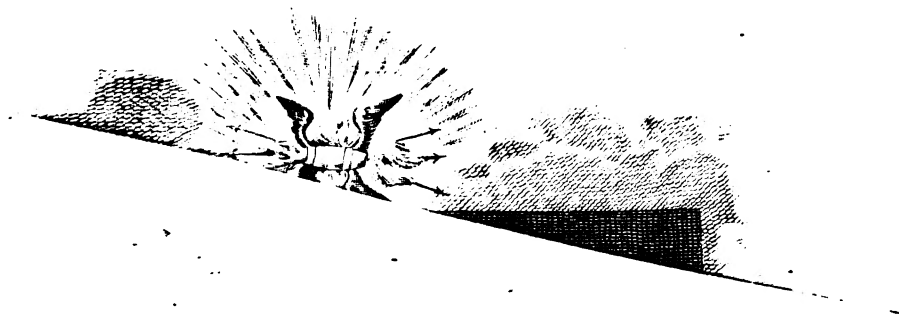


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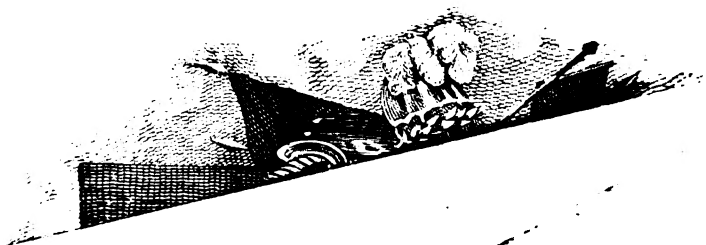


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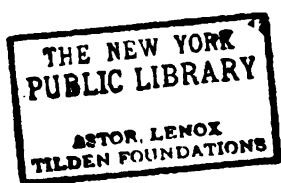


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HISTORY OF THE WARS

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION,

FROM

**THE BREAKING OUT OF THE WAR IN 1792, TO THE RESTORATION
OF A GENERAL PEACE, IN 1815;**

COMPREHENDING

THE CIVIL HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE

DURING THAT PERIOD.

BY EDWARD BAINES.

WITH

**AN ORIGINAL HISTORY OF THE LAST WAR BETWEEN THE
UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN.**

BY WILLIAM GRIMSHAW,

OF PHILADELPHIA.

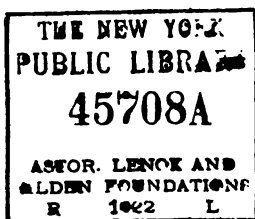
In Two Volumes.

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TO THE FOURTH AMERICAN EDITION.

THE following history of that extraordinary period which commenced with the American Revolution, and ended with the establishment of a general peace in Europe, in 1815—a period pre-eminently distinguished for intellectual activity and material advancement, for extraordinary characters and great deeds, for the overthrow of old institutions and the establishment of new ones, for the breaking up of tyrannies dishonoured with the hoar of centuries, and the progress of liberty—it has generally been allowed, is upon the whole the most judicious, interesting, and trustworthy, that we have yet in the English language. The expectation that the brilliant work of Alison would supersede it has been disappointed by the manifest spirit of partiality and injustice with which that performance is written, especially in respect to every point connected with the affairs of our own country. The “History of the French Revolution,” by Carlyle, covers but a small portion of the ground embraced by Alison and Baines; and the more elaborate and extensive survey of the field by Thiers, it is safe to say, will never be perfectly naturalized in any tongue foreign to that eminent author. For conscientious fidelity, general good sense, statesmanlike grasp, and moral discrimination, these volumes, by the eminent EDWARD BAINES, continue to be consulted and esteemed by the best-informed students of the astonishing world-drama they describe.

In republishing an earlier edition of this excellent history, the late well-known and very able writer, Mr. WILLIAM GRIMSHAW (who died in Philadelphia on the 8th of January, 1852), was employed to re-write some portions in which American interests were treated, and to illustrate with such notes and additions as were necessary for the American reader, the remaining portions of the work. The manner in which he performed his difficult and important duty has been commended by the most distinguished critics. As Mr. Grimshaw left the work, and as it is here presented to the public, it must command the most entire and general approbation.

NEW YORK, *January, 1852.*

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TO

THE FIRST AMERICAN EDITION.

WHEN the reprinting of this work was undertaken by the American publishers, it was placed in the hands of the present editor, for the purposes of revision and correction. Without interfering at all with the text, it was proposed to annex notes to such parts of it as might be found erroneous or objectionable ; and to add such information as the progress of time has since brought to light. The editor has found little occasion, as the reader will observe, for the exercise of this duty. When the great extent of the work is considered, Mr. Baines must, upon the whole, be regarded as remarkably accurate in his narrative of the European contest, or, at least, of those parts of it in which his countrymen were not concerned. With respect to the war, however, between the United States and England, he is far from being candid or impartial. The whole history of that contest, in the English edition, is indeed a tissue of mistakes, natural enough to an Englishman, who relied on the fidelity of British official statements, but plainly prejudicial to the cause of truth, and the interests of this country. To enter the lists in every case with Mr. Baines,—to refute in a note almost every assertion of the text,—would have swelled these pages to an enormous length, and wearied the patience of the reader, without, perhaps, giving him a satisfactory view of the contest. It was deemed most advisable, therefore, by the publishers, to cause this part of the work to be written anew ; and it is presumed, that this deviation from their original plan will not be unacceptable to the public. In the performance of this task, the editor has aimed at producing a concise, but clear and impartial relation of occurrences. His limits equally forbade his entering into minute details of military operations, and into the discussions of party measures or principles. No pains have been spared to obtain accurate information ; the official accounts of each nation have been consulted ; but where any doubt has existed, he is not ashamed to say, he has invariably leaned to the side of his country.

ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE

AMERICAN STEREOTYPE EDITION.

THE History of the Wars of the French Revolution, comprehending also the cotemporaneous Civil History of Great Britain and France, may justly be characterized as one of the most valuable records that ever issued from the press. It is a clear, impartial narrative; succinct, without injurious brevity, and dispassionate without descending to unanimated tameness. It is, indeed, as a whole, such a work as, in the present state of historical literature, where reliance for success is placed more in the previous reputation of the author, or the purchased eulogies of the reviewer, than in the real merits of the book itself—the world seldom sees. As a history of the events of which it professes peculiarly to treat, it has not even a competitor; there being no publication with which I am acquainted, that makes any pretension to embrace so wide a field of interesting narrative; and as regards Scott's Life of Napoleon, which has relation chiefly to the transactions only in which that celebrated individual was personally concerned, it deserves not the name of Biography, much less the more dignified title of History; being a wild, unconcocted, chaotic mass, without date or method, slovenly in its composition, uneven in sentiment, defective in detail, and altogether such a work as Sir Walter Scott never would have written, except through necessity, nor any judicious critic would have praised, except for pay.

Why, then, it may be asked, have the American Publishers employed an editor to make improvements in the present edition? Because, correctly written as were the original volumes in general, yet some inaccuracies of language had occasionally crept in; here and there expressions were found, which, on a more careful revisal, were thought susceptible of some amendment; the punctuation was not so complete as strict grammatical rules prescribe, and many errors of the press had been committed, from which no copy of the original work, it is probable, was entirely free. Add to these reasons, the advantages afforded by time in bringing to light additional materials for history, many of which are now inserted in the body of this work, as if forming part of the author's text; and many facts, especially in relation to the domestic history of Great Britain and Ireland, within the cognizance of the present editor, have been appended, in the form of notes; giving to the History a fresh interest

which it is presumed will render it still more worthy the attention of statesmen and readers in general, than any edition of this highly valuable narrative that has previously been offered to the public.

With these brief explanatory remarks, I submit this edition to the American reader, with full confidence that he will approve of it as a whole, and that those portions which I myself have furnished, and those alterations in the language which I have judged it proper occasionally to make, will be received with that indulgence and favour with which, for a long series of years, it is gratifying for me to reflect, I have been so highly honoured.

W. GRIMSHAW.

Philadelphia, June 23d, 1832.

PREFACE

TO

THE ENGLISH EDITION.

Of all the studies which occupy the attention of the statesman, or employ the leisure of private individuals, that of history justly claims the pre-eminence in dignity and in utility: to the statesman it furnishes the most important lessons of political wisdom, and the private individual may hence extract maxims for the improvement of his understanding, and rules for the regulation of his conduct. This remark, though applicable to history in general, applies with peculiar force and cogency to the transactions of that period which this work embraces.

If the importance of events be estimated by the magnitude of their effects, and the extent of their influence on the happiness of mankind, we shall be compelled to confess that this portion of the history of the world is infinitely more interesting than any that has preceded it. The period of the last five-and-twenty years, commencing with the dawn of the revolution in France, has given birth to events which fix the attention by their novelty, gratify curiosity by their variety, and overpower the imagination by their magnitude—events which powerfully interest the heart by the astonishing influence they have exerted, not merely on the fate of monarchs and of empires, but over the domestic circle of the most retired individual; and it is no exaggeration to assert that there is scarcely a single inhabitant of Europe that has not been affected by these tremendous occurrences, either in his own person, in his family, or in his near connexions.

If time were measured by events, instead of years, centuries might be said to have passed during the age in which we live. To compress the records of these transcendently important occurrences into a moderate compass; to narrate them in a connected and lucid order, and to furnish a memorial, not merely instructive and interesting to his cotemporaries, but useful to the future historian, have been the primary objects of the author's labours. A work undertaken with such views will, of course, be rather a record of facts than a medium of opinions. The time indeed has not yet arrived for exploring the secrets of cabinets, or for developing the hidden springs by which the principal actors in this mighty contest have been actuated. This is the work of posterity, and can never be successfully accomplished until time shall have shed his mellowing influence over the passions and feelings which still continue to agitate the present age.

In presenting to the public the history of the wars arising out of the French revolution, the most scrupulous regard has been had to fidelity of representation. No event has been suppressed, nor has any fact been distorted, to gratify the partiality or to advance the interests of a party. Truth has been the polar star by which the author has shaped his course; and, though he makes no pretensions to freedom from political predilection, he assumes perhaps a higher merit, when he declares, that in the prosecution of this undertaking, he is not

conscious of having, in any instance, suffered his mind to be biassed, or his narrative tinctured, by any thing approaching either to national antipathies or to party asperity.

Impressed for several years with a persuasion, that a history of his own times would be an acceptable tribute, both to the present age and to posterity, he waited only for the arrival of that period, when the termination of the war should render the annunciation of such an undertaking expedient; and no sooner had the long-distracted nations of Europe begun to repose under the olive, than he addressed himself with unremitting assiduity to the completion of a duty, which he had contemplated with mingled feelings of hope and apprehension. Rising into manhood at the memorable epoch when the French revolution burst upon an astonished world, he has in effect witnessed the events which it has fallen to his lot to record; and, engaged in a pursuit which necessarily fixed his attention upon the military and political occurrences of the world, he has brought to his voluntary task a portion, at least, of the necessary qualifications for collecting and arranging the materials, which lie scattered through immense masses of state papers, official despatches, and periodical publications; and it is to the honour of having faithfully discharged this humble but laborious duty, that he aspires.

To every class of readers, a publication of this nature must be acceptable. To those who are sufficiently advanced in life to have witnessed the rise, progress, and consummation of the scenes here brought under review, this work will serve as a remembrancer, and present a tablet on which they will find inscribed the topics that fixed their attention in the morning of life, when impressions are the most vivid and durable, and which will afford an inexhaustible theme for conversation and reflection in their more mature years. Those who entered the theatre after the rising of the revolutionary curtain, and when the great drama had made some progress, will here be able to learn why they found a world in arms, and to take a clear and comprehensive view of the early as well as of the latter stages of the contest; while those, whose youth has hitherto prevented them from feeling any interest in the affairs of nations, will be brought acquainted with events which have stamped the features of gigantic greatness upon the days of their fathers.

A better defined period of history than that embraced in these volumes, it is impossible to imagine. It comprehends every thing that gives dignity, interest, and importance to the historic page. The opening scenes are calculated to impress the mind by their magnitude and grandeur; the progress of the narrative is marked by a rapid succession of events, rising in importance as they advance in the order of time; and in conclusion we behold the world emancipated, by an agency more than human, from a tremendous military despotism, that had nearly drawn into its vortex all the states of continental Europe; while Great Britain, after braving the revolutionary storms of a quarter of a century, has come out of the contest, not merely with her liberties and invaluable institutions unimpaired, but with her national character exalted, and her army and navy irradiated by wreaths of imperishable renown.

CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.

INTRODUCTION Page 17

CHAPTER I.

Military Preparations—French Decree of War—Commencement of Hostilities—Excesses on the 20th of June—War declared against France by the allied Sovereigns—The duke of Brunswick appointed Generalissimo—His manifesto—Its immediate consequences—Military Force of the Confederates—Plan of Operations . . . 35

CHAPTER II.

Agitations in Paris—Massacre of the 10th of August—The Royal Family take refuge in the Assembly—The King deposed—M. La Fayette's conduct and history—Disposition of the other French Generals—Distracted state of the Capital—Popular Enthusiasm 42

CHAPTER III.

Opening of the Campaign—Surrender of Longwy, Verdun, and Stenay—Dumouriez repairs to Sedan, and takes the command of La Fayette's army—Precarious situation of the Prussian army—Oversight of Dumouriez—Position of Croix-aux-Bois forced by the Prussians—Retreat of the French to St. Menesbould—Affair at Valmy, and its consequences 47

CHAPTER IV.

State of the armies—France declared a Republic—Frederic William solicits and obtains an Armistice—Cordiality between the two armies—Rupture of the Armistice—Disastrous retreat of the Prussians—Observations on the failure of the Enterprise—Agitation in Paris—Massacre on the 2d and 3d of September 53

CHAPTER V.

Spire taken by the French—Surrender of Worms, Mentz, and Francfort—War declared against Sardinia by France—Conquest of Savoy—Of Nice—Geneva acknowledges the French Republic—Unsuccessful attack of the Austrians upon Lisle—Dumouriez's successes in the Netherlands—Battle of Gemappe—Privations of the French army—Evacuation of Francfort by the French—Dumouriez repairs to Paris to save the life of the King 58

CHAPTER VI.

Observations—Discovery—Contents of the concealed documents—Trial of Louis XVI.—His conduct subsequent to the Trial—His Execution—His last Will and Testament . . . 64

CHAPTER VII.

All the principal States of Europe likely to become involved in the War—The Government of France disinclined to a War with England—Chauveland and Talleyrand arrive from France—Disputes relative to the opening of the Scheldt—Political clubs—Maret's Missions—Sensations produced in England by the execution of the French King—Declaration of War . . . 74

CHAPTER VIII.

Irruption into Holland—Siege of Williamstadt—Defeat of the French in Flanders—Dumouriez retreats from Holland—Battle of Nerwinden—Defection of Dumouriez from the cause of the Republic—Enters into a Treaty with Prince de Cobourg—Commissioners sent to arrest Dumouriez—The French General sends them as Hostages to the Austrians—The French army desert Dumouriez—His flight . . . Page 81

CHAPTER IX.

Congress at Antwerp—Renewal of hostilities—Dampierre appointed General—Action at Famars—Death of Dampierre—Surrender of Valenciennes, Conde, and Mentz—Custine arrested—The French driven from Cesar's camp 90

CHAPTER X.

Insurrection in Vendee—Convention overawed by the Mountain party—Giroude members proscribed—New Constitution of France—Departments arm against the Jacobins—Revolt of Marseilles and Lyons—Assassination of Marat 93

CHAPTER XI.

The allied Courts agree to divide their Forces—The Duke of York makes an unsuccessful attempt upon Dunkirk—Is obliged to retreat—Action at Maubeuge—Capture of Quenoy—Campaign on the Rhine—Victories of Pichegru and Hoch—War in La Vendee, and on the Frontiers of Spain and Italy—Siege and Evacuation of Toulon—Cruel Treatment of the inhabitants of Toulon 99

CHAPTER XII.

Horrible despotism of the Mountain party—Decree against Public Worship—French Ecclesiastics abjure the Christian Religion—Execution of Custine—Trial and execution of the Queen—Of the Giroude Members—Madame Roland—New Calendar—Energetic Measures adopted by the Committee for carrying on the War 108

CHAPTER XIII.

Preparations for the Campaign of 1794—The King of Prussia subsidized—Surrender of Landrecies—Decree of the Convention, that no quarter should be given—Battle of Fleurus—Actions at Mons and Soignes—French enter Brussels 111

CHAPTER XIV.

Recapture of Landrecies, Valenciennes, and Conde—Defeat of Clairfayt—Coblentz taken—Austrians driven beyond the Rhine—Campaign in Holland—Campaign on the Rhine—In Spain and Italy—Progress of the war in La Vendee 117

CHAPTER XV.

Cruise of the Channel Fleet—French Fleet sails—The two adverse Fleets meet—Obstinate Con-

fiect continues three days—Victory decided in favour of the British Fleet, commanded by Lord Howe—Naval History—Conquest of Corsica—New Constitution, formed by the Corsican House of Representatives—Crown offered to and accepted by his Britannic Majesty . . . 125

CHAPTER XVI.

Melancholy state of France under the Reign of Terror—Abolition of the Slave-trade—The Honours of the Pantheon voted to Rousseau—Hebert, Rousin, Clootz, and their Associates guillotined—Trial and Execution of Danton, Eglantine, and their Party—Execution of General Dillon and Madame Desmoulins—Of Malesherbes and Baron Trenck—Of the Princess Elizabeth and twenty-five other persons—Decline of the Power of Robespierre—The Tyrant's fall . . . 132

CHAPTER XVII.

British History—Meeting of Parliament—Discussions on the King's Speech—Public Feeling strongly excited—Alien bill passed—Parliamentary proceedings on the French declaration of War—Traitorous Correspondence Bill passed—Alarming Failures—Motion for Parliamentary Reform negatived—Charter of the East India Company renewed—Supplies voted for the Public Service—Concessions to the Catholics of Ireland—Prosecutions for Sedition in Scotland—Alliances formed with foreign Powers—Debates on the expediency of continuing the War—Augmentation of the Army and Navy—Precautions against Invasion—Subsidy voted to the King of Prussia—Political Societies—Suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* Act—Trials for High Treason—Poland overwhelmed by foreign Despotism . . . 138

CHAPTER XVIII.

Operations in the West Indies—Expedition under the command of Sir Charles Grey, and Sir John Jervis—Capture of Martinico, St. Lucia, the Saints, and Guadalupe—French Expedition under Victor Hughes—Recapture of Guadalupe—Operations in St. Domingo . . . 150

CHAPTER XIX.

Retrospect of the triumphant progress of the French Arms—Dissolution of the first Coalition—The Republic recognized, and peace concluded with Tuscany, Prussia, Hesse Cassel, and Spain—War in La Vendee; its origin, sanguinary progress, and temporary cessation—The Vendean War resumed—Expedition to Quiberon; its disastrous result—French Civil History—State of the finances; Conflicts of parties; Insurrections of the 1st of April, and the 20th of May—Death of Louis XVII.—Exchange of the Princess, his Sister, for the arrested Deputies—New Constitution—Insurrection of the Sections of Paris—Dissolution and Character of the National Convention—The new government . . . 155

CHAPTER XX.

Opening of the Campaign of 1795—Luxembourg, Dusseldorf, and Mannheim taken by the French, who invade Mentz—The siege of Mentz raised, and Mannheim retaken by the Imperial army—Renewal of Hostilities in Italy—Success of the French Armies, and retreat of the Austrians—War declared by Great Britain against Holland—Capture of the Dutch Settlements in the East by the British—Conquest of the Cape of Good Hope—Campaign in the West Indies—Naval Campaign of 1795 . . . 162

CHAPTER XXI.

BRITISH HISTORY. Session of Parliament of 1795—his Majesty's Speech; Address; renewed Suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* Act; Ways and Means; Motion for Inquiry—Affairs of Ireland; Earl Fitzwilliam appointed Lord-lieutenant, Measures of his Government; his Recall; Discussions thereon in the British Parliament—Marriage of the Prince of Wales—Motion for the Abolition of the Slave-trade lost—Acquittal of Warren Hastings—Termination of the Session of Parliament—Distracted state of Ireland—Treaties with America and Russia—The Duke of York appointed Commander-in-chief—Petitions for Peace—Riots in Westminster—Revival of the Charge against Higgins, Smith, and Le Maire; their Trial and Acquittal—Alarming Scarcity—Outrageous attack on the King, on his way to open the Session of Parliament; Proclamation thereon—Treason and Sedition Acts—Ways and Means—Message from his Majesty—Birth of the Princess Charlotte of Wales—Motion for peace; for the Abolition of the Slave-trade—Second Loan—Motion for the Appointment of a Committee of finance; for Censure on Ministers—Prorogation and Dissolution of Parliament . . . 169

CHAPTER XXII.

Italian Campaign of 1796: General Bonaparte appointed Commander-in-chief—Opening of the Campaign—Success of the French Army—Sardinia detached from the Coalition—Italy overrun by the Conqueror—The Pope and the King of Naples sue for an Armistice—Its Conditions—The command of the Austrian Army conferred on Marshal Wurmer, on the resignation of General Beaulieu—The Marshal, after successive defeats, shut up in Mantua—Close of the Campaign—Campaign in Germany: The French Armies, under the command of Generals Moreau and Jourdan, penetrate into Germany—Arrested in their victorious Career by the Archduke Charles—Jourdan's Army, panic-struck, retreats in disorder—The memorable Retreat of Moreau—Germany freed from the Presence of the Invaders—Extinction of the War in La Vendee, and Execution of the insurgent Chiefs—Colonial Conquests of Great Britain—Evacuation of Corsica—Naval Campaign of 1796 . . . 179

CHAPTER XXIII.

Foreign History: Differences between France and America—Holland declared a Republic—The Conspiracy of Floreal—Further Insurrections in France—State of the French Finances—Insurrection in the South—Daring attempt of the Jacobins to turn the Arms of the French Soldier against the existing Government—State of the Gallican Church—Synod of the Constitutional Bishops—Abolition of the national Church in Holland—Establishment of the National Institute—English Manufactures excluded from the Ports of the Continent—Death of Catharine II. of Russia . . . 189

CHAPTER XXIV.

Campaign of 1797: Attempts to raise the siege of Mantua frustrated—Signal defeat of the Austrian Army—Fall of Mantua—Entrance of the French into the Ecclesiastical States—Correspondence between his holiness the Pope and General Bonaparte—Treaty of Tolentino—War carried into the Hereditary States of Austria—Critical situation of the French Army—Correspondence between the French Commander and

the Archduke—The Emperor accepts the proposal to negotiate—Suspension of Arms—Treaty of Leoben—Campaign on the Rhine—Conquest of the Venetian Territory by the French—Subversion of the Governments of Venice and Genoa—Peace of Campo Formio—Bonaparte returns to Paris—Retrospect of the military movements of the six years' War—See *Chartis* - 195

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

Naval Campaign of 1797: Battle of Cape St. Vincent—Battle of Camperdown—Capture of Trinidad—Unsuccessful attack on Porto Rico—Failure of an attempt to capture the Island of Tenerife—Descent on the Coast of Wales—The Invaders made Prisoners of War - 203

CHAPTER II.

British History: Opening of the new Parliament—Earl Fitzwilliam's Protest—Lord Malmesbury's first Negotiation—Its progress and failure—Debate on the Negotiation—Preparations against Invasion—Ominous Aspect of Public Affairs at the commencement of the year 1797—Stoppage of the Bank—Mutiny in the Fleets—Concessions to the Seamen—Suppression of the Mutiny—Trial and Execution of Richard Parker and his principal associates—Motions in Parliament on the state of Ireland—For the dismissal of Ministers—For Parliamentary Reform—Prorogation of Parliament—Death of Mr. Burke—Marriage of the Princess Royal - 208

CHAPTER III.

Foreign History—The French Directory announce that their Finances are approaching to a state of ruin—Reply of the Council of Five Hundred—Royalist Conspiracy—Election of the New Third—Conduct of the Directory censured by the Council of Five Hundred—The two Bodies become decidedly hostile—The Army espouses the Cause of the Directory—The bloodless Revolution of the 18th Fructidor—Pichegru's Conspiracy—Synodical Assembly—The Sect of the Theophilanthropists—Negotiations between the French Republic and the United States of America—Death of Frederic William II.—Further encroachments made upon the rights of the Council, and the elective franchise of the People—Revolutions in Holland - 219

CHAPTER IV.

Congress at Radstadt—War renewed in Italy—The Pope overcomes, and Rome proclaimed a Republic—The French enter Switzerland—Conquer that Country, and change the Federal States into an united Republic—The attention of the French Government turned from the Conquest of England to the Invasion of Egypt—Brilliant Theories—Bonaparte with an Army of forty thousand Men, and a Fleet of three hundred Sail, embarks at Toulon—Conquest of the Island of Malta—The French Forces re-embark for Egypt—Description of that Country and its Inhabitants—The French attack and carry the city of Alexandria—Rosetta taken—Battle of Chebreisse—Battle of the Pyramids—The Gates of Cairo opened to the Invaders—Curious Proclamations of the French Chief 222

CHAPTER V.

Naval Campaign of 1798: Sir Horatio Nelson sent in pursuit of the French Fleet; touches at Malta: proceeds to Alexandria; and returns to Sicily without meeting with the enemy—Sails

again to the Coast of Egypt—Battle of the Nile, its glorious Termination—Influence of that memorable Event upon the Courts of Europe—The Porte declares War against France—The King of Naples invades the Roman Republic, suffers a signal defeat, and is driven from his Dominions—The King of Sardinia obliged to abdicate his Throne—Expedition against Ostend, and its disastrous result—Minorca captured by the British—St. Domingo evacuated—Gona taken—Summary - 239

CHAPTER VI.

British History: Ministers again express a wish to enter into Negotiation with the French Government—Correspondence on that Subject—The Negotiators assemble at Lisle—Progress of the Negotiation—Its rupture—Meeting of Parliament—Secession of the Members of Opposition—Joint Address of both Houses of Parliament on the Rupture of the Negotiations—New Measures of Finance; triple Assessment—Voluntary Contributions; Redemption of the Land Tax—National Defence—Motion for calling out the supplementary Militia; for the encouragement of voluntary Associations: for more effectually manning the Navy—Duel between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Turney—The name of Mr. Fox erased from the Council-books by his Majesty—Second Estimate of Supplies—Motion for the abolition of the Slave-trade—Discussions on the state of Ireland - 236

CHAPTER VII.

IRISH REBELLION: The predisposing Causes—Disaffection arising from exclusive Privileges, and defective Parliamentary Representation—French Connexion—The arrival of Mr. Jackson, a French Emissary—His Conduct and Fate—Progress of the spirit of disaffection—Trial of Arthur O'Connor and his Associates at Maidstone—Conviction and Execution of Quigley—Arrest of the Irish Directory—Arrest and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald—Arrest of John and Henry Sheares—Origin and object of the White Boys—Of the Defenders—Of the Peep-of-day Boys—Constitution and organization of the Society of United Irishmen—Institution of Orange Lodges—Excess of contending Factions - 243

CHAPTER VIII.

IRISH REBELLION: Insurrectionary Movements in Dublin; in the counties of Kildare and Carlow—Attacks on Nans, Killcullen, Rathfarnham, and Prosperous—Defeat of the Rebels at Carlow, Hacketstown, and Tara—Surrender of two thousand insurgents to General Dundas—Insurrection in the County of Wexford—The Insurgents vanquished at Kiltomas, Victors at Oulart—Fall of Enniscorthy and Wexford into the hands of the Insurgents—Attack on Bunclody—Defeat of the rebel Force at Ballicannon—Pathetic incident—Defeat of Colonel Walpole, and retreat of General Loftus—Signal Victory obtained by General Johnson at Ross—Massacre at Scullabogue—Defeat of the Rebels at Arklow—Their retreat to Vinegar Hill—General Lake advances with an army of thirteen thousand Troops against that station—Recapture of Enniscorthy, and Battle of Vinegar Hill—Murders on the Bridge of Wexford—Wexford abandoned by the Rebels—Bloody Friday—Expiring Efforts of the Wexfordian Insurgents—Defeat of the Revolters in Ulster and Munster—Surrender of the Chiefs—Extinction of the Rebellion - 261

CHAPTER IX.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE IRISH REBELLION: Trial and Execution of several of the rebel Chiefs—The Marquis Cornwallis called to the vice-regal Office in Ireland; adopts an enlightened and humane System of Policy—The principal Conspirators obtain the royal clemency, on condition of making certain Disclosures to Government—The Object of the Rebellion, as explained by its Instigators—Ireland still scourged by Bands of Marauders, "The Babes in the Wood"—Military Excesses—Estimate of the Loss sustained by the Country from the Rebellion—General Humbert invades Ireland, obtains a Victory at Castlebar, but is subsequently obliged to surrender himself and his Forces prisoners of war to the Marquis Cornwallis—Description of the Battle of Killala, by an Eyewitness—Napier Tandy, attended by General Rey, lands from a French Brig, on the small Island of Rutland, and after an ineffectual attempt to excite the People to rise in arms, re-embarks for France—A French Fleet equipped for the Invasion of Ireland—Defeated by Sir J. B. Warren—The closing Scenes of the Insurrection . . . 265

CHAPTER X.

CAMPAIGN OF 1799: Invasion of Naples by the French—Establishment of the Parthenopean Republic—Ehrenbreitstein capitulates to the French—The Austrians, under the command of the Archduke Charles, again take the Field.

CAMPAIGN IN GERMANY: The French Army under Jourdan, and the Austrians commanded by the Archduke, meet near Pfullendorf—Battle of Stokach—Battle of Leiblingen—Retreat of the French across the Rhine—Assassination of the French Plenipotentiaries on quitting Radstadt.

CAMPAIGN IN ITALY: Tuscany invaded by the French under Scherer—Battle of Castle of Nuovo—Battle of the Adige—Arrival of the Russians at Verona—Field-marshal Suworow assumes the command of the allied Armies in Italy—Defeats the French Army, and enters Milan—The Allies besiege the principal Fortresses of Italy, and advance into Piedmont—The kingdom of Naples re-conquered by an Army under Cardinal Ruffo, and the Parthenopean Republic dissolved—The People of Italy rise against the defeated Army of France—Rome capitulates to Captain Trowbridge—Signal Defeat of the French Army on the banks of the Trebia—Turin, Bologna, Alexandria, and Mantua surrender to the Allies—Suworow, having conquered the principal part of Italy, menaces the south of France—Battle of Novi, General Joubert killed, and the French Army defeated—Dissensions in the Courts and Camps of the Allies.

CAMPAIGN IN SWITZERLAND: Schaffhausen and Peterhausen fall into the hands of the Allies—The French expelled from the Grisons—Defeat of the French Army at Zurich—Vigorous Efforts made by the French Directory to retrieve the Disasters of the Campaign—Massena, having received fresh supplies, becomes the assailant—The French, after obtaining possession of the Pass of the Devil's Bridge, and of St. Gothard, seize on the Valais—The French Armies again cross the Rhine, and oblige the Archduke to return to the German Frontier—Suworow quits Italy, and advances into Switzerland—His disastrous March—Arrives in the Valley of Muttun, and takes possession of the Post of Brunnen—Termination of his Successes—Battle of Zurich,

and its disastrous Result—Suworow, discontented alike with his Allies and his Colleagues, retreats into Bohemia—His Death and Character—Termination of one of the most sanguinary Campaigns upon record . . . 276

CHAPTER XI.

CAMPAIGN IN EGYPT: Policy of Bonaparte—Introduction of the institutions of civilized society into Egypt—New Form of Government—Insurrection at Cairo—Desaix's Expedition into Upper Egypt—Bonaparte's Expedition into Syria—Surrender of El Arisch to the French—Surrender of Jaffa—Charges preferred by Sir Robert Wilson against Bonaparte (*note*)—Battle of Cosum—The memorable Siege of St. Jean d'Acre—Battle of Mount Tabor—Victory over the Angel Mahdi—Siege of Acre raised—Retreat of the French Army across the desert to Cairo—Signal Victory obtained over the Turks at Aboukir—Bonaparte abandons his Army, and returns to France . . . 290

CHAPTER XII.

CAMPAIGN IN HOLLAND: The Expedition under General Sir Ralph Abercrombie sails from England—Debarks at the Helder Point—Defeats the Batavian Troops under General Daendels, and enters the Helder—Admiral Mitchell takes possession of the Dutch Fleet in the Nieuwe Diep—Surrender of the Dutch Squadron in the Texel to the British—Repulse of the Gallo-Batavian Army, in an attack made on the British Lines—Arrival of the second division of the British Troops, and of the auxiliary Russian Force, in Holland—The combined Army placed under the command of the Duke of York—General but indecisive Battle at Bergen—Victory of Alkmaar—Battle of Baccum—Retreat of the Anglo-Russian Army—Failure in the political and military Objects of the Expedition, and disastrous issue of the Campaign—**AFFAIRS OF THE EAST:** Fall of Seringapatam—Naval Campaign of 1799—Colonial Acquisitions . . . 303

CHAPTER XIII.

BRITISH HISTORY: Opening of the Session of Parliament of 1798—9—Rejection of Mr. Tierney's motion for Peace—Renewal of the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act—Introduction of a Bill for imposing a Tax upon Income—Annual Supplies—Message from the King relating to Ireland—Animated Discussion on the Subject of a Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland—Vehement Debates in the Irish House of Commons—State of the Public Feeling in Ireland—Mr. Pitt's Resolutions, containing Overtures of Union—Carried in the British Parliament—Joint Addresses of the two Houses to his Majesty—Motion for the Abolition of the Slave-trade lost—India Affairs—Prorogation of Parliament . . . 312

CHAPTER XIV.

FRENCH HISTORY: Potentous Situation of the Government—The Rights of Election violated—Schisms between the Directory and the Councils—Revolution of the 30th Prairial—Efforts to retrieve the Affairs of the Republic—Law of Hostages—The Country plunged into a State of general Insurrection—Sieyes projects the overthrow of the Directorial Constitution—Revolution of the 18th and 19th of Brumaire—Decree transferring theittings of the Councils from the Tuilleries to St. Cloud, and appointing Bonaparte Commander-in-chief of the Forces

Conduct of the General on receiving his Appointment—Tumultuous Sitting of the Council of Five Hundred—Bonaparte's memorable Speech in the Council of Ancients—Attempt to assassinate him in the Council of Five Hundred—Lucien Bonaparte rescued from the Fury of the Assembly by the Military—The Hall cleared by a File of Grenadiers at the sound of the *Pas de Charge*—Appointment of a Committee to form a new Government—Directory dissolved—Decree appointing a Provisional Executive Consular Government—The Revolution effected without Bloodshed—New Constitution 326

CHAPTER XV.

Situation of Europe at the commencement of the nineteenth Century—Bonaparte's Letter to the King of England—Lord Grenville's official Reply—Correspondence—Debates and Decision of the British Parliament thereon—Proposal for an Inquiry into the Expedition to Holland—Supplies—Ways and Means—Subsidy to the Emperor—Renewed Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act—Affairs of India—Renewal of the Bank Charter—Meeting of the Irish Parliament—Discussions on the Union—Duel between Mr. Grattan and the Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer—Assent to the Union—The Act of Union finally passed—Ratified by the Irish Parliament—Investigation into the Means of remedying the Evils of the existing Scarcity—Prorogation of Parliament—Escape of his Majesty from the attempt of a maniac Assassin 335

CHAPTER XVI.

Insurrection in the western Departments of France—General Brune enters the insurgent Districts at the head of an Army computed at 60,000 Men—Defeat of the rebel Force—Arrest of the Chiefs—Extinction of the Rebellion—CAMPAIGN IN EGYPT: The Turks assemble an Army of 80,000 Men—Treaty of El-Arich, by which the French consent to evacuate Egypt—Rupture of the Treaty—Signal Defeat of the Turks at Heliopolis—Assassination of General Kleber—General Menou appointed his Successor—Hostile policy of Menou—CAMPAIGN IN ITALY AND GERMANY: Siege of Genoa—French Army of Reserve collected at Dijon—Battle of Puellendorf—Bonaparte's Passage of the Great St. Bernard—Advances to the relief of Genoa—Surrender of Genoa to the Austrians—Battle of Montebello—Battle of Marengo—Death of General Desaix—Armistice—Battle of Blenheim—Preliminary Treaty between France and Austria signed at Paris—Ratification refused—Failure of the Negotiations for a naval Armistice—Renewal of the Armistice between Austria and France—The French invade Tuscany and besiege Leghorn—Battle of Hohenlinden—Critical situation of the Austrian Monarchy—The Emperor obliged to sue for a separate Peace—Peace restored on the Continent by the Treaty of Luneville . . . 346

CHAPTER XVII.

NAVAL CAMPAIGN OF 1800: Blockade of Genoa—Loss of the Queen Charlotte—Attack on Quiberon—Surrender of Gorée—Expedition to Ferrol—To Cadiz—Capture of Malta—Surrender of Curacao—Confederacy of the northern Powers—Negotiation with Denmark—Revival of the treaty of armed Neutrality—CIVIL HISTORY OF FRANCE: Conspiracy against the Consular Government—Attempt on the First Consul's life,

by an Infernal Machine—State of St. Domingo—Election of Pope Pius VII. 369

CHAPTER XVIII.

Posture of public Affairs at the commencement of 1801—Public Distress—Measures resorted to for its Alleviation—Population—Meeting of the First Imperial Parliament—The Right of Search (*note*)—Debates on the Address—Embargo on the vessels of Russia, Sweden, and Denmark—Change of Ministry—Its ostensible Cause—Coronation Oath (*note*)—Suspension of the Royal Functions—Completion of the Ministerial Arrangements—Hostile Conduct of Denmark and Prussia—British Fleet sails for the Baltic—Passes the Sound—Battle of Copenhagen—Departure of the British Fleet for Carlscrona—Death and Character of the Emperor Paul—Ascension of Alexander I—Dissolution of the Northern Confederacy—Invasion of Portugal by Spain—By France—Humiliating Treaty made with France by the King of the Two Sicilies 364

CHAPTER XIX.

CAMPAIGN OF EGYPT: State of the French Army—A British Army sails for Egypt—Arrives in the Bay of Aboukir—Debarcation—The British Army advances—Battle of the 13th of March—Battle of the 21st—Death of General Abercrombie—Offer to renew the Convention of El Arish rejected by the French—Rosetta surrenders to the Anglo-Turkish Army—The Commander-in-chief, leaving Alexandria to be invested by General Coote and Admiral Bickerton, proceeds against Cairo—Defeat of the French by the Turks—Surrender of Grand Cairo—Siege of Alexandria—Fall of Alexandria, and the final Expulsion of the French from Egypt, 375

CHAPTER XX.

Threat of Invasion—Spirit of the English Nation—French Influence upon the Continent—The Elector of Bavaria, the Ottoman Porte, and his Holiness the Pope, conclude Treaties with France—NAVAL CAMPAIGN: Conquest of the Enemy's Settlements in the East and West Indies—Repulse of the English Fleet under Sir James Saumarez at Algexira, and the Loss of the Hannibal—Victory off Algexira—Minor Exploits of the British Navy—Unsuccessful Attack on the French Flotilla in the Harbour of Boulogne—Preliminary Treaty of Peace signed in London—Ratified by the First Consul—Congress at Amiens—Definitive Treaty—Restoration of a general Peace 384

CHAPTER XXI.

BRITISH HISTORY: Exertions made by Great Britain during the War—Meeting of Parliament—Discussion on the Preliminary Treaty—On the Convention with Russia—On the Civil List and the Prince of Wales' Claims on the Dutchy of Cornwall—Death of the Earl of Clare—Of the Duke of Bedford—Of Lord Kenyon—Repeal of the Income Tax—Public Finances—Restriction on the Bank—Proposed Vote of Censure on Mr. Pitt's Administration—Changed into a Vote of Thanks—Submarine Invention—Debates on the Definitive Treaty of Peace—Parliamentary Votes to Dr. Jenner, for the promulgation of the Vaccine Inoculation; to Mr. Greathead, for the Invention of the Life-Boat; and to Dr. James Carmichael Smith, for his Discovery of the Process of Nitrous Fumigation—Dissolution of Parliament—General Election, 395

CHAPTER XXII.

FOREIGN HISTORY: Epitome of the French Revolution—Bonaparte appointed President of the Italian Republic—Annexation of Piedmont and Parma to the French Republic—Ratification of the Concordat—Bonaparte appointed First Consul for Life, with power to appoint his Successor—Creation of the Legion of Honour—Change in the French Constitution—Expedition to St. Domingo—Arrival of the French Armament under General Leclerc—Bonaparte's Letter to Toussaint Louverture—The Campaign disastrous to the Africans—Submission of their Generals—Death and Character of Toussaint—Surrender of Gaudaloupe, Tobago, and Dominica to the French, in virtue of the Treaty of Amiens—Re-establishment of Slavery in the French Colonies—French Mediation in the Affairs of Switzerland—German Indemnities finally adjusted 403

CHAPTER XXIII.

BRITISH HISTORY: Colonel Despard's Conspiracy—Its Progress and Detection—Trial of the Conspirators—Their Conviction and Execution—Trial of M. Peltier, a French Emigrant, for a Libel on Bonaparte—**IRISH REBELLION OF 1803:** The Character and Condition of the principal Leaders—Preparations of the Rebels—The Horrors of the 23d of July—Assassination of Lord Viscount Kilwarden—His Character—Defeat and Dispersion of the Rebels—Discovery of the Magazines and Archives—Precautionary Measures of Government—Unsuccessful Attempt to plant the standard of rebellion in the North of Ireland—Trials and Execution of Emmett, Russell, and others of the Conspirators—Tranquillity completely restored 413

CHAPTER XXIV.

NEGOTIATIONS: Complaints of the French Government against the countenance given in Great Britain to French Emigrants, and against the abuse poured upon the First Consul by the newspaper Press—Reply—Lord Whitworth appointed Ambassador to the Court of Paris, and General Andreossi to the Court of London—Discussion relating to the Evacuation of Malta—Abstract of Colonel Sebastiani's Report (*note*)—Lord Whitworth's Interview with the First Consul in his Cabinet—Negotiations continued—His Majesty's Message, announcing Preparations in the Ports of France and Holland—Lord Whitworth's Interview with the First Consul at the Levee—Correspondence between Lord Hawkesbury and General Andreossi—Project of the English Government—*Ultimatum*—Rejected by the French Government—Unsuccessful Issue of the Negotiations 423

CHAPTER XXV.

BRITISH HISTORY: His Majesty's Message, announcing the Recall of Lord Whitworth, and the Departure of the French Ambassador—Debate on the Message in the House of Lords—In the House of Commons—Private Instructions to the French Commercial Agents (*note*)—Proffered Mediation of the Emperor of Russia—State of Parties, as developed in the discussions on a Motion for Censure—Measures of Finance, Revival of the Income Tax—Spirit of the Country—Motion for the appointment of a Military Council—Miscellaneous Proceedings in Parliament—Close of the Session—Correspondence

between the King and the Prince of Wales, on the Subject of military Promotion 434

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

Situation of the principal States of Europe at the breaking out of the War—His Majesty's Declaration—War in St. Domingo—Cruelties practised in that Island by the French—Critical Situation of the Republican Army—Death of General Leclerc—Rochambeau appointed Commander-in-chief—Shut up in Cape Francois—Arrival of the Intelligence of the Renewal of Hostilities between Great Britain and France—Surrender of Rochambeau's Army to Commodore Loving—Final Expulsion of the French Forces from St. Domingo—Proclamation of the Republic of Hayti—Desmalines appointed Governor-general for Life—Surrender of the French and Dutch West Indian Colonies to the English—French Armament despatched to the East Indies—French Manifesto—Invasion of Harpover—Conquest of that Electorate by the Arms of France—Preparations for the Invasion of England—Arrest of English Travellers in France—Naval Events—Overture to Louis XVIII. to resign his Claim to the throne of his Ancestors—Rejected 446

CHAPTER II.

BRITISH HISTORY: State of Parties—Meeting of Parliament—Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and the Re-enactment of Military Law in Ireland—National Force—Indisposition of his Majesty—Sir John Wrottesley's Motion—Message from his Majesty, announcing the voluntary Offer of the Irish Militia to serve in Great Britain—Volunteer Consolidation Bill—Motion of Mr. Pitt on the naval defence of the Country—Mr. Fox's Motion for an Inquiry into the national defence—The Budget—Change of Ministers—Motion for the Abolition of the Slave-trade carried in the House of Commons—Rejected in the Lords—Permanent military Force Bill—Corn Laws—Augmentation of the Civil List, and Discharge of the Incumbrances—Prorogation of Parliament 456

CHAPTER III.

Goree taken by the French—Recaptured by the English—Capture of Surinam—Shipwreck of the Apollo Frigate, and a Number of her Convoy—Alarm of Invasion—Preparations to meet it—Catamaran Project—Memorable Repulse of the French Admiral Linois by the East India Fleet, under Captain Dance—Hostilities commenced against Spain—**CAMPAIGN OF THE EAST:** Commencement of Hostilities—Battle of Assye—Asserhur, the Key of the Decan, surrendered to the British—Surrender of Jagarnaut, Cuttack, Balasore, and Soorong—Storming of Ally Ghur—Progress of the Campaign—Splendid Victory of Delhi—General Lake's Interview with the Emperor Shah Aulum—Fall of Agra—Decisive Battle of Laswarree—Concise Recapitulation of the Campaign 470

CHAPTER IV.

FOREIGN HISTORY: State of France—Conspiracy against the French Government—Arrest of Georges, Pichegru, Moreau, and others of the Conspirators—Death of General Pichegru—Of Captain Wright—Execution of Georges, and

eleven of his Confederates—Moreau permitted to exile himself—Arrest and Execution of the Duke d'Enghien—Charge exhibited by the French Government against Mr. Drake and Mr. Spencer Smith—Arrest of Sir George Rumbold—Plot against the Life of Louis XVIII.—Proposal to elevate Bonaparte to the Imperial Dignity—Ineffectual Opposition by Carnot—Organic Senatus Consultum, conferring the Title of Emperor—Voted by the Senate—Accepted by Napoleon—Protest of Louis XVIII.—The Pope invited to perform the Ceremony of Consecration—Allocation of his Holiness issued on his Departure from Rome—Coronation—The Title of Emperor of Austria assumed by Francis II.—Situation of Europe at the close of the year 1804—Indications of the Renewal of War on the Continent 485

CHAPTER V.

BRITISH HISTORY: Situation of the Country at the commencement of the year 1805—State of Parties—Opening of the Session of Parliament—Army and Navy Estimates—Renewal of the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act in Ireland—Debates on the Origin of the Spanish War—Motion by the Earl of Darnley for the Repeal of the Additional Force Bill—Mr. Whitbread's memorable Motion on the Tenth Report of the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry—Carried by the casting Vote of the Speaker—The Office of First Lord of the Admiralty resigned by Lord Melville—Erasure of his Lordship's Name from the List of Privy Counsellors—His Lordship's Defence in the House of Commons—Resolution of the House to institute a Criminal Prosecution against his Lordship—Subsequent Resolution to proceed by Impeachment—Proceedings on the Loan of 40,000*l.* made to Boyd and Benfield—Finances—Dimensions in the Cabinet—Partial Change of Ministry—Mr. Pitt's declining Health 500

CHAPTER VI.

FOREIGN HISTORY: State of France—Political Relations of the principal States of Europe—Letter from the Emperor Napoleon to the King of England—Answer of Lord Mulgrave—The Italian Republic dissolved, and a Monarchy substituted—Bonaparte crowned King of Italy—Genoa annexed to the French Empire—The immediate Cause of a new Coalition against France—The Army of England ordered to march from the French Coast to the Rhine—Bavaria invaded by the Austrians—Bonaparte places himself at the Head of the French Army in Germany—Plan of Operations—The French Forces advance to the Danube—Perilous Situation of the Austrian Army under General Mack—Capitulation of Ulm—Advance of the French towards Vienna—Entrance into that City—Campaign in Italy, the Tyrol, and the Voralberg—Passage of the Bridge of Verona by the French—Retreat of the Archduke Charles towards the Hereditary States—Surrender of an Austrian Column under General Hillinger—Conquest of the Tyrol and the Voralberg by the French—Indication on the part of Prussia of an intention to join the Allied Powers—Landing of the King of Sweden in Stralsund—Debarcation of an Anglo-Russian Army in the Neapolitan Dominions—Retreat of the Russian Army to Olmutz—Battle of Austerlitz—Termination of the War—Peace of Presburg . . 513

CHAPTER VII.

NAVAL CAMPAIGN OF 1805: Effects of the Declaration of War against Spain—Rochefort and Toulon Fleets put to Sea—Attack on the Island of Dominica—Contributions raised on the Islands of St. Nevis and St. Kitts by the French Squadron—The Toulon Fleet again at Sea—Sails to the West Indies—Pursued by Lord Nelson—Naval Engagement off Cape Finisterre—Battle of Trafalgar—Death of Lord Nelson—Mémorial—Capture of four Sail of the Line by Admiral Sir Richard Strachan—Political State of the Country at the close of the year 1805 531

CHAPTER VIII.

BRITISH HISTORY: Importance of the Victory of Trafalgar—Meeting of Parliament—Last Sickness and Death of Mr. Pitt—Mémorial—Dissolution of the Ministry—New Ministry—Lord Grenville and Lord Ellenborough's Appointments—New Military Project—Finance—The Last Speech delivered by Mr. Fox in Parliament—Solemn Pledge of Parliament to abolish the Slave-trade—Impeachment of Lord Melville—Negotiation for Peace between Great Britain and France 541

CHAPTER IX.

BRITISH HISTORY: Last Sickness and Death of Mr. Fox—Mémorial—New Ministerial Arrangements—Dissolution of Parliament—NAVAL CAMPAIGN OF 1806: Annihilation of the French Squadron under Admiral Le Seigne, by the Fleet under the command of Admiral Sir John Thomas Duckworth—Dispersion and Destruction of Admiral Villeneuve's Squadron by a tempest—Capture of the Marengo and Belle Poule, by the Squadron under Sir J. B. Warren—Gallant Achievements by the West India Fleet—Capture of four French Frigates by Sir Samuel Hood—Surrender of the Cape of Good Hope to the English Troops under Sir David Baird—Unauthorized Expedition against South America—Surrender of Buenos Ayres to the English—Re-conquest of that Capital—Insurrection against the Emperor of Hayti, violent Death of Dessalines, and Appointment of Christophe as his Successor—Differences between Great Britain and the United States of America—The Points stated and discussed 561

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

FOREIGN HISTORY: Invasion of Naples by the French under Joseph Bonaparte—Battle of Maida—Policy of Prussia—She accepts Hanover from France, and shuts her ports against British Commerce—Measures of Retaliation adopted by England—Prussia involved in a War with both Great Britain and Sweden—Indications of approaching Hostility between France and Prussia—Confederation of the Rhine—Renunciation of the Title of Emperor of Germany by Francis II.—French Exposé—Act of Aggrandizement—The United Provinces erected into a Monarchy under the Government of Louis Bonaparte—Seizure and Execution of M. Palm, the Bookseller, of Nuremberg—Convocation of the Jews—Traits in the Character of Bonaparte 574

CHAPTER II.

FOREIGN HISTORY: Continental Campaigns of 1806-7—Opening of the Campaign between France and Prussia—Disastrous to the Latter—Battle of Jena—Death of the Duke of Brunswick—Memoir—Fall of the Prussian Garrisons—Surrender of the Army under Prince Hohenlohe—Triumphal Entry of the Emperor Napoleon into Berlin—Berlin Decree—Arrival of the Russian Divisions on the Vistula—Bat-

ties of Pultusk and Golyzhin—The contending Armies take up their Winter-quarters in Poland—War in Silesia—War in Pomerania—Neutrality of Austria—Renewal of Hostilities in Poland—Battle of Eylau—Fall of Dantzic—War between the Porte and Russia—Situation of the Russian and French Forces previous to the Battle of Friedland—The Battle of Friedland—Armistice—Interview between the Emperor Alexander and the Emperor Napoleon on the River Niemen—Peace of Tilsit - - 583

INTRODUCTION.

SECTION I.

TOWARDS the close of the fifth century, the Franks, a nation the very name of which implies the free condition of the individuals who composed it, determined to leave their native forests, situated in that part of Germany enclosed by the Rhine, the Elbe, and the sea. They accordingly crossed the former of these rivers, under Clovis, defeated their enemies in a pitched battle, acquired full possession of an extensive territory, which some of their countrymen had before invaded, and imposed at once their dominion and their name on Gaul. Under the first, or Merovingian, and the second, or Carolingian race, the throne was elective; and the people not only possessed the power of nominating, but according to indisputable testimony,* they also exercised the right of deposing the sovereign if he proved unworthy of his station. (Note 1.)

The great council of the nation assembled every year in the *Champ de Mars*; so called from the month† in which they usually met. In this assembly, the king presided as chief, and decided on all public affairs.

In the year 987, on the demise of Louis V., a new dynasty, called the Capetian, succeeded to the crown of Franco-Gallia, as it was then called, in the person of Hugh Capet, son of Hugh, Earl of Paris, to the exclusion of Charles, Duke of Lorraine, uncle of the deceased monarch, and his heir by blood. This prince, after overcoming and imprisoning his less fortunate rival, associated his own son with him on the throne, and even contrived to get him declared his successor. The crown having thus become vested in his family, in the course of the same reign, and in consequence of this very event, the dukedoms, earldoms, and all the magistracies and honours of the kingdom, which before were temporary, now became hereditary also.

* See Hostoman's *Franco-Gallia*. cap. VI.

(Note 1.) The question whether the crown of France under the first race was elective or hereditary, has been frequently and warmly discussed by the French historians. Some of their most distinguished political writers are to be found on opposite sides of the controversy. The better opinion seems to be not as might be supposed from the text, that the monarchy was purely an elective one, but that the executive power continued in particular families, out of which the assembly of the nation selected such individuals as they thought proper to fill the vacant office.

† March.
Vol. I.

No sooner had a middle class arisen among the people, and begun to acquire some degree of opulence and respectability, than Philip *le Bel* determined to introduce their deputies into the general councils; and that they might be more at his devotion, they were chosen from the cities and towns within his own domains. This memorable event, which occurred in the first year of the fourteenth century, was productive of correspondent consequences; and the third estate sat ever afterwards in the assembly of the nation called the *states-general*, which was convoked occasionally during a period of three hundred and fifteen years. The *states-general* were again convoked under Charles V. in 1369, when they granted certain subsidies *during the war* only; and Charles VI., his successor, thinking, no doubt, that an assembly of notables might prove more tractable, summoned one accordingly in 1413. He appears to have solicited and obtained the consent of the university and citizens of Paris to this measure, which was rendered more agreeable by the plausible pretext of reforming the state; and to keep up appearances, commissioners were chosen from the three different orders of the notables, but nothing beneficial appears to have been effected.

But it was not until the reign of Charles VII., that any thing resembling a uniform system of tyranny was attempted; and it is to the long and bloody contests with England that we are to attribute that despotism which overwhelmed France for ages. The victorious monarch, availing himself of the popularity he had acquired by his success, retained a body of *men-at-arms* in his pay, amounting to no more, however, than seventeen hundred.* To this increase of power, Charles added the influence of corruption; and by means of both, became the first King of France who, by his own royal edict, and without the concurrence of the *states-general* of the kingdom, levied subsidies at his pleasure.

Louis XI., who to the policy of our Henry VII. added a far more cruel and capricious tyranny than Henry VIII., succeeded too well in reducing the innovations of his predecessor to a regular system. He also contrived to render his own despotism more formidable by adding to the military establishment of his father; and, to lessen the general odium, he had re-

* Commines, c. 7

course occasionally to the states-general, which he garbled at his pleasure, taking care that his own creatures only should be permitted to repair to the assembly, where no one was allowed to deliver sentiments in opposition to the will of the monarch.

Richlieu, a great and fortunate minister, about the year 1620, undertook the management of public affairs, and bereaved his country even of the hope of regaining any portion of her liberties. During his administration, the catholic grantees were kept in subjection, and the protestants, who always entertained liberal notions respecting government, were completely humbled: in short, the crown was rendered independent both of the nobles and the people.

His successor, Mazarine, imposed a series of enormous taxes during the minority of Louis XIV. The long and extensive hostilities carried on by that monarch, after he had attained manhood, contributed also to subdue the spirit of the nation. The wars and dissipation of Louis XV. tended equally to harass the public; arbitrary arrests, by means of *lettres de cachet*, rendered personal liberty insecure; and, had it not been that the parliaments, from time to time, exhibited a noble spirit of resistance, every notion of public liberty would have been extinguished, and the government of France must have speedily approximated to an oriental despotism.*

Having thus briefly exhibited the means by which France lost her liberties, it now remains to enumerate the events, in consequence of which, the power of the monarch was overthrown.

SECTION II.

AFTER the demise of Louis XV., who, like Francis I., fell a martyr to his debaucheries, the cares of government were destined to be endured, rather than sustained, by his grandson, a prince only twenty years of age. The young king had, however, conducted himself with great propriety while dauphin, and it was fondly hoped by the French, that they had at length found a good and virtuous sovereign.

Louis XVI., finding himself in want of a Mentor to superintend his conduct and regulate his judgment, selected the Count de Maurepas, and that nobleman, formerly banished from court, and now more than seventy years of age, was immediately elevated to the post of prime minister; and to restore confidence to the nation, and security to the state, Turgot was soon afterwards placed at the head of the finances, and ex-

hibited a series of talents and virtues which rendered his administration uncommonly brilliant: but his severe probity and strict economy accelerated his fall, and the queen, MARIA ANTOINETTE, whose expensive habits began to give umbrage, solicited and at length obtained his dismissal.

When the unhappy contest occurred between Great Britain and her colonies, France, though already involved in a labyrinth of debts and pecuniary engagements, took part in the war in favour of the Americans, and Louis XVI., the descendant of so many absolute monarchs, did not deem it either impolitic or unjust to enter into a treaty with a people struggling for liberty, and to acknowledge their independence. At this period, M. de Vergennes directed the department for foreign affairs; M. de Sartine was at the head of the navy; and M. Necker regulated the revenues as comptroller-general.

This was the first conflict with the same enemy during some centuries, that did not prove inglorious to France; for although England displayed her ancient valour and superiority on the occasion, yet she failed in the object of the contest; (2) while the alliance of the American States, the temporary humiliation of an ancient rival, and the triumph ever attendant on success, gratified in no small degree the national vanity of the French people.

This triumph was but of short duration, for it was soon discovered that the profusion of a race of weak and profligate princes, added to the expenses of the war, and aggravated by the extravagance of an intriguing and luxurious court, had plunged the finances into a state of extreme embarrassment, and Necker was exiled to make way for De Calonne, his enemy and rival. Calonne, ever fertile in expedients, resolved to have recourse to a measure which had often been resorted to in former reigns. This was the convocation of the notables, a body nominated by the prince, but yet bearing some resemblance to the states-general. This assembly accordingly met on the 22d day of February, 1787, and was dissolved on the 25th of May following, without

(2) It may reasonably be doubted whether the ancient superiority here ascribed to England over her French antagonists, was displayed with much éclat during the revolutionary war. With the exception of some engagements in the West Indies, the war was fought in the United States, and on its borders; and certainly the encounters of the two nations here did not add much to the credit of the British arms. On the ocean, it is true, a signal victory was obtained by Admiral Rodney, but it is well known that the combined fleets of France and Spain rode at one period triumphant in the channel, while the skillful manoeuvres of the French commanders on the American coast effected all they desired to obtain.

* The French lawyers had by this time introduced the maxim, "Qui veut le roi, si veut la loi." The will of the king is the will of the law.

having contributed, in any degree, towards removing the public difficulties. The disgrace of Calonne followed upon the dissolution of the convocation of notables, and that minister was, in his turn, succeeded by Cardinal Leomine de Brienne:

Recourse was now had to the odious measure of raising money by the king's edict alone; and the doubling of the land tax, the re-establishment of the third-twentieth, and a stamp duty were immediately proposed. But to render these effective, it was absolutely necessary that they should be registered by an august tribunal that had of late acquired the confidence of the people, and by its sacrifices during the last reign, had merited their esteem. The Parliament of Paris, on whose deliberations the eyes of the whole kingdom were now turned, instead of a ready compliance as was expected, exhibited a steady opposition, and even insisted that a true account of the state of the finances, and of the purposes to which the sums in question were to be applied, should be previously laid before it.

No sooner did the king learn that the parliament had refused to register the edict, than he had recourse to a *bed of justice*; at the best an equivocal, and at present a very unpopular measure. This assembly met on the 6th of August, 1787, and registered the edict; but the next day, the parliament entered a formal protest against the registration of the edict, declaring it to be "*performed against its approbation and consent*;" adding, "*that the edict neither ought nor should have any force*," and that "*the first person who presumed to carry it into execution should be adjudged a traitor, and condemned to the galleys*!"

In a few days after this spirited and formidable protest, the king ordered the hall to be surrounded by a body of troops, and banished the members to Troyes, in Champagne, but not before they had drawn up a remonstrance, in which they displayed equal energy and eloquence. They were, however, recalled soon afterwards, in consequence of a compromise which was considered, in some degree, to have tarnished the glory they had acquired.

While the public mind was thus agitated by successive hopes and fears, the ministry persuaded the king to take a novel and extraordinary step. Accordingly, at nine o'clock in the morning of the 14th of November, he visited the Parliament of Paris, and produced two edicts, which were required to be enforced, one of which indicated a new loan to the amount of 450 millions of livres (about 19,000,000*l.* sterling). A discussion continued for nine hours, when his majesty suddenly arose and commanded the edicts to be instantly registered.

This being considered as a direct violation of all the forms of this august assembly, the Duke of Orleans, with equal firmness and respect, protested against the proceedings, which he said had been rendered null and void by the unprecedented conduct of the sovereign.

The king, in return, immediately sent the Duke of Orleans into exile, and issued *lettres de cachet* against two other members. Such arbitrary proceedings on the part of a monarch hitherto respected for his humanity, produced the most spirited remonstrances on the part of the parliament. In one of these, no less celebrated on account of its eloquence than its boldness, they claimed not the favour of the monarch, but his justice, which was subject, they said, to regulations independent of the will of man: they maintained that kings themselves were bound to obey it, and that his glorious ancestor, Henry IV., acknowledged that he had two sovereigns, "God and the laws." The reply of the king, "that they should not demand from his justice what solely depended upon his will;" tended only to irritate the members; who, recurring to the ancient principles of the constitution, at length declared, "that it was neither in their power, in that of the crown, nor of both united, to grant or to levy any new taxes upon the people!"

This appeal to the paramount authority of the states-general, rendered the Parliament of Paris the idol of the people: but the ministers were at that moment secretly meditating its humiliation: and M. de Brienne, the prime minister, aimed a deadly blow at the power of the assembly, by the project of a *cour pléniere*, composed of princes, peers, magistrates, and military men, devoted to the court, by which the royal edicts were henceforward to be registered. This produced a fresh remonstrance, containing an attack on the ministers, a protest against the plans in agitation, and a declaration, that "France is a kingdom governed by a king, according to the laws; and that the right of raising subsidies is in the nation, represented by the states-general duly convened."

On this, the palace in which the parliament assembled was once more encircled by troops, and some of its members seized and confined: the king also held a *bed of justice* on the 8th of May, 1788, in which he presented a number of edicts to be registered; among these, was one for the establishment of the *cour pléniere*, and another for the diminution of the members of the Parliament of Paris, from one hundred and twenty to sixty-seven, as had been done by Louis XI.

The magistrates having entered a solemn

protest, his majesty was advised to shut up the place of their deliberations by means of an armed force: he at the same time suspended all the parliaments throughout the kingdom;—a measure which was opposed by an address signed by forty-seven peers and bishops, “in behalf of themselves and the nation.”

Commutations of an alarming nature now ensued. In Brittany, the nobles and the people seemed to suspend their disputes, on purpose to investigate public grievances; the intermediate commission of the states exhibited great firmness on this occasion; and Rennes, the capital of the province, experienced an unusual degree of agitation. Of the members constituting the parliaments of Toulouse and Grenoble, part were in exile and part in prison; and the inhabitants were so irritated, that they drove the governor of Languedoc out of his capital; while the troops, hitherto the firm supporters of arbitrary power in every monarchy, and particularly in France, refused to fire upon the populace. At Grenoble, in Dauphiny, the peasants collected in large bodies from the neighbouring country, to assist the townsmen, if necessary, against the soldiery; and terror and indignation, rage and dismay, prevailed everywhere by turns.

At length, the court, seriously alarmed by the agitation in the provinces, dismissed the ministers, and such was the deplorable state of the finances, that only part of the demands on the treasury was paid in cash; the remainder being liquidated by means of bills due at the end of a year; and the appearance of a partial bankruptcy was avoided only by a royal edict, enjoining all bankers, and others, to receive the paper of the *caisse d'escompte* as money. In addition to this, a scarcity was threatened, and many of the people were actually perishing for want of bread; the notion therefore became prevalent that the states-general could alone rescue the nation from misery and despair.

At the earnest entreaty of M. Necker, who had been recalled to the office of minister of finance, his majesty consented to the convocation of the states-general, (3)

(3) The resolution of convoking the states-general, a measure which in the existing state of public opinion was of itself a revolution, is here improperly attributed to the advice of M. Necker; and to the prevalence of a similar belief, we may refer much of the odium which was attempted to be thrown upon the character of that able and virtuous statesman, by the partisans of the ancient system. Whatever may have been the sentiments of Necker upon the abstract propriety of a representative government, it does not appear that he was, while in office, the first adviser of any step of that nature. The proposition of assembling the states-general originated in the Parliament of Paris, and was seconded by the public voice with so

and much debate took place relative to the mode of forming that assembly; but an order of council was at length procured on the 27th of December, declaring that the deputies to the states-general should amount to at least one thousand; that the number sent by each bailiwick should be in a ratio compounded of its population and taxes; and lastly, that the members of the third should be equal to the joint amount of the other two estates.

The meeting of this celebrated assembly being at length fixed for the first of May, 1789, the whole nation appeared to be electrified. The city of Paris was divided into districts for the elections, and the bailiwicks began to draw up their instructions to the deputies, for the reformation of a multitude of abuses that had prevailed for ages.

SECTION III.

At length the states-general, which had been, by turns, promised, delayed, and precipitated, after a lapse of one hundred and seventy-five years, assembled at Versailles, on the 5th of May, 1789. The ceremony commenced with an act of devotion; the representatives of the nation, preceded by the ministers of the altar, and followed by the king, having repaired to the temple of the Deity, amidst an immense crowd, who offered up vows for the success of their endeavours to reform and regenerate the state. The splendour and variety of the robes of two of the orders added greatly to the brilliancy of the spectacle; for the dignified clergy were dressed in a style of gran-

much warmth and unanimity, that the king had solemnly promised to comply with the wishes of the nation in this respect previous to the recall of Necker. Upon this point, the observations of his daughter, Mde. de Stael, are conclusive. “If M. Necker, in his ministerial capacity, had proposed the convocation of the states-general, the world might then have accused him of a dereliction of duty, since it is a settled point in the doctrine of a certain party, that the absolute power of the monarch is a sacred thing. But when public opinion had compelled the court to dismiss the archbishop of Sens, and to recall M. Necker, the states-general were solemnly promised; the nobles, the clergy, and the parliament, had solicited this promise; the people had obtained it, and such was the power of the general opinion on this point, that neither the military nor civil force would have put itself in opposition to it. If this assertion diminish the merit of M. Necker in acknowledging that it was not he who promised the states-general, it at least places the responsibility of the events of the revolution where it ought to rest. For how could such a man as Necker propose to a virtuous monarch, like Louis XVI., the violation of his word? And of what service could that minister be to him whose power consisted in his popularity, if his first act had been to advise the king to break his engagements with his people.” *Sur la Revolution Francoise*, t. 1. p. 155.

deur suitable to their respective ranks, being adorned with scarfs, crosses, and crossiers; while the nobility were decorated as in the days of chivalry, with flowing mantles covered with lace, plumes of feathers waving in the air, stars and ribands calculated to produce a theatrical effect, and swords glittering with gold and diamonds. The third estate, on which the people chiefly relied, on the other hand, seemed to affect simplicity, the members appearing in plain clothes, surmounted with short woollen cloaks, as in the time of Philip *le Bel*; but they were hailed by the surrounding multitude as the hope of their country, while a solemn and inauspicious silence prevailed during the procession of the rest of the assembly.

After a long and tedious ceremonial, the king, who was seated in a magnificent alcove, with the queen on his left hand, and the princes and princesses of the blood around him, delivered a discourse to the assembly, in which he expressed his hope that the convocation of the states-general would communicate new vigour to the nation, re-establish public credit, and open additional sources of happiness. The speech of his majesty was listened to with profound attention, and hailed with repeated bursts of applause. The keeper of the seals followed, and enlarged on the advantages of a *limited government*, equally remote from absolute monarchy on the one hand, and anarchy and republicanism on the other. M. Necker succeeded the keeper of the seals, in a speech of great length, in which he wished to direct the attention of the assembly principally to the state of the finances, which he allowed to be deranged, but stated the actual *deficit* not to exceed fifty-six millions of French livres.

Subsequent to this sitting, some disputes arose between the respective orders. The third estate (the commons), to the number of 583, declared themselves the representatives of the nation; and their first act was to declare all the imposts illegal, because they had not been consented to by the nation. They, however, instantly re-enacted them in the name of their constituents, declaring that they should cease on the very day on which the present assembly should be dissolved. All future proceedings were prevented in consequence of an extraordinary step on the part of the king, who, on the 20th of June, declared by a herald-at-arms, that the debates of the assembly were suspended, and that it was his majesty's intention to hold a *Royal Session* on the 22d. This assumption of power, wholly unprecedented in the history of the states-general, led to the most disastrous consequences. The members of the as-

sembly, finding themselves excluded from the National Hall by a guard of soldiers, assembled in the Tennis-court at Versailles, and the people, electrified by the conduct of their deputies, in their turn excited new zeal by their plaudits; some of the soldiery, partaking of the general enthusiasm, formed a guard of honour at the entrance,* while one of the members, who had been confined to his bed, caused himself to be carried into the Hall, and as if actuated by one general impulse, all the deputies rose and took an oath never to separate until the constitution should be formed, and the regeneration of France completed.

On the 23d of June, the three orders were assembled, by the king's command, in *Royal Session*. The speech which the king was advised to deliver on this occasion was not in the least calculated to give satisfaction to the nation. After lamenting the disputes that had taken place, his majesty insisted on maintaining the distinction of orders, and annulled the celebrated decree by which the commons had declared themselves the national assembly. He, at the same time, alluded to the benefits which he was preparing to confer upon his people; but nothing positive was said relative to the liberty of the press, or the participation of the states-general in the enactment of laws: on the other hand, he hinted at the retention of the most unpopular of all the prerogatives claimed by the crown—that of *lettres de cachet*, subject, however, to certain restrictions; and the continuance of the tyrannical privileges arising out of the feudal incidents, the most cruel of all the restraints to which any nation can be subjected.

The sittings of the assembly having been continued, a union of the orders took place, and on the 27th, forty-seven of the nobles, headed by the Duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood, repaired to the hall of the states, and the minority of the clergy and the majority of the nobles, at the express recommendation of the king, followed their example.

In the mean time, notwithstanding these appearances of cordiality, orders had been for some time issued by the court to collect a large body of troops; and as the French soldiery could not now be depended on, foreigners were preferred to the national regiments. Thirty-five thousand men were already cantoned in the neighbourhood of the capital; twenty thousand more were expected; a formidable train of artillery was provided at a prodigious expense; camps began to be traced out; the commanding eminences were crowded with batteries; the roads and bridges occupied by

* *Precis de la Revolution Fran. par Rabaut de Saint Etienne.*

military posts; and the Marshal de Broglie was nominated to the chief command.

The capital, ever jealous of the court, and alarmed at these formidable preparations, was now agitated to an extraordinary degree. The people assembled in prodigious multitudes in the gardens of the *Palais Royal*, and dividing into groups, were addressed by certain persons, whom they styled "orators," with a degree of eloquence that did not fail to please, and even to fascinate.

A large body of the soldiery, having become a part of the people, in consequence of their long residence in the capital, and connexion with it, began to make a common cause with its inhabitants, and to discriminate between the rights of men and the duties of soldiers. Nor were other means of seduction wanting: they were loaded with presents and caresses; they were feasted for whole days and nights in the *Palais Royal*, the residence of the Duke of Orleans; and to the delights of wine were added the fascinations of gold, and the blandishments of women.

On the 12th of July, Necker, the only minister on whom either the nation or its representatives had any reliance, being suddenly deprived of his office, was sent once more into exile, and the new administration was said to consist of De Breteuil, Foulon, La Galesiere, La Porte, and the Marshal de Broglie; all of whom were considered as the decided advocates of the ancient despotism.

The period of the revolution was now advancing with rapid strides; and here it may be proper shortly to advert to the numerous causes which conspired to shake the foundations of a throne upheld by the veneration of fourteen centuries, and to facilitate the downfall of a prince, the successor of sixty-eight kings.

SECTION IV.

THE causes of that tremendous event, which was in its consequences to shake, not only the monarchy of France, but all the kingdoms of Europe to their foundations, are various and palpable. Among these, may be ranked the progressive improvement of the human mind; and the extension of letters and philosophy, as exhibited in the writings of Montesquieu, Raynal, Rousseau, Voltaire, Bailly, Buffon, Condorcet, Diderot, d'Alembert, &c. The age of Louis XIV., when writers of this description began first to flourish, and enjoy the fostering smiles of the great and powerful, has been considered as the Augustan epoch of French history: and it was then, that under the shelter of royal despotism, those weapons

were forged, which were afterwards destined to break its chains. Another of the causes of the revolution may be traced to the extreme embarrassment of the national finances, and to the writings of the rival financiers, Necker and Calonne, which disclosed secrets that proved ruinous to the credit of the monarchy; and which gave to the parliaments and the states-general, a zeal and decision commensurate with the arduous duties imposed upon them by the difficulties of their country. There were also many other circumstances which contributed to produce this change. The liberties and prosperity of England—a country separated only by a narrow strait—could not be contemplated with indifference. But a still more permanent cause was to be found in the example of America, where M. de la Fayette and many thousand other French officers and soldiers, had fought for the establishment of liberty, and where they had seen a happy nation in which the distinctions of rank and birth were unknown. There, for the first time, they saw virtue, talents, and courage rewarded; there, they viewed with surprise, a sovereign people, fighting, not for a master, but for themselves, and administering the laws by representatives of their own free choice. On their return, the contrast was odious and intolerable: they beheld family preferred to merit, influence to justice, and wealth to worth. They began to examine a constitution in which the monarch, whom they were accustomed now to consider only as the first magistrate, was every thing, and the people—the foundation of all power—nothing: and they may reasonably be supposed to have wished, and even languished for a change. Nor was the spirit of disaffection to the existing order of things confined to the French soldiers who had served in America, and there imbibed the principles of republicanism; but the whole army itself, properly so called, which had hitherto been the bulwark of the monarchy, conceived a deep-rooted disgust against the punishments introduced in the reign of Louis XVI. under the administration of the Count de St. Germain, by which they were coerced into submission by the military punishments of Prussia, Austria, and Russia, instead of being, as hitherto, flattered into obedience by the *principle of honour*. At this critical period, when union and ability might have protracted the fate of the government, the court was distracted by private jealousies, and divided by petty feuds. The prerogative, omnipotent in theory, was now for the first time bounded in practice. The king, possessing many virtues, but feeble, irresolute, and uxorious, excited pity, and even contempt. Vibrating

between the virulent counsels of his court and the timidity of his own nature, he appears to have been, by turns, tyrannical and complaisant. The queen, while dauphiness, had obtained the respect of the nation by refusing to countenance the licentiousness of the court of the reigning monarch; and her beauty had long commanded the admiration of the capital. But her levities had now sunk her into disesteem; and her enormous expenses, her haughty demeanour, and her aversion to every thing that bore the name of liberty, exposed her to general censure; and the manner in which she governed the king, subjected both him and herself to increasing suspicion.

Her majesty and the king's two brothers were also at open variance. The eldest of these had acquired and retained the respect of the nation; but the profusion of the younger, and still more his zeal against every innovation on the ancient despotism, at length rendered his name odious. On the other hand, the Duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood, and his adherents, openly aspired to popularity, and the duke expended an amazing fortune to produce, strengthen, and support a revolution, that in the end proved their destruction. The numerous and notorious abuses in the government also produced an effect correspondent to the knowledge of an inquisitive and critical age, and France was denied even the *sleep of despotism*—the only consolation that a people can derive from the degradation of servitude.

The feudal hierarchy had become burdensome and oppressive. Instead of softening, as formerly, the exercise of the royal prerogative, presenting a barrier between the king and the people, it divided into casts of old and new, nobles of the sword and of the robe, of the court and of the provinces, who all claimed an exemption from taxes; and, although jealous of each other, cordially united in treating the inhabitants of the towns with insufferable haughtiness, while they considered those of the country as little better than their slaves.

What the possessors of fiefs originally acquired by their swords, the clergy had obtained by the profusion of the people in times past, but their influence was now visibly declining throughout the nation; and an age devoted to the cultivation of literature and the sciences, felt itself but little interested in those polemical contentions which at once occupied and disgraced the two former reigns. The amazing wealth possessed by nineteen archbishops, and one hundred and twenty-two bishops; the immense revenues belonging to twelve hundred and eighty-eight abbays, twelve thou-

sands four hundred priories, and fourteen thousand seven hundred and eighty convents, excited the surprise, and perhaps also the envy of the laity. The parochial clergy, although poor themselves, constituted the only stay and consolation of the people; they also were oppressed by their more opulent brethren, for the prelates had continued to throw the burden of the *voluntary gift* upon the great body of the priesthood, whose complaints had long proved unavailing, but whose resentment, at a subsequent period, by inducing them to join the third estate, produced a schism in the church, and put an end to the established hierarchy.

Among the other changes that had taken place, that of the liberty of speech was not the least conspicuous. Writings were everywhere read and circulated against the weight, number, inequality, and misapplication of the *taxes*; the vexations of the farmers-general; the venality of officers; the imperfection of the criminal code; and those arbitrary and illegal imprisonments produced by *lettres de cachet*. There was a general outcry against the tributes paid to the pope, the wealth of the clergy, and the profusion with which pensions were assigned on an exhausted treasury.

The Bastille, and a variety of subordinate prisons, had always opened their dreadful dungeons at the voice of an absolute prince; a free press, which leaves to a bad minister the choice of his duty or his dishonour, was still unknown; and *lettres de cachet*, sold publicly towards the end of the late reign, had been granted during the early part of the present with scandalous impunity.

The people were overburdened with taxes, many of which were rather oppressive than productive; offices conferring nobility were publicly bought and sold; while the nobles were exempt from the operation of imposts, and the clergy contributed only what they pleased under the name of a *benevolence*.

The occupations of the merchant and the farmer were considered as discreditable; the plebeians were excluded from all the high offices of the state, and the profession of arms, alone honourable, was consecrated to the enjoyment of a particular *caste*: to command a regiment, or a man of war, it was necessary to be a noble.

The people being thus left destitute of redress or protection; the royal authority paramount and unbounded; the laws venal; the peasantry oppressed; agriculture in a languishing state; commerce considered as degrading; the public revenues farmed out to greedy financiers; the public money consumed by a court wallowing in luxury, and every institution at variance with justice,

policy, and reason;—a change became inevitable in the ordinary course of human events, and like all sudden alterations in corrupt states, was accompanied with evils and crimes, that made many good men look back on the ancient despotism with a sigh.

SECTION V.

FROM the contemplation of the various and multiplied causes that produced the destruction of the monarchy of France, it is proper to turn to a review of the events that attended and flowed from the Revolution in that country.

While the deputies, incapable of making any resistance, stood aghast, the citizens of Paris were taking measures to alter the destiny of the assembly, the monarch, and the empire. They began by carrying in triumph the busts of Necker and the Duke of Orleans, each of whom had been, at different times, the victim of despotism. Being attacked by a patrol of the Royal Allemande, several persons were wounded, but the guard was at length obliged to take refuge in the Tuilleries.

It was at this critical period, that Gorsas, then a schoolmaster, and afterwards a deputy, with a stentorian voice, continued to harangue a large body of citizens in one quarter; at the same time that Camille Desmoulins, a celebrated advocate, with a pistol in each hand, addressed an eloquent oration to the surrounding multitude, in another; and after being exhausted with fatigue, and rendered unable to proceed, still contrived to articulate the words,—“To arms! to arms!”

While the women and children, terrified at the first appearance of the troops, rent the air with their shrieks and lamentations, the alarm bell was rung in every parish; the theatres were shut; cannons were fired by way of signal; some of the citizens barricaded their houses, and prepared to defend themselves against the assailants; while the multitude, unprovided with any certain means of annoyance, seized all the arms to be found in the shops of the gunsmiths and armourers, and then proceeded towards the town-house.

In this critical moment, when every thing depended on the conduct adopted by the French guards, the Marquis de Valadi, formerly an officer in that corps, repaired to the barracks, and contrived to excite their passions, arouse their ambition, and subdue their fidelity. At nine o'clock in the evening, they accordingly sallied out, when, being joined by patrols of armed citizens, as well as by a mob, many of whom carried torches, they attacked and dispersed a company of the Royal Allemande. The fugi-

tives having retreated to the main body of their regiment posted in the *Place de Louis XV.*, twelve hundred of the guards repaired to the *Palais Royal*, where they held a council of war, and at length determined, though destitute of both officers and artillery, to give battle to the *foreign troops*. They accordingly commenced their march, obtained a complete victory, obliged them to retreat, drove them before them to the Boulevards, and at length forced all the regular troops to evacuate Paris, and withdraw to Versailles, where they spread dismay and consternation among the adherents of the court, whose projects had been thus anticipated and disconcerted, the evening of the 14th of July having been the day fixed for an attack upon the capital.

An extraordinary circumstance occurred at this moment, which tended not a little to produce and accelerate the catastrophe that ensued. Twenty thousand men of different nations, who had been employed in cutting roads over Montmartre, but who were now without bread and without occupation, threatened to plunder the capital, which was itself rapidly approaching to a state of famine. These banditti had already approached to the suburbs, and after burning the outlet called the white barriers, began to enter several houses. To meet this emergency, it was resolved to form a city militia, and the citizens ran in crowds to inscribe their names as the defenders of their country. Arms being still wanting, upwards of thirty thousand men ran to the hospital of the invalids, seized on the artillery, and obtained possession of about fifty thousand muskets, sabres, and pikes, which had been concealed there.

The citizens were immediately marshalled, and more than sixty thousand enrolled and formed into companies; patrols were established in every district; the sergeants and grenadiers of the French guards were appointed officers: cannon were immediately posted on the Pont Neuf, the Pont Royal, and in all the avenues leading to Versailles; while the Place Dauphine, admirably situated for this purpose, was provided with a numerous artillery, and became the head-quarters of the patriotic army, as it now began to be called.

The revolution had thus actually commenced; and some unknown individual, on the morning of the 14th of July, after attracting the attention of the citizens, exclaimed,—“*Let us take the Bastille!*” The name of this fortress, which recalled to the memory of the people every thing hateful and odious in the ancient despotism, operated with all the effect of electricity. The cry of “To the Bastille!” resounded from rank to rank, from street to street, from the

Palais-Royal to the suburbs St. Antoine. An army, composed of citizens and soldiers; provided with pikes forged during the night, with muskets procured at the Invalids, with gilded lances and battle-axes, snatched from the *Garde Meuble*, was immediately formed, and the French guards were prevailed upon to join this motley crew. During the attack, the insurgents were joined by a detachment of grenadiers of Ruffeille, and fusileers of Lubersac; and, though a formidable resistance was made by de Launay, the governor, the gates were at length forced, the besiegers entered, and a castle was taken by storm in less than four hours, which had menaced France for nearly as many ages, and which an army, headed by the great Conde, had formerly besieged in vain during three-and-twenty days.

De Launay, whose name had been long odious to the Parisians, was put to death in his way to the town-house; M. de Lorraine, the major, a man of great humanity, unhappily experienced a similar fate; Requet, a subaltern officer, who had prevented the governor from setting fire to the powder magazine, was also killed; and the whole garrison would perhaps have been sacrificed by an enraged populace, had it not been for the generous intervention of the French guards, who petitioned for, and obtained mercy.

In the mean time, De Hesseles, the provost of the merchants, having been accused of a conspiracy, escaped from the Hotel de Ville, but was shot in the *Place de Greve*, and his head carried about in procession with that of the governor of the Bastille; a horrid kind of spectacle, which at length accustomed the people to the spilling of human blood, and let loose all the furies of vengeance and proscription.

These events which had been carefully concealed from the unfortunate monarch, although they occurred at seven in the afternoon, were first communicated to him by the Duke de Liancourt, who repaired to his chamber at midnight, and made him acquainted with the situation of the capital. On the succeeding morning, his majesty repaired to the assembly, and intimated that he had given orders for the retreat of the troops: on this, a deputation of eighty-four members was sent to communicate the intelligence to the citizens, who now elected M. Bailly mayor of Paris, and intrusted the command of the national guard to the Marquis de la Fayette.

The Bastille was immediately devoted to destruction; the unhappy prisoners* were

released in triumph; the instruments of torture were dragged from the dungeons, and exposed to day; and the destiny of the monarch and the monarchy seemed to be already decided.

Many of the grantees, alarmed in the highest degree at the revolutionary movements in the capital, resolved to emigrate, and the Count d'Artois, for whom it was reserved, after a lapse of five-and-twenty years, to be reinstated in his right of succession to the throne of France, having been informed that a price was set upon his head, escaped with his two sons during the night. The Princes of Condé and Conti, as well as the Dukes de Luxembourg and Vaugion, quickly followed, and their example soon became epidemic.

In the mean time, while the assembly was yet uncertain of its own fate, and that of the nation, it had determined, in case of the worst, to leave behind it a monument of its patriotism and zeal. The following celebrated "DECLARATION OF RIGHTS," the groundwork of the new constitution, was accordingly voted, after three different plans had been submitted by La Fayette, Mounier, and Sieyes, and presented to the king on the 3d of September, 1791, and at length obtained the sanction of his majesty. (5)

"The representatives of the French people, formed into a national assembly, considering that ignorance, forgetfulness, or contempt of the *Rights of Men*, are the sole causes of public grievances, and of the corruption of government, have resolved to exhibit in a solemn declaration the natural, unalienable, and sacred Rights of Man, in order that this declaration, ever present to all the members of the SOCIAL BODY, may incessantly remind them of their rights and their duties; to the end, that the acts of the Legislative Power and those of the Executive Power, being able to be every moment compared with the end of all political institutions, may acquire the more respect; in order also, that the remonstrances of the citizens founded henceforward on simple and incontestable principles, may ever tend to maintain the Constitution, and to promote the general good.

"For this reason, the National Assembly recognises, and declares in the presence of, and under the auspices of the Supreme Being, the following Rights of Men and Citizens:

1. Men were born, and always continue, free and equal in respect to their rights; civil distinctions, therefore, can be founded only on public utility.

It appears clearly from the annals of the Bastille, that insanity or idiotism generally results from the system of secret imprisonment; of the seven prisoners enumerated above, two were actually sent to a mad-house.

(5) The declaration of rights is here confounded with the constitution, afterwards framed by the National Assembly. The former was agreed to on the 1st of October, 1789, and approved of by the king on the 5th of the same month. The labours of the Assembly on the Constitution were not brought to a close until the month of September, 1791, when it received the sanction of the king

* 1 Tavernier,

5 De Whyte, supposed to be an Englishman,

3 Pujade,

6 La Laurege, and

3 La Roche,

7 Bechabe.

4 Count de Solages,

2. The end of all political associations is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man; and these rights are liberty, property, security, and the resistance of oppression.

3. The nation is essentially the source of all sovereignty; nor can any individual, or any body of men, be entitled to any authority which is not expressly derived from it.

4. Political liberty consists in the power of doing whatever does not injure another. The exercise of the natural rights of every man, has no other limits than those which are necessary to secure to every other man the free exercise of the same rights; and these limits are determinable alone by the law.

5. The law ought only to prohibit actions hurtful to society. What is not prohibited by the law should not be hindered; nor should any one be compelled to that which the law does not require.

6. The law is an expression of the will of the community. All citizens have a right to concur, either personally or by their representatives, in its formation. It should be the same to all, whether it protects or punishes; and all being equal in its sight, are equally eligible to honours, places, and employments, according to their different abilities, without any other distinction than that created by their virtues and talents.

7. No man should be accused, arrested, or held in confinement, except in cases determined by the law, and according to the forms which it has prescribed. All who promote, solicit, execute, or cause to be executed, arbitrary orders, ought to be punished: and every citizen called upon or apprehended by virtue of the law, ought immediately to obey, and he renders himself culpable by resistance.

8. The law ought to impose no other penalties than such as are absolutely and evidently necessary; and no one ought to be punished but in virtue of a law promulgated before the offence, and legally applied.

9. Every man being presumed innocent until he has been convicted, whenever his detention becomes indispensable, all rigour to him, more than is necessary to secure his person, ought to be provided against by the law.

10. No man ought to be molested on account of his opinions, not even on account of his religious opinions, provided his avowal of them does not disturb the public order established by the law.

11. The unrestrained communication of thoughts and opinions being one of the most precious rights of man, every citizen may speak, write, and publish freely, provided he is responsible for the abuse of this liberty in cases determined by the law.

12. A public force being necessary to give security to the rights of men and citizens, that force is instituted for the benefit of the community, and not for the particular benefit of the persons to whom it is intrusted.

13. A common contribution being necessary for the support of the public force, and for defraying the other expenses of government, it ought to be divided equally among the members of the community according to their abilities.

14. Every citizen has a right, either by himself or his representative, to a free voice in determining the necessity of public contributions, the appropriation of them, and their amount, mode of assessment, and duration.

15. Every community has a right to demand of all its agents an account of their conduct.

16. Every community in which a separation of powers and a security of rights is not provided for wants a constitution.

17. The right to property being inviolable and sacred, no one ought to be deprived of it, except

in cases of evident public necessity, legally ascertained, and on condition of a previous just indemnity. (6)

"The NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, desirous of establishing the French Constitution on the principles which it has just now recognised and declared, abolishes irrevocably those institutions which are injurious to liberty, and equality of rights.

"There is no longer any nobility, nor *poercage*, nor *hereditary distinctions*, nor *difference of orders*, nor *feudal governments*, nor *patrimonial jurisdictions*, nor any of the *titles, denominations, and prerogatives* which are derived from them; nor any of the orders of *chivalry, corporations, or decorations*, for which proofs of nobility were required; nor any kind of superiority, but that of *public functionaries*, in the exercise of their functions.

"No public office is henceforth *hereditary* or *purchaseable*.

"No part of the nation, nor any individual, can henceforth possess any *privilege* or *exception* from the common rights of all Frenchmen.

"There are no more *wardenships* or *corporations* in professions, arts, or trades.

"The law recognises no longer any *religious vows*, nor any other engagement which would be contrary to natural rights, or to the constitution."

The attention of the assembly was now suddenly diverted from the formation of a constitutional code, to the unhappy situation of the empire in consequence of the anarchy that succeeded the extinction of the ancient despotism, and for which it was found difficult to administer any immediate or effectual relief. It is truly lamentable, that among the many ills originating from, or inherent in slavery, one is that it renders its victims long unfit for the enjoyment of the very blessings they have panted after: and that the enfranchised bondman, like the miserable prisoner long immured in a gloomy dungeon, is utterly unable at first to enjoy the genial light of liberty. We accordingly find, that the vassalage of several centuries had steeled the hearts of a great portion of the nation to humanity, and instead of deriving happiness from the transition, many dreamed only of avenging the wrongs of ages in the blood of their oppressors, and of obtaining that wealth from plunder, which, by prejudice and injustice, they had hitherto been deprived the chance of acquiring.

All the great cities were at the same time agitated by the dread of famine, and the necessities of the populace, fanaticised by the spirit of the times, unfortunately mistook licentiousness for liberty, while Paris, the cradle of the revolution, contained a prodigious number of individuals, whose daily subsistence arose from fraud and violence alone. The peasantry, too long oppressed by their lords, seemed to consider this as a favourable opportunity for making reprisals: but unhappily they were not

(6) Here ends the Declaration of Rights, adopted in 1789. What follows is a part of the preamble to the Constitution of 1791.

content with the liberation of themselves and children from manual servitude. Many of the castles of the nobles were accordingly attacked, pillaged, and burned; while they themselves, with their wives and their offspring, by a sad reverse, were now exposed to the insults, the menaces, and sometimes even the vengeance of the unhappy villagers. Many however were the instances in which a generous oblivion ensued, and only in a few cases did the good and beneficent landholder experience ingratitude as a retribution for his benevolence.

The assembly, fully impressed with the necessity of restoring peace and tranquillity, passed a decree on the evening of the 4th of August, enjoining the taxes to be paid as usual, and enforcing the law for the security of persons and of property. But in the course of that celebrated night, a memorable measure was proposed and carried; and to the honour of the nobles, it must be acknowledged to have originated with them. This measure was no less than the abolition of the feudal system:—that system of privileges and exemptions to one class of the community, and of oppression and tyranny to the other, was abolished, and it was declared that henceforth in France there should be only one law, one nation, one family, and one honourable title—that of a French citizen. (7)

On the succeeding day, it was suggested, that as tithes operated in the manner of a premium against agriculture, and a tax upon industry, they should be immediately abolished: this was at first strenuously opposed by the clergy, particularly by the Abbe Sieyes, but the archbishop of Paris at length consented in the name of himself and his brethren.

The next object that engaged the attention of the assembly was the constitution; and, after a variety of long and interesting debates, France was divided into eighty-

(7) From the construction of this sentence, it may be supposed that the titles of the nobility, as well as the whole of the feudal system, were abolished on the 4th of August, 1789. This was not however the case, to the extent stated. The most grievous of the feudal exactions, such as the claim of the lord to the personal service of his vassal, and other degrading duties, were abolished, but his right to the land and to money rents was not disturbed. Neither was the question of hereditary titles agitated at that time. In the enthusiasm of the moment, the deputies of certain provinces and cities, which had enjoyed particular immunities, surrendered their franchises, and it was then that the famous wish was expressed, that in future there might exist no more provinces, but one nation, one family, and one law. No decree however appears to have been adopted on the subject, and titles were not abolished until the 24th of February in the succeeding year. *Precis Historique, &c. by Rabaut de St. Etienne.*

three departments—the qualifications of the electors were fixed—*lettres de cachet* were abolished—the sale of offices made criminal—the feudal system annihilated—all distinctions of orders abolished—biennial legislatures were agreed to—the *suspensive veto* on all laws was granted to the king—and the representatives were to form but one chamber. (8)

The national assembly had by this time acquired an ascendancy over the nation, and its popularity was daily increasing, both in the capital and the provinces. Between the assembly and the court, considerable jealousies existed, which were heightened by the introduction of a corps of Swiss guards into the metropolis; and while affairs were in this situation, the inhabitants of Paris, goaded on by famine, were thrown into a state of violent agitation. The commotion began among the women, who, on the morning of the 5th of October, ran about the streets, crying out "Bread, bread!" Seizing on a person of the name of Maillard, they forced him to become their conductor; and being joined by a multitude of armed men, and followed by a company of the volunteers of the Bastille, and several cannon, they set out for Versailles, the residence of the royal family. The national guards, actuated by a similar impulse, insisted on marching thither also; and La Fayette, after obtaining the sanction of the municipality, deemed it prudent to accede to the proposition. He was unable, however, to prevent the events that ensued; for some of the mob, having burst into the castle, sacrificed two of the bodyguards to their fury, and the life of the queen was perhaps saved by the gallantry of a third, called Mimiandre. The guards now, for the first time, placed the national cockade in their hats, and supplicated for mercy. On this the popular fury seemed to subside, but the cry of "To Paris! to Paris!" clearly intimated their intentions, and his majesty thought proper to comply. The king accordingly repaired thither, on the 6th of October, preceded by an executioner, between two wretches, each carrying a bloody head on a pike, accompanied by an immense mob, a deputation of two hundred members of the national assembly, the troops of Paris, and the French guards, who had prevented much violence and bloodshed.

1790.—In the midst of this disorder, a national bankruptcy was apprehended, to avert which, the territorial possessions of the clergy were declared at the disposal of

(8) The constitutional ordinances in regard to biennial legislatures, the suspensive veto of the king, and the union of the representatives in one chamber, were not enacted until the year 1790

the nation, and written assignations were given on this fund, which obtained the name of *assignats*. The king had already repaired to the assembly, and given the sanction of his name to the new constitution: and the nation, almost frantic with joy at its deliverance from regal and feudal bondage, celebrated the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille, on the 14th of July, the epoch whence France now dated her liberties, in the *Champ de Mars*, at which appeared the king, the representatives of the nation, deputations from all the military and naval bodies in the kingdom, in addition to 300,000 spectators of both sexes: and at the close of which, the monarch, the national assembly, and the armed citizens took a solemn oath to maintain the constitution.

The spirit of anarchy and disorganization continued, however, to spread over the kingdom of France, and the discontents of the nobility and clergy at the new order of things rose to such a height, as to produce an insurrection and a civil war in La Vendée.

1791.—The king, queen, their children, and Madame Elizabeth, fled from the capital, on the twentieth of June, and took the road to Montmedy, her majesty personating the Baroness de Knoff, and her consort the superintendent of her family. No obstacle intervened until their arrival at Varennes, when Louis was recognised by Drouet, the postmaster of St. Menehould, and detained in consequence of his zeal. Paul le Blanc and Joseph Poncin, two national guards, were the first to stop the carriage, which was drawn by six horses, and accompanied by three out-riders. After some delay, the king and his family were re-conducted on their way back to the capital, in the face of a large body of the Royal Allemande. His majesty's brother, Monsieur, was, however, more fortunate, for he fled nearly at the same time, and arrived at Mons, without experiencing any interruption.

At length, the royal family approached the capital, conducted by the citizens of Varennes, and surrounded by an immense body of national guards. More than half a million of spectators filled the streets and squares as the captive monarch passed along to the Tuilleries; but neither reproaches nor murmurs were heard this day, on the contrary, a sullen silence prevailed; not a single hand was uplifted to express joy; every head remained covered; and the sovereign was already dethroned in the hearts of his subjects.

The assembly acted upon this occasion with great magnanimity, and an act of oblivion was passed. In order to prevent further tumult, it declared, that "the revolu-

tion was complete:" it also revised its former decrees, completed the constitutional act, removed the suspension imposed upon his majesty, and left him at full liberty either to accept or refuse it.

The king addressed the assembly by letter, on the 13th of September, and stated that he had given his sanction to the constitution: on the succeeding day, he repaired in person to the hall, and affixed his signature; a decree was accordingly issued, by which it was enjoined that the king's solemn declaration should be proclaimed throughout the empire, and that all prisoners confined for debt should be set at liberty.

The legislature, having concluded the object of its mission, and afforded a prospect of freedom to the nation, dissolved itself on the 30th of the same month; the president having proclaimed, "that the national assembly declares its power to be at an end, and that it will sit no longer."

Thus ended the labours of the first, commonly called the Constituent Assembly, which possessed a number of distinguished members, and a collection of talents scarcely to be surpassed in the annals of any nation upon earth. Amongst these, were a number of persons who have since distinguished themselves in the various periods of the war, and some of whom have outlived the events that expelled the Bourbon race of kings from the throne, and witnessed a revolution still more extraordinary, by which the sovereigns of that house have again been restored to the throne of France. Amongst these are found the name of the ABBÉ SIEYÈS, a catholic priest, at once a profound metaphysician, and an adept in the formation of constitutions: TALLEYRAND, who, by living in habits of familiarity with the most celebrated men of the age, had enhanced his own reputation: yet at the period in question, acquired less notice by his talents in the pulpit and the tribune, than by his activity in the committees, and his facility in the penning of popular addresses to the nation: and the ABBÉ MAURY, since invested with the Roman purple, who had acquired considerable preferment by the splendour of his clerical talents. Such however was the attachment of the Abbe to the ancient government, that he wished to countenance its very abuses. Possessed of a ready wit, he was indebted for his life to a joke;* and his happy talent at unpremeditated oratory rendered him the second man in the assembly. MIRABEAU was assuredly the first.

* "Eh! Messieurs, quand vous m'aurez mis a la lanterne, y verrez-vous plus clair!"—Ah! Sirs when you have hung me to the lamp-post, do you think you will see any better?

At the first meeting of the second or Legislative Assembly, the constitutional act was introduced with great ceremony, and every deputy in succession ascending the rostrum, and placing his hand on the original, swore to maintain the constitution decreed during the years 1789, 1790, and 1791. Previous to the appearance of the king, the mode in which he was to be received and addressed underwent a long discussion; and it was determined that the expression of "*Sire*" should be omitted, as partaking of the feudal forms, and that of "*majesty*," as incompatible with a limited monarchy.

The emigration now became greater than before, and the roads were covered with the nobles and priests, who fled in all directions. Some repaired to England, others reached Austrian Flanders and the Electorates, but the chief place of rendezvous was Coblentz. The French princes resorted to that city: the ancient household troops of the king were re-established there, all the ceremonial of Versailles was practised, and the Prince of Condé actually began to assemble an army of malcontents.

On this, the assembly passed a decree (October 14th), declaring Louis Stanislaus Xavier to have forfeited his eventual right to the regency, if he did not return within the space of two months: by another, all the French thus assembled were proclaimed traitors; while a third, drawn up in the form of a manifesto, renounced in future all wars for the sake of aggrandizement. But neither did the two first of these, nor a law passed against the nonjuring clergy, receive the sanction of the king, who opposed his *veto*, by the advice of Lameth and Barnave, members of the former assembly, whom he was pleased to consult upon this critical occasion.

In fine, although Louis XVI. had made many sacrifices, he had not regained his popularity: and it is only necessary to take a superficial view of the kingdom at this eventful period, in order to prognosticate some of the various evils that speedily ensued.

SECTION VI.

FRANCE at this moment was distracted by contending parties. The king was averse to a constitution to which he had reluctantly sworn. Around the royal standard, appeared to be assembled a remnant of the ancient nobility, and all those devoted by place, sentiment, attachment, or prejudice to the crown. On the other hand, the popular cause was sustained in the assembly by a decided majority; Paris, Bourdeaux, Marseilles, all the great cities

now participating in a municipal jurisdiction, were devoted to it; and as it had as yet been uncontaminated by excess, a large portion of the population of Europe beheld the new order of affairs with a favourable eye. Many of the troops of the line, indeed, still entertained a secret enmity to a constitution, which, while it was calculated to benefit the people, and even themselves, lessened the power and influence of the prince; but an immense multitude of national guards, faithful alike to their interest and their oaths, were determined to maintain their new-born liberties at the expense of every thing dear to them. The ascendancy of the metropolis, now become the joint residence of the assembly and the king, contributed also to give a decided preponderance to the patriots, while the astonishing influence of the press scarcely admits of calculation. Every printing-house in the capital teemed with productions; and, in addition to innumerable hand and posting bills, journals, and regular periodical works, it has been estimated, that, during the first years of the revolution, not less than one hundred and fifty different pamphlets issued weekly from the shops of the booksellers.

Newspapers of all kinds, sizes, forms, and prices, from two duodecimo pages to two sheets, and from a halfpenny to a *livre*, were regularly published to the amount of about forty: the royalists possessed a few; the democratical party a multitude; the constitutionalists countenanced two or three; the ministers also had their favourite papers; and the king himself was persuaded to waste his civil list, to obtain the support of a few of the editors.

LANJUINAIS, a deputy to the states-general, and a president of the national assembly, was the founder of a political society called the Jacobin Club, which discussed a variety of important questions, and investigated the means of ensuring the safety and prosperity of the state. It originated in 1789, under the denomination of the Breton Club, in consequence of having been first established by the representatives of Brittany. When it was afterwards frequented by several of the deputies from the other provinces also, the members assumed the appellation of "The Friends of the People:" but they were at length better known by the place where they assembled, which was called the hall of the Jacobins, from having formerly belonged to a fraternity of Dominican friars, whose patron saint was St. James. The most celebrated orators, patriots, and politicians, for some time after its institution, considered it as an admirable engine for the sustenance of the public cause. All the zealots of democracy, all the decided enemies of the

court, all the foes of the privileged orders, and many of the most virtuous and moderate members of the assembly, at first appertained to it. Its ascendancy was not confined to Paris; with every city and with almost every village in France, it kept up a constant intercourse, by means of twenty thousand *affiliated* clubs, which looked up to the central meeting in the capital as a mother society, imbibed all its notions, diffused all its opinions, and propagated all its alarms. Such was its influence, that the legislative body was often guided by its decisions, the soldiers were permitted to leave their barracks in order to frequent its galleries, while the *red cap* of the president was seen by turns encircling the brows of the mayor of Paris, elected by the people, and the minister of state, nominated by the king.

But although its power had greatly increased, its character was manifestly on the wane. The incendiary motions, the outrageous proceedings, and the equivocal characters of many of the ruling members, had cast an indelible stain upon a society, which, after counterbalancing the influence of the court, and efficaciously serving the public cause, by the talents and zeal of those who had acquired for it a dangerous pre-eminence, was likely, at no distant period, to endanger the fabric of national liberty by its unqualified violence. The greater part of the deputies, and some respectable private individuals, had accordingly withdrawn, while the names of many of those most conspicuous for their virtue, patriotism, or oratorical powers, were erased from the list of members; and the committees were now regulated, and the chair filled, according to the secret suggestions of two or three ambitious and aspiring individuals.

But when it was abandoned by most of the other deputies, MAXIMILIAN ROBESPIERRE, one of the six who remained, acted frequently as president, and at length acquired a complete ascendancy. Gloomy, vindictive, ferocious, and at once replete with cowardice and malignity, such was his matchless hypocrisy, that he concealed his real character until he had triumphed over his enemies; and such his unabating envy, that he considered all those as enemies, whose superior talents and virtues had procured them a place in the public esteem. As yet, his reputation was unstained by crimes, but even now he appeared to be secretly contemplating an original and monstrous species of dominion, unknown before in any age or country, and alike alarming on account of its novelty and atrocity. The jacobins were the engine by which he purposed to execute the

suggestions of a gloomy ambition; and crimes which a Nero or a Caligula would scarcely have dared to imagine (although invested with the imperial purple, and surrounded by the satellites of despotism), were at length achieved with facility by a private individual, and that too in the name of "liberty!"

DANTON, first the associate, then the victim of Robespierre, and like him also an advocate by profession, seemed to be intended by nature for the tempestuous period in which he lived, and the bold and decisive character which he assumed. Open, daring, generous, and unreserved, he exhibited some good qualities in conjunction with many vices, but he was consumed by a devouring ambition.

MARAT, a native of Neuchâtel in Switzerland, was the creature of the two former, who not unfrequently protected him from well-merited punishment, and directed both his pen and his vengeance.

Such were the present leaders of that famous club, destined in a short time to regulate the fate of an empire: but they would never have been suffered to acquire so fatal a pre-eminence, had it not been for the open hostility of the court to the new constitution; the impolitic and insulting interference of foreign powers; and finally, a war equally hostile and repugnant to the pride, freedom, and independence of a great nation.

While the present leaders of the jacobins scarcely concealed their wish to dethrone the king, and either nominate a new dynasty to the throne, or erect a republic on its ruins, a rival society existed, the members of which, under a name (Constitutionnels) expressive of an implicit attachment to the new constitution, were desirous of a legislature consisting of two houses: many of them also had now made their peace with the court, and were even devoted to it. In consequence of a schism among "the friends of the people," Talleyrand, then Bishop of Autun; Emery, a member of the assembly; the Dukes de Rochefoucault and Liancourt; the two Lameths; La Fayette, and many others, had left that celebrated society, and determined to found another. They at first assembled in the magnificent hotel belonging to the younger Crillon, son of the conqueror of Minorca; and when they became more numerous, assumed the appellation of "The Club of 1789:" but they were afterwards better known by the name of the convent of the *Féculiers*, which they hired, because the hall, being large and spacious, was calculated for their debates.

While these two formidable societies evinced a rooted hatred to each other, and

were both in their turn detested by the royalists; the legislative assembly, neither equal in point of talents nor of energy to the states-general, began to be split into parties, and at times exhibited some pre-sages of that intolerant spirit which, soon after the convocation of the convention, involved France in blood and calamity. The power and influence of the court, however, still contributed to produce a certain degree of apparent union, and it was not until the royal family had been made prisoners, and the monarchy itself was dissolved, that the blood of the advocates of liberty flowed on the same scaffold that had received the victims of aristocracy, and the founders of the republic began to proscribe each other with an envenomed rancour, that admitted neither of compromise nor of mercy.

The GIRONDISERS, so called from the department whence they were deputed, possessed great influence in the legislative body at this period, and were equally celebrated for their talents and integrity, but they were far better calculated to rule in the halcyon days of tranquillity, than to preside amidst the awful storm that was about to ensue.

One of the leading members of this party was BRISOT, chairman of the diplomatic committee, the son of an obscure plebeian, but originally bred to the bar; who had been imprisoned in the Bastille; and had the singular good fortune to have presented to him, as president of a committee or his district, the keys of that odious prison, in which he had been immured:—VERENIAUX, a native of Limoges, and one of the representatives of Bourdeaux; and GENSONNE, an advocate of the same city, were likewise distinguished members of this society; which comprehended also in its number, GUADET, late president of the criminal tribunal of Gironde, and CONDORCET, one of the forty members of the French academy, whose learning and talents conferred a lustre on the party that obtained his support. Such were the principal leaders of a party, sometimes termed the Girondists, and sometimes the Brissotins, which, at the epoch to which we now allude, maintained a steady preponderance in the legislative assembly, as well as in the city of Paris; Petion, the mayor, and many others of the municipal magistrates being devoted to it.

Upwards of forty different ministers, during the short space of fourteen years, had already been called in at different times to support the tottering edifice of the monarchy. Louis XVI. had by turns employed the frivolous Maurepas, the virtuous Turgot, the indefatigable Sartine, the politic Vergennes, the weak and tyrannical

Brienne, the faulty but well-meaning La-maignon, the amiable Malesherbes, the prodigal Calonne, the economical Necker, the wily Montmorin, and the impotent De-lessart; of these, not above two or three exhibited any talents for government, and the others contributed in their turn, less by their wishes than their misconduct, to the revolution.

The present administration, which the courtiers sometimes termed the *jacobin*, and sometimes the *sans culotte*, consisted of six members, and exhibited a striking contrast, both in respect to talents and principles. DUMOURIEZ, the minister for foreign affairs, had been a soldier of fortune; he was employed in 1757, as a commissary at war, in the army of M. d'Etrees, and having conceived an attachment to a military life, procured a cornetcy of horse, and was wounded in the battle of Emstetten. After having obtained the rank of a captain, he was dismissed at the end of the war with the cross of St. Louis, which he had merited by his bravery, and a pension, no part of which was ever received by him. His colleagues were LACOSTE, who was appointed to the marine department; DURANTON, an advocate, to the place of minister of justice; CLAVIERE, a banker, and native of Geneva, to the administration of the finances; and ROLAND, a member of the jacobin society, to the home department.

Such was the administration selected at this critical moment for the government of France. Most of the members were odious to the king: some were beloved by, and others suspected by the jacobins; but they were all alike abhorred by the Feuillants. They were accordingly abused in the newspapers devoted to the cause of the monarchy and the aristocracy: they were also ridiculed by the courtiers, treated with contempt by the *grandeess*, and so much were they hated within the precincts of royalty, that if we are to believe one of themselves,* the body-guards always assumed a menacing air, when they appeared at the castle of the Tuilleries.

No sooner had the new ministry commenced the exercise of their functions, than they were surrounded by a multitude of dangers and difficulties, both domestic and foreign, whence they found it extremely difficult to extricate either their country or themselves. The new body-guard of the king had been lately augmented from eighteen hundred to nearly six thousand men, by means of disaffected persons, commanded by officers who had quitted their respective regiments because they would

* Memoires du General Dumouriez ecrit par lui-meme tome II.

not subscribe the civic oath: and it was with great difficulty that the king was at length induced to promise his acquiescence with the wishes of the legislature to disband them. The struggle was still greater on all occasions in which the interests of the dissident clergy were concerned; nor could he be prevailed upon to withdraw his countenance from that body, which was encouraged in its opposition by knowing that the conscience of the monarch was regulated by a ghostly director of the same principles.

In the mean time, a portentous cloud now collecting in the north, threatened to burst suddenly upon France, and overwhelm a distracted nation with misery and despair. But it may here be necessary to survey the European hemisphere, in order to discover the quarter where this new storm was generated, and after making ourselves acquainted with the nature and intenseness of the elements of which it was composed, endeavour to calculate its direction, and estimate its force.

SECTION VII.

FRANCE, as we have already seen, had limited the power of her kings, and established a constitution for the nation, faulty indeed, like all human institutions, but certainly preferable to the ancient despotism. In accomplishing this object, the national constituent assembly exercised only the acknowledged right of internal regulation appertaining to every independent state; but it was soon apparent that these essential reforms had given umbrage to several of the absolute princes on the continent.

SPAIN, feeling indignant at the late memorable events, and the court acting under the influence of the queen and a favourite, disposed Charles IV. to depart from those principles of sage neutrality, which had long regulated his conduct. PORTUGAL, following the train of Great Britain, was not yet stimulated to war. SARDINIA, under the government of the house of Savoy, united to the royal family of France by a double marriage, was of course alive to the interests of the Bourbon family on that throne, and disposed to support such measures as might be thought conducive to the security of the sovereign and his family, and calculated to re-establish the splendour of his crown. PIUS VI., now sovereign pontiff, mourned over the schisms of the Gallican church, and launched forth the thunders of Rome against her undutiful children. FREDERICK IV. listened to his family connexions rather than the interest of his subjects, and involved the kingdom

of NAPLES in a quarrel foreign to his interests.

ENGLAND, at this period, seemed to be conscious of the immense advantages arising to a great manufacturing and commercial state, from the adoption of a wise and rigorous system of neutrality. Many obvious motives enforced the policy of peace. An immense national debt called aloud for a system of economy, and the pressure of the existing taxes seemed to render any increase burdensome to the nation. Many of the people, too, had hitherto rejoiced at the progress of liberty in France, and felt a generous indignation against those princes, who presumed to meddle in her internal disputes; while a king now finally seated on the throne of the Stuarts, was indebted for the elevation of his family to a revolution founded, like the present, on the rights of a nation.

The court of COPENHAGEN, while it beheld its king reduced to a state of the most deplorable imbecility, experienced a rare instance of good fortune in having its affairs conducted by an amiable regent and a sagacious minister. Wholly intent on the happiness and prosperity of those committed to their charge, the prince royal and the count de Bernstorff were adverse to intermeddling in the internal polity of other nations.

It was far otherwise with another of the Baltic powers, though but just released from the burden of a disastrous war. SWEDEN, which by turns has enjoyed liberty, and suddenly relapsed into servitude, was now under the dominion of a prince, who languished for an opportunity of distinguishing himself by his exploits. But from some cause, still involved in considerable obscurity, Gustavus III. fell by the hand of a titled assassin,* leaving to a minor son an immense debt, as well as an impoverished and distracted country. (9)

The genius of one man civilized Russia and by erecting a capital on the shore of the Baltic, rendered his native country a preponderating power in the scale of European politics. In Catharine II. was found a successor, in many respects, worthy of himself. This ambitious female, following the track prescribed by her illustrious precursor, had conceived the gigantic enterprise of chasing the Turks from Europe,

* Ankerstroem.

(9) The cause of the assassination of Gustavus has never, we believe, been at all doubtful. The indignation of the nobility at his conduct in reducing their overgrown power, led to a conspiracy against him. Three of that body cast lots to determine by whom the blow should be given, and the choice fell upon Ankerstroem.

substituting the Greek cross for the Turkish crescent on the walls of Constantinople, and creating a new empire in the east. The revolution which had recently occurred in France made her pause, however, in the midst of her victories: Sweden was permitted to breathe from slaughter; and the Ottoman Porte now found itself more indebted to her policy than to her moderation for its existence.

But it was from another quarter that France was doomed at this period to be assailed. While employed in the extension and security of her liberties, amidst the struggle, with a reluctant monarch, a discontented priesthood, and a hostile nobility, she was menaced at the same time by a sudden and portentous combination of two great military states,—PRUSSIA, under the dominion of Frederick William, and AUSTRIA, under the Emperor Leopold, brother to Maria Antoinette, Queen of France.

Affected by the situation of the king, alarmed for the fate of a sister, and perhaps desirous also to signalize his reign by some brilliant exploit, Leopold seems to have determined on a war, which, unable to prosecute in his own person, he was forced to bequeath as a legacy to his son and successor, Francis II. While visiting his Italian dominions in 1791, he is said to have concerted a plan with the envoys of two great powers* for intermeddling with the internal concerns of a third,† and soon after the celebrated interviews took place between his Imperial majesty and the King of Prussia, at Pillnitz; in consequence of which, measures of an alarming nature were said to have been adopted relative to France; and, if we are to give credit to assertions, the dismemberment of that kingdom was actually determined upon. It is proper, however, to observe, that the authenticity of the treaty has been denied, and that no positive proof of its reality has ever yet been publicly adduced. (10) But it can no longer be denied that a formidable and hos-

tile combination was now actually formed against France; and in the place of Gustavus III., cut off by a sudden and violent death, Frederick William II. became the Agamemnon of the league. But although the most numerous and best disciplined armies in Europe were actually destined for the undertaking, yet even at this period, in whatever point of view France might be contemplated, her importance in the scale of European politics must be allowed to have been still immense. A central position afforded great advantages in point of celerity and exertion. A salubrious climate and an excellent soil were favourable to agriculture, trade, and manufactures. Her territories were at once compact and extensive, consisting of 157,924 square miles, according to the testimony of one author, and 160,000 of another.* Her population, calculated at from 24 to 25,000,000 of inhabitants, was greater than that of any other individual state on the old continent; she possessed upwards of one hundred cities and large towns, besides two hundred navigable rivers; her provinces were intersected in every direction with spacious roads; while an immense canal seemed to unite all the advantages of two distant seas, on purpose to embellish and enrich her empire. Part of her frontiers was at once defined and defended by the Alps, the Pyrenean mountains, and a triple chain of fortresses, either erected or improved by the genius of Vauban. Her shores were watered by the ocean, the Mediterranean, and the Channel, which seemed to unite the commerce of the Levant, the Atlantic, and the narrow seas; while her ports and harbours, some of which were formed by the hand of nature, and others by the unceasing industry of art, conferred great and inestimable advantages.

Nor did she appear less formidable in another point of view: for her revenues amounted to 18,000,000 pounds sterling,† while her standing army, as a peace establishment, was estimated at 136,000 effec-

* Lord Elgin and M. Bischofswerder.

† Tableau Histor. et Polit. de l'Europe, &c. par L. P. Ségur.

(10) That a treaty did exist between the Emperor of Germany, and the King of Prussia, the object of which was to restore Louis to the exercise of his full despotic power, has never, we believe, been denied. It has been referred to in many authentic state papers, and particularly in the address of the French princes, published in the year 1791. Many circumstances however have led to the belief that the anxiety manifested by these monarchs for the prerogatives of their fellow sovereign, was merely assumed as a cover to their design of subjecting France to the fate experienced by Poland. The authenticity of this treaty of partition has been denied by some of the English ministerial writers, but it has been asserted by M. Bertrand, formerly minister of Marine, under Louis

XVI., and the articles which were published in the Leyden Gazette were never contradicted by the allied courts.

* The following are the different estimates, the lowest of which has been quoted in the text;

Extent of France.

157,924 square miles, according to Necker.	
160,000.....	Busching.
163,000.....	Statistische Uebersicht

Population.

24,800,000 inhabitants	Necker.
25,300,000.....	Schloesser.
26,000,000.....	Busching.

† The gross amount of the public revenue was estimated by M. Necker at 600,000,000 livres, a sum equal to 25,000,000 sterling; and the whole of the public expenditure at 610,000,000 livres; but the Comptes Rendus states the net produce at only 18,000,000 sterling.

tive men,* and her navy consisted of seventy-two sail of the line.

Nor ought it to be omitted here, that France had experienced nearly eight years of repose since the conclusion of a war, during which her fleets had covered the ocean in both hemispheres, and in conjunction with those of her ally, had actually lorded it for a moment over the narrow seas.

But it must be allowed that this specious picture of prosperity was, in some respects, false and delusive; her territories, her cities, and her towns still remained; but her population was beginning to be diminished by emigration, and her strength seemed to be lessened by intestine divisions. Of her troops, some had declared for the people, and some for the king, while a large portion wavered between ancient principles and modern innovations. Her trade and commerce, acted upon by the general pressure, began to decay; the fine arts were in danger of being entirely neglected; her manufactures were already reduced to a languishing condition; a national debt, which even in 1784 was estimated at 3,400,000,000 livres;† which, after undermining the superstructure of the monarchy, threatened the new constitution with ruin; while the navy was suffered to fall into decay.

But, on the other hand, a body of national guards amounting to almost four millions of fighting men, the spirit infused by a love of liberty, the energy produced by the collision of opinions, the hope arising out of a better form of government, and even the despair incident to such a novel and disastrous situation, operated as so many resources, unknown to the ancient monarchy. To these considerations, may be added the well known fact, established upon the testimony of history, that associations for the purpose of conquest prove in general less fatal to the state against which they are directed than to the powers in whose behalf they are formed.

* The army of France has been generally calculated at 150,000 men; and it appears that in 1784, she actually possessed a total of 212,924, if we are to credit a work entitled "Etat Milit. de France, par Roussel, pour l'Année 1785."

† See "A collection of state papers relative to the war with France."

It was assuredly the interest, and appears also to have been the general wish, of the French, after they had attained their liberties, to cultivate the inestimable blessings that arise out of freedom and tranquillity. But this happiness was interdicted. Several of the great continental powers clearly indicated by their movements that numerous armies would soon be brought into action; and those Frenchmen who had either fled or been driven from their native country, already appeared in arms as the precursors of their vengeance.

At this momentous period, the court of Vienna judged it expedient to interfere in certain domestic negotiations carrying on between France and the German powers, for an indemnity on account of their claims in Alsace; and in the course of these negotiations, the emperor, by his minister Cobentzel, insisted on the re-establishment of the French monarchy as it was in June, 1789; the restitution of the property of the clergy; the reinstatement of the German princes in their feudal claims on Alsace; and the restoration of Avignon and Venassin to the sovereign pontiff. The minister for foreign affairs now deemed it incumbent on him to deliver a report to the assembly, containing an account of the proceedings of this cabinet, and inferred, from the hopeless state of the negotiations, that the nation ought to consider itself in a *state of war*. The indignation was general on hearing the terms exacted in the name of the emperor; it was asked, by what right did the court of Vienna pretend to interpose, either in the internal affairs of an independent nation, or in a dispute about a territorial possession between France and the pope, or France and the German princes? All exclaimed that it was necessary to maintain the glory of their country; and the idea of hostilities, hitherto so much dreaded, became at length popular.

Negotiations were now at an end. The fatal decision of all the hostile parties was taken; and Europe had to witness one of the most sanguinary wars ever recorded in her annals, attended by a succession of political events that, by the rapidity of their occurrence, and the magnitude of their consequences, stand unparalleled in the history of the world.

HISTORY OF THE WARS

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

BOOK I.

1792.

CHAPTER I.

Military Preparations—French Decree of War—Commencement of Hostilities—Excess on the 20th of June—War declared against France by the allied Sovereigns—The Duke of Brunswick appointed Generalissimo—His Manifesto—Its immediate Consequences—Military Force of the Confederates—Plan of Operations.

EUROPE at this moment presented one vast theatre of hostile preparation. PRUSSIA, SWEDEN, and RUSSIA, had entered into engagements for the restoration of the ancient despotism of France. GERMANY, though no party to these engagements, was collecting a large army on the Netherland frontier of France, which was represented as a measure of mere defence; and the French emigrants continued to form themselves into military bodies in the Electorates of Germany, and to menace their distracted country with invasion. These hostile indications, which could no longer be mistaken, awakened the national assembly of France to a sense of the perilous situation of their country; and the king, who had done every thing in his power to avert an appeal to arms, at length repaired to the assembly on the 20th of April, and in concluding a speech to his senators, said:—"Frenchmen, prefer war to a ruinous anxiety, and to a humiliating situation, that alike affects our constitution and our dignity. I come, therefore, in the terms of the constitution, to propose to you formally to declare war against the King of Bohemia and Hungary."

The diplomatic committee immediately withdrew to deliberate on the proposition made by his majesty, and on their return presented the following "DECREE OF WAR," which was adopted by the legislative body, on the 20th of April, with only seven dissentient voices:

"The national assembly, deliberating on the formal proposition of the king, considering that the court of Vienna, in contempt of treaties, has continued to grant an open protection to the French

rebels; that it has excited and formed a league, in concert with several powers of Europe, against the independence and security of the nation:

"That Francis I., King of Hungary and Bohemia, has by his notes of the 18th of March, and 7th of April last, refused to renounce this league;

"That notwithstanding the proposition made to him by the note of March 11, 1792, to reduce, on both sides, to a peace establishment, the troops on the frontiers, he has continued and increased his hostile preparations;

"That he has formally infringed the sovereignty of the French nation, by declaring that he would support the pretensions of the German princes who have possessions in France, to whom the French nation have continued to hold out indemnities;

"That he has attempted to divide the French citizens, and to arm them against one another, by holding out support to the mal-contente, by means of a combination of foreign powers:

"Considering, in fine, that the refusal of an answer to the last despatches of the King of the French, leaves no longer any hope to obtain, by the means of amicable negotiations, the redress of these different grievances, and amounts to a declaration of war; decrees, that there exists a case of urgency:

"The national assembly accordingly declares, that the French nation, faithful to the principles consecrated by the constitution, not to undertake any war with the view of making conquests, and never to employ its force against the rights of any people, but only to take up arms in defence of their liberty and independence; that the war into which they are now compelled to enter, is not a contest of nation against nation, but the just defence of a free people against the unjust oppression of a monarch;

"That the French will never confound their brethren with their enemies; that they will neglect nothing to soften the rigours of war; to preserve property, and prevent it from sustaining any injury, as well as to bring down upon the heads of those alone who league themselves against liberty, all the evils inseparable from hostilities;

"That they will adopt all those foreigners who, abjuring the cause of their enemies, shall join their standard, and consecrate their efforts to the defence of freedom; and that the national assembly will favour, by all the means in its power, their establishment in France :

"The national assembly, accordingly, after deliberating on the formal propositions of the King of the French, hereby decrees war against the King of Hungary and Bohemia."

Although, in consequence of the necessary formalities, it was late in the evening before the representatives of the nation had assented to the demand of his majesty, this decree was immediately carried to the palace by a deputation of twenty-four members, and the next day received the royal sanction. This intelligence was communicated by extraordinary couriers to all the ambassadors at foreign courts, and also to all the departments. Prompt and vigorous means were adopted for increasing the troops, supplying the garrisons, and furnishing the magazines; measures, which however obvious, had hitherto been most shamefully neglected; and such was the deficiency of fire-arms, in particular, that agents were despatched to different parts of Europe, and even to America, on purpose to obtain them.

The assembly also published an address to the citizens armed for the defence of their country, which tended not a little to inflame the minds of the people, and infuse a martial spirit into the nation.

"The fate of our liberty," said they, "that perhaps of the whole world, is in our hands. We do not tell you of our confidence: like *your courage*, it is unbounded. We have not provoked the war; and when the king proposed to us, at length, to avenge the outrage committed against the dignity of the nation, we resisted for a long time the wish expressed by the general indignation of the French. A free people recurs to arms with regret, but it does not recur in vain. The shame and tortures incident to an eternal servitude, would not be an adequate punishment for a nation who should suffer their liberty to be wrested from them after having conquered it.

"And what object can be more worthy of your courage? The period is passed in which French warriors, the docile instruments of one man's will, armed themselves only to defend the interests, the caprice, or the passions of kings. At present, yourselves, your children, your own rights, are to be defended. We must conquer, or we must return to the dominion of feudal privileges, of arbitrary imprisonment, and of every sort of vexation, oppression, and servitude. Your own individual happiness, the happiness of all those who are dear to you, is thus intimately connected with the safety of the country.

"But those are unworthy to defend it, who do not add virtue to courage. The men whom we fight to-day, are our brothers: to-morrow, perhaps, they will be our friends. Intrepid in battle; firm during misfortunes; modest after victory; generous to the vanquished; such are a free people.

"The laws will punish with just severity all outrages against the rights of nations, and the still more sacred rights of nature. Rewards, on the contrary, will attend faithful warriors; their names

will obtain for ever the gratitude and the homage of the friends of liberty; and, if they die in battle, their children shall be the children of their country.

"As for us, immovable in the midst of political storms, we will carefully watch over all the machinations of all the enemies of the empire. The world shall determine whether we are the representatives of a great people, or the timid subjects of an arbitrary king. We have sworn not to capitulate either with pride or tyranny: we will keep our oath — 'Death! death! or victory and equality!'"

This address was immediately succeeded by offers of voluntary contributions from numerous classes of society, and demands from some of them to be sent to the posts of the greatest danger, "in order that kings, their valets, and princes, might know the men of the 14th of July."

The next concern of the assembly was to provide a sufficient force for the exigencies of the state, and for this purpose a vote was passed, by which it was enacted, that the army should be increased to 450,000 men, and that a sum of money amounting to 300,000,000 livres, in government paper, called *assignats*, should be placed at the disposal of ministers, to support and uphold that large military establishment.

It is proper to observe that Great Britain took no part in the campaign of 1792, and that as soon as it was known that there was a war on the continent, a proclamation was published by the king, prohibiting all his subjects from taking any part in it, by accepting commissions from either party, fitting out privateers or letters of marque by virtue of such commission, or serving on board any ship of war belonging to one of the belligerent powers, against the other: and in his speech to both houses of parliament on the 15th of June, he thus expresses himself:—"In the present situation of affairs, it shall be my principal care to maintain that harmony and good understanding which subsists between me and the several belligerent powers, and to preserve to my people the uninterrupted blessings of peace."

The command of the French army destined to act against Germany, which consisted of three separate bodies of troops, extending from Switzerland to Dunkirk, was confided to three commanders of approved talents. The Marshal Rochambeau, who had acquired renown in the seven years' war, commanded an army of from 30,000 to 35,000 men in the north, and took up his head-quarters at Valenciennes, having under his command d'Arville, Biron, Delbeck, and D'Aumont. The Marquis de la Fayette, who had distinguished himself in America, commanded the army of the centre, and while he occupied Nancy, Thionville, and Luneville, established his

head-quarters at Mentz, having at his disposal an army of 20,000, and under his command de Wittgenstein, de Bellemont, Crillon, Parquet, and Defranc. While the army of the Rhine, consisting of 50,000 men, and placed under the command of Marshal Luckner, a foreigner, extended itself from Landau to the frontiers of Switzerland : in this army, Berthier, Lameth, and Jary had subordinate stations.

The first operations of the French army were directed against the Low Countries, usually called the Austrian Netherlands. To this vulnerable point, the attention of both ministers and generals was directed, but the plan of operations marked out by Dumouriez, who conducted the war department, was at variance with that proposed by the generals, and it is not difficult to trace the disasters which soon afterwards fell upon the French army, to these conflicting councils. The plan laid down by the cabinet was precisely the same as that which General Dumouriez himself afterwards carried into execution, and according to which there were to be two real and two false attacks.* But the three generals, without consulting the cabinet, had concerted among themselves a different scheme for obtaining the same object, by which La Fayette was to have been intrusted with the execution of the enterprise against the Low Countries, at the head of 50,000 men, supported by a second army under Rochambeau, while a third was destined to take possession of Mentz.†

On the first of May, General Dillon, with a force consisting of ten squadrons of cavalry, marched from Lisle towards Tournay; this force was opposed by a body of Austrians, under Count d'Happencourt, and the French troops, not being yet accustomed to sustain the fire of regular soldiers, were soon thrown into disorder. Their general did what he could to rally them, but in vain. Struck with a universal panic, the whole body fled precipitately, and were pursued to the gates of Lisle. No sooner had General Dillon entered that city, than he was murdered by his fugitive soldiers, and his dead body torn in pieces by the mob, under pretence of his having betrayed his troops to the enemy :‡ Lieutenant-co-

lonel Berthois, of the engineers, shared the same fate, and the surviving officers were stigmatized as *aristocrats*.

The same day another expedition, consisting of ten thousand men, under Lieutenant-general Biron, directed their march towards Mons. They took possession of Quievrain without opposition; but when they arrived in sight of Mons, they found the heights before the city occupied by a considerable body of Austrians. This determined Biron to wait for news of the attack upon Tournay, before he proceeded to action. But a part of his right wing were attacked about five o'clock in the evening by the Austrians, whom they repulsed. Notwithstanding this success, two regiments of his cavalry mounted their horses without orders, about ten o'clock, and moved off to the left of the camp. The general, observing this, rode after them alone and unarmed. But they, being on a quick trot, carried him along with them for more than a league :—nor could he procure a hearing, while they all cried out that they were betrayed. At length, however, they were prevailed with to listen to him, and he succeeded so far as to bring them all back to the camp, except about forty or fifty, who proceeded to Valenciennes, reporting that the whole army was betrayed by their general, who had deserted to the Austrians. Next morning, which was the 30th of April, Biron, having been informed of the failure of Dillon, began his retreat; and leaving a part of his army to keep possession of Quievrain, he led the rest to a camp which he had formerly occupied in that neighbourhood. The party who had been left in Quievrain were soon driven thence by a body of Hulus. Biron, finding his camp not tenable, while the enemy was in possession of that place, determined to attempt its recovery, which he effected. But not being able to keep it without reinforcements, he was obliged to give it up; and leaving his camp and his whole train of artillery to the enemy, he retreated with the utmost precipitation to Valenciennes. In this expedition, the French lost a number of men, by hunger and fatigue, as well as by the sword of their opponents.

The third expedition consisted only of fourteen hundred infantry, and two hundred and fifty horse, under the command of M. Carl. These presented themselves before Furnes; and upon their declaring that they came, not to make war upon the Flemings, but to treat them as brethren, the magistrates offered them the keys of their gates.

that day voted him funeral honours, and provided both for his family, and for the widow and children of Lieutenant-colonel Peter Francois Berthois.

* See "La Vie du General Dumouriez, tome II."

† Tableau Hist. and Polit. de l'Europe, par P. Segur, tom. II. p. 239.

‡ Count Theobald Dillon, descended from an ancient Irish family, which had followed the fortunes of the house of Stuart, was a colonel in the service of France anterior to the revolution, and had recently been invested with the rank of *marschal de camp*. It was at first asserted, even in Paris, that he had betrayed his army and deserved his fate; but the national assembly did justice to his memory, June 9, 1792, having on

But the failure of the general plan obliged Carl also to retreat; and he arrived at Dunkirk without effecting any thing.

In the mean time, M. la Fayette, who had the command of the main army, had orders to proceed to Givet, where he was to be on the 30th of the month; and they with the other armies under Dillon, Biron, and Rochambeau, were to form a general rendezvous in the heart of the Austrian Netherlands. La Fayette, having collected a train of seventy-eight pieces of cannon, sent it off with a large convoy under the command of M. Narbonne, who marched fifty-six leagues in the space of five days; he himself followed with the rest of the army, and arrived on the day appointed; but the failure of Dillon and Biron rendered this expedition also in a great measure abortive, though La Fayette continued to keep his ground.

The Austrian army, on the contrary, was a considerable time before it was able to act on the offensive, and it was not till the 17th of May that it made an attack upon Bavai, and took the garrison prisoners. As soon as the French were informed of this, M. Noailles was sent against the enemy with a vanguard of cavalry, accompanied by Marshal Luckner himself. Marshal Rochambeau followed with a body of infantry to support him; but before their arrival the Austrians had retreated, carrying with them a considerable quantity of forage, which seems to have been their principal object.

La Fayette's army occupied the tract of country extending from Givet to Bouvines. His advanced guard, under the command of M. Gouvion, being employed in foraging, were attacked on the 23d of May near Florennes, by a body of Austrians, who obliged them to retreat with the loss of twenty tents, three pieces of cannon, and nearly one hundred men killed and wounded. Another attack was made upon them near Maubege on the 11th of June. Gouvion, as soon as he perceived their designs, sent off his camp equipage to that town, and began a retreating fight. La Fayette, having received intelligence of his danger, sent him a considerable reinforcement, under Narbonne, who fell upon the flank of the Austrians, while La Fayette himself, advanced against them with the main army. This obliged them to retreat, leaving some killed and wounded behind them. In this skirmish, the French lost Gouvion, who was esteemed one of their best generals; but the troops which he had commanded took possession of their former post.

In the month of June, the armies of France made some progress in the Netherlands. They obtained possession of Courtenay, Ypres, Menin, and some other places

of less importance. But they did not long enjoy these conquests. Being informed that the Austrians and Prussians were bearing down upon them in two columns, with a force much superior to their own, they retreated to Valenciennes and Givet.

While these events occurred in the field, the French cabinet was distracted by angry contests, which terminated in the resignation of Marshal Rochambeau, the commander-in-chief of the northern army, and of M. de Grave, the minister for the war department; the former of whom was succeeded by Luckner, and the latter by Servan. The determination of the king not to give the royal assent to a decree for embodying 20,000 men in the neighbourhood of Paris, and his objecting to discard his confessor, who had refused to recognise the new order of things, produced an intemperate letter from Roland to his majesty, which led not only to his removal from the cabinet, but also to the dismissal of Servans and Clavieres, and after some other changes they were succeeded by a new administration, of the Feuilleant party.

In the mean time, a great change had taken place in the public mind in Paris, and the conduct of the king had generated suspicions, which the dismissal of Roland, one of the Girondists, had tended considerably to increase. On the 20th of June, the suburbs of St. Antoine were perceived to be in commotion: and one Santerre, who placed himself at the head of the mob, produced a petition to the king for the dismissal of the new administration, and the withdrawing of the *veto*, by means of which he had been persuaded to suspend the execution of several decrees. An immense multitude then commenced their march, armed with pikes, preceded by two pieces of cannon, and accompanied by a crowd of women: increasing as they advanced, they at length reached the assembly, and having halted some time, deputed a few persons to require permission to present their homage, and file through its hall. They then proceeded to the palace, which was shut; but they soon burst their way, in spite of every opposition, and arrived in the presence of his majesty, to whom they read their petition. Louis XVI. exhibited on this occasion a degree of courage, which had been supposed wholly incompatible with his character; neither the threats nor howlings of this insolent mob could prevail upon him to alter his intentions, or withdraw his *veto*; but he was under the necessity of wearing the red cap, the symbol of the jacobins, which was placed on his head by the hands of a man inebriated with liquor, and ejaculating the most terrible oaths.

At length, in consequence of a long and

animated speech delivered by Vergniaux, who placed himself on the shoulders of one of the mob, and a few words from Petion, mayor of Paris, the populace were persuaded to retire, without committing the least injury against any part of the royal family. This visit to the Tuilleries was only a prelude to one far more terrible; for though the Girondists, who only wished for a popular administration, always exhibited a laudable aversion to the shedding of blood; yet it was otherwise with their rivals, who now began to display a degree of ferocity hitherto unexampled in any age or country. It must be confessed, on the other hand, that the new ministers did not enjoy the confidence of the people; and that the hostile preparations at the castle, the retention of a body of Swiss guards, in express opposition to the laws, and the seduction of some battalions of the national volunteers, tended not a little to irritate the minds of the Parisians.

On the 14th of July, the anniversary of the federation, when Louis approached the altar to renew his oath, a thousand tongues denounced him as a perjured prince; and it was with some difficulty that the Swiss guards and the national grenadiers could ensure his safety amidst the immense and exasperated crowd that surrounded him.* His enemies, however, were divided in respect to his punishment; Brissot, Vergniaux, and the other popular leaders, desirous to act in compliance with the constitution, repeatedly invoked the assembly to depose him; but the jacobins, in conformity with the violence of their character, were for recurring to more desperate measures.

On the 29th of April, a declaration of war against France was promulgated in the names of Maria Christiana, Princess Royal of Hungary and Bohemia, and Albert Casimir, Prince Royal of Poland and Lithuania, the Governors-general of the Austrian Low Countries. This proclamation was followed, on the 5th of July, by a counter declaration against France, on the part of Francis II. King of Hungary and Bohemia, and on the 26th of the same month, Frederick William II. published a concise exposition of the reasons which determined Prussia to take up arms against France. It was at this crisis, that the armies of the allied sovereigns, amounting to 80,000 of the best troops in Europe, accompanied by a formidable band of expatriated nobles, were about to enter France under the command of the Duke of Brunswick, a leader who had served with distinguished reputa-

tion under Frederick the Great, and who had gained fresh laurels by the sudden conquest of Holland. On the arrival of the duke at Coblenz, with the first division of his army, he was proclaimed generalissimo, and on the 25th of July, he put forth a manifesto, explanatory of the reasons which actuated the allied sovereigns in taking up arms against France, and pointing out the line of conduct which would be pursued by the invading army towards that nation. This memorable document was expressed in the following terms:—

DECLARATION.

Addressed by his most Serene Highness, the reigning Duke of Brunswick Lunenburg, commanding the combined Armies of their Majesties the Emperor and the King of Prussia, to the inhabitants of France.

"Their Majesties the Emperor and the King of Prussia having intrusted me with the command of the combined armies, assembled on the frontiers of France, I think it my duty to inform the inhabitants of that kingdom of the motives which have influenced the conduct of the two sovereigns, and of the principles by which they are guided.

"After arbitrarily suppressing the rights and invading the possessions of the German princes in Alsace and Lorraine; after having disturbed and overthrown, in the interior part of the kingdom, all order and lawful government; after having been guilty of the most daring attacks, and having had recourse to the most violent measures, which are still daily renewed, against the most sacred person of the king, and against his august family; those who have seized on the reins of government have, at length, filled the measure of their guilt, by declaring an unjust war against his Majesty the Emperor, and by invading his provinces of the Low Countries. Some of the possessions belonging to the German empire have been equally exposed to the same oppression, and many others have avoided the danger only by yielding to the impetuous threats of the domineering party and their emissaries.

"His Majesty the King of Prussia, united with his Imperial Majesty in the bands of the strictest defensive alliance, and as a preponderant member himself of the Germanic body, could not refuse marching to the assistance of his ally and his co-estates. It is under this double relation that he undertakes the defence of that monarch and of Germany.

"To these high interests is added another important object, and which both sovereigns have most cordially in view, which is, to put an end to the anarchy which prevails in the interior parts of France, to put a stop to the attacks made on the throne and the altar, to restore the king to his legitimate power, to liberty, and to safety, of which he is now deprived, and to place him in such a situation, that he may exercise that legitimate authority to which he is entitled.

"Convinced that the sober part of the nation detest the excesses of a faction which has enslaved them, and that the majority of the inhabitants wait with impatience the moment when succours shall arrive to declare themselves openly against the odious enterprises of their oppressors; his Majesty the Emperor, and his Majesty the King of Prussia, earnestly invite them to return without delay

* *Precis Historique de la Revolution, par Lacretielle, p. 257.*

into the paths of reason and of justice, of order and peace. It is with this view, that I, the under-written general commandant-in-chief of the two armies, do declare—

"1st. That, drawn into the present war by irresistible circumstances, the two allied courts have no other object in view than the welfare of France, without any pretence to enrich themselves by making conquests.

"2dly. That they do not mean to meddle with the internal government of France, but that they simply intend to deliver the king, the queen, and the royal family, from their captivity, and to ensure to his most Christian Majesty, that safety which is necessary for his making, without danger and without obstacles, such convocations as he shall judge proper, and for endeavouring to ensure the welfare of his subjects, according to his promises, and to the utmost of his power.

"3dly. That the combined armies shall protect the towns, bourgs, and villages, as well as the persons and property, of all those who shall submit to the king; and that they will concur in the restoration of order and police throughout France.

"4thly. That the national guards are called upon to preserve provisionally tranquillity in towns and in the country, to provide for the personal safety and property of all Frenchmen until the arrival of the troops belonging to their Imperial and Royal Majesties, or until orders be given to the contrary, on pain of being personally responsible; that on the contrary, such national guards as shall fight against the troops of the two allied courts, and who shall be taken with arms in their hands, shall be treated as enemies, and punished as rebels to their king, and as disturbers of the public peace.

"5thly. That the general officers, the subalterns, and soldiers of the regular French troops, are equally called upon to return to their former allegiance, and to submit immediately to the king, their legitimate sovereign.

"6thly. That the members of departments, districts, and municipalities shall be equally responsible, on pain of losing their heads and their estates, for all the crimes, all the conflagrations, all the murders and the pillage which they shall suffer to take place, and which they shall not have, in a public manner, attempted to prevent, within their respective territories; that they shall also be obliged to continue their functions, until his most Christian Majesty, when set at full liberty, shall make further arrangements, or until further orders be given in his name.

"7thly. That the inhabitants of towns, bourgs, and villages, who shall dare to defend themselves against the troops of their Imperial and Royal Majesties, and to fire upon them, either in the open country, or through half-open doors or windows of their houses, shall be punished instantly, according to the rigorous rules of war, or their houses shall be demolished, or burned. On the contrary, all the inhabitants of the said towns, bourgs, and villages, who shall readily submit to their king, by opening their gates to the troops belonging to their majesties, shall be immediately under their safeguard and protection; their estates, their property, and their persons, shall be secured by the laws, and each and all of them shall be in full safety.

"8thly. The city of Paris, and all its inhabitants without distinction, shall be called upon to submit instantly and without delay to the king, to set that prince at full liberty, and to ensure to his and all the royal persons that inviolability and respect which are due, by the laws of nature and of nations, to sovereigns; their Imperial and Royal

Majesties making personally responsible for all events, on pain of losing their heads, pursuant to military trials, without hopes of pardon, all the members of the national assembly, of the department, of the district, of the municipality, and of the national guard of Paris, justices of peace and others whom it may concern; and their Imperial and Royal Majesties further declare, on their faith and word of Emperor and King, that if the palace of the Tuilleries be forced or insulted—if the least violence be offered, the least outrage done to their Majesties, the King, the Queen and the royal family—if they not immediately be placed in safety, and set at liberty, they will inflict on those who shall deserve it the most exemplary and ever-memorable avenging punishments, by giving up the city of Paris to military execution, and exposing it to total destruction; and the rebels, who shall be guilty of illegal resistance, shall suffer the punishments which they shall have deserved; their Imperial and Royal Majesties promise, on the contrary, to all the inhabitants of the city of Paris, to employ their good offices with his most Christian Majesty, to obtain for them a pardon for their insults and errors, and to adopt the most vigorous measures for the security of their persons and property, provided they speedily and strictly conform to the above instructions.

"Finally. Their Majesties not being at liberty to acknowledge any other laws in France, except those which shall be derived from the king, when at full liberty, protest beforehand against the authenticity of all kind of declarations which may be issued in the name of the king, so long as his sacred person, and that of the queen, and the princes of the whole royal family, shall not be in full safety: and with this view, their Imperial and Royal Majesties invite and entreat his most Christian Majesty to name a town in his kingdom, nearest to the frontiers, to which he would wish to remove, together with the queen and the royal family, under a strong and safe escort, which shall be sent for that purpose; so that his most Christian Majesty may, in perfect safety, send for such ministers and counsellors as he shall be pleased to name, order such convocations as he shall think proper, and provide for the restoration of order, and the regular administration of his kingdom.

"In fine, I declare and promise in my own individual name, and in my above quality, to cause to be observed everywhere, by the troops under my command, good and strict discipline; promising to treat with mildness and moderation those well-disposed subjects who shall submit peaceably and quietly, and to employ forces against those only who shall be guilty of resistance, and manifest evil intentions.

"I therefore call upon and expect all the inhabitants of the kingdom, in the most earnest and forcible manner, not to make any opposition to the troops under my command, but rather to suffer them everywhere to enter the kingdom freely, and to afford them all the assistance, and show them all the benevolence which circumstances may require.

"Given at general quarters at Coblenz,

"July 25, 1792.

(Signed) "CHARLES WILLIAM FERDINAND,
"DUKE OF BRUNSWICK LUNENBURG."

Additional Declaration by his Most Serene Highness the reigning Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburg, addressed to the inhabitants of France.

"The declaration which I have addressed to the inhabitants of France, dated general quarters at Coblenz, July 25, must have sufficiently

made known the firm resolves of their Majesties the Emperor and the King of Prussia, when they intrusted me with the command of the combined armies.

"The liberty and safety of the sacred persons of the king, of the queen, and of the royal family, being one of the principal motives which have determined their Imperial and Royal Majesties to act in concert, I have made known by my said declaration, to the inhabitants of Paris, my resolve to inflict on them the most terrible punishments, if the least insult should be offered to his most Christian Majesty, for whom the city of Paris is particularly responsible.

"Without making the least alteration to the 8th article of the said declaration of the 25th instant, I declare besides, that if, contrary to all expectation, by the perfidy and baseness of some inhabitants of Paris, the king, the queen, or any other person of the royal family, should be carried off from that city, all the places and towns whatsoever, which shall not have opposed their passage, and shall not have stopped their proceeding, shall incur the same punishments as those inflicted on the inhabitants of Paris, and the route which shall be taken by those who carry off the king and the royal family, shall be marked with a series of exemplary punishments, justly due to the authors and abettors of crimes for which there is no remission.

"All of the inhabitants of France are in general to take warning of the dangers with which they are threatened, and which it will be impossible for them to avoid unless, with all their might, and by every means in their power, they oppose the passage of the king and royal family to whatever place the factious may attempt to carry them. Their Imperial and Royal Majesties will not allow any place of retreat to be the free choice of his most Christian Majesty (in case he should comply with the invitation which has been made him), unless that retreat be effected under the escort which has been offered.

"All declarations whatsoever, in the name of his most Christian Majesty, which shall be contrary to the object which their Imperial and Royal Majesties have in view, shall consequently be considered as null and without effect.

"Given at general quarters at Coblenz,

"July 27, 1792.

(Signed) "CHARLES WILLIAM FERDINAND.
"DUKE OF BRUNSWICK LUNENBURG."

The immediate effect of this dictatorial and impolitic manifesto, was to unite all parties in France. The Brissotines and the Feuillans were alike desirous to save themselves from the menaced chastisement, and to preserve their country from a foreign yoke. The duke, speaking in the name of his royal masters, protests indeed "that they did not mean to meddle with the internal government of France," but at the same time he denounces vengeance against all those who should be found in arms in defence of the existing government and institutions of their country; and these denunciations are directed alike against the mildest advocate of a limited monarchy, and the most furious partizan of plunder and revolt.

On the fourth day of the following month,
VOL. I. F 4*

a long manifesto was published by the King of Hungary, now become the Emperor of Germany, in conjunction with the King of Prussia, in which they condemned the French revolution as unjust and illegal in its principles; horrid in the means by which it was effected; and disastrous in its consequences, both as it regarded the happiness of the people, and the just prerogative of the sovereign, who was reduced to the necessity of writing that he was free; "which," say the allied sovereigns, "is a sufficient proof that he is not so in reality."

On the 8th of the same month, the French princes, on behalf of themselves and the emigrants, published a manifesto, wherein the limitation of the monarchy is considered as "a monstrous system;" produced by "a conspiracy of atrocious minds;" and require "in the king's name," all commanders of towns, citadels, and fortresses, throughout the kingdom, to open their gates and deliver up the keys on the first summons, on pain "of being tried for disobedience to the king, and treated as rebels."*

The hero of the league, Frederick William II., who was declared chief of the Germanic confederation, soon afterwards arrived at Coblenz, where he was received as conqueror by his own troops, while the emigrants hailed in him their deliverer. His majesty soon afterwards reviewed his army, composed of 50,000 Prussians, at the head of which he himself intended to take the field. The auxiliaries were to consist of 30,000 Austrians, under the command of the Prince de Hohenlohe, and the Count de Clairfait. The Prince of Heese was to supply 6000 of his subjects; and the French nobles and their followers, who now assumed the name of the *royal army* already amounted to 22,000, led by the Counts de Provence and Artois, and by the Prince de Conde, and the Duke de Bourbon, and cantoned on the borders of the Rhine. This military force, which amounted to 108,000 men, was now preparing to open a campaign, on the success of which the fate of so many monarchs, princes, and nobles depended.

The Duke of Brunswick, in conformity with a previous agreement between the combined powers, was to march against Longwy, by the way of Treves and Luxemburg. After having reduced that place, and if possible, Montmedy also, both of which were to serve as arsenals and magazines for his army, it was intended that he should obtain possession of Verdun, Sedan,

* See "A collection of state papers, relative to the war against France."

and Mezieres. The court of Vienna promised to second these efforts by means of two armies, one of which was to attack Thionville, and menace Landau and Saarlouis, while another, issuing from the Austrian Ne-

therlands, overran the northern department and laid siege to Lisle; but in consequence of the inability of the court of Vienna to fulfil its engagements, this plan of hostilities underwent some modification.

CHAPTER II.

Agitations in Paris—Massacre of the 10th of August—The Royal Family take refuge in the Assembly—The King deposed—M. La Fayette's Conduct and History—Disposition of the other French Generals—Distracted State of the Capital—Popular Enthusiasm.

THE situation of Louis XVI., like that of his kingdom, was now critical in the extreme. An opinion had gone abroad that the sovereign was in league with the enemies of France to crush the constitution that he had sworn to support; and it must be confessed, that the declarations of the emigrant nobles gave too much countenance to that opinion. On the 3d of August, Petion, the Mayor of Paris, at the head of the sections of that capital, appeared at the bar of the national assembly, demanding the deposition of the king. Petitions of a similar import were brought up from other bodies, and the two great parties in opposition to the crown, concurred in the expediency of removing the king from the head of the government. The Girondists contented themselves with declaring that he had incurred the penalty of forfeiture; but the Jacobins determined not only to punish the king, but also to destroy the monarchy. For this purpose, an extensive conspiracy was formed, at the head of which stood Conville, Desmoulins, Danton, Fabre d'Eglantine, Tallien, Collot d'Herbois, Billaud de Varennes, and Santerre, who met on the evening of the 9th of August, in the hall of the Cordeliers. Danton, with a loud and furious voice, recapitulated the crimes of the court: "Let us cease," said he "to appeal to the laws and the legislators: the greater part of them are nothing better than the accomplices of La Fayette, whom they have just absolved. To absolve that traitor is to deliver ourselves to him, to the enemies of France, and to the sanguinary vengeance of the coalesced kings—What do I say! It is this very night which the perfidious Louis has selected for delivering up to carnage, and to the flames, that capital which he wishes once more to leave.—To arms!—to arms!"*

This cry was instantly repeated a thousand times, and from a thousand different mouths: at eleven o'clock, the assembly

formally declared itself in "a state of insurrection," and a musket was fired as a signal for action.

On this, all the members sallied forth: some snatched up their arms; others helped to draw the cannon; a few were despatched to give notice of their approach. Chabot, Camille, and several more, ordered the bells of the churches to be rung; and in a few minutes the dreadful *tocsin* was heard throughout Paris, impressing all its inhabitants with alarm, and wafting terror and dismay to every apartment in the castle of the Tuilleries.

Nor was the palace wholly unprovided in respect to defence. The Swiss guard retained about the person of the king, in express opposition to a decree of the assembly, had been gained by the liberality and caresses of the court; but, although devoted to the royal cause, their number was incomplete, nearly one half being absent at Courbevoie. A few companies of grenadiers belonging to the national guards, had also repaired to the court of the Tuilleries, while the interior was garrisoned by between seven and eight hundred royalists, all well armed, and resolved either to conquer or die. The queen conducted herself, on this trying occasion, with equal policy and intrepidity. With a countenance that seemed still to beam with hope, and an eye denoting courage, she repaired from rank to rank, and from post to post, accompanied by the virtuous and accomplished princess, Madame Elizabeth, sister to the king. Such was the general enthusiasm, that it was resolved at one time not to remain on the defensive, but to sally forth against the insurgents, seize on their cannon, annoy their line of march, dissipate their columns, pursue the fugitives with the horse, and thus put an end to the insurrection. But Louis, although he had at first consented, did not long approve of so bold a measure; for no sooner did the danger seem imminent, than he was persuaded by Roderer to abandon his palace, his nobles, and his guards; and before a single shot was fired, he took refuge with his consort, his chil-

* *Precis Historique de la Revolution Francoise, par Lacretelle, p. 294.*

dren; and his sister, in the bosom of the assembly; thus annihilating at the same time the hopes of his defenders and the fears of his enemies. (11)

The king, on entering the assembly, took his seat near the president, and addressing himself to the assembly, said:—"I come hither to prevent a great crime; among you, gentlemen, I believe myself in safety." After some discussion, the royal family was placed in a small box appropriated to the reporters of a newspaper called the *Logographe*, and in this place spent at least fourteen hours. Scarcely had the royal family been seated in the box, when a dreadful cannonading shook the assembly. The insurgents, amounting in number to upwards of 20,000, provided with 40 pieces of cannon, and commanded by a military adventurer, of the name of Weisterman, had marched in battle array to the palace of the Tuilleries, which they found defended by the Swiss guard, consisting of about 700 men, about 1200 gentlemen, ardent friends of the monarchy, 2400 national guards, under the command of M. Mandat, a firm supporter of the constitution, and a body of cavalry, amounting to about 1000 men. The most daring of the

rebels consisted chiefly of the lowest classes of the inhabitants, distinguished by the name of *Sans Culottes*. At nine o'clock in the morning, the gates of the *cour royale* were forced, and the mob rushed furiously in, headed by a party of the Marseillois, a kind of revolutionary volunteers, who were instantly drawn up in two squares facing the place. Having taken this station, a number of the *Sans Culottes* rushed upon the Swiss sentinels; seized and beat out the brains of six of their victims. The Swiss soldiers, on observing this outrage, drew up in order of battle, and seeing no other alternative, fired upon the insurgents. The assailants then applied their matches to the cannon, and the engagement soon became general. The national guard, not having received any orders from the king before his departure for the assembly, were at a loss how to act, and the contest lay chiefly between the Marseillois and the Swiss. The gendarmerie, who had their station near the coach-house, were placed between the fire of both parties, and out of 100 men, 25 of them at least fell a sacrifice without firing a shot. After a gallant resistance, which continued for upwards of an hour, the Swiss soldiers, who had frequently enjoyed a momentary victory, but who were now reduced to the greatest extremities from the want of ammunition, and overpowered by numbers, were obliged to give way, and to cry for quarter; but their murderous adversaries, instead of feeling a generous sympathy towards their vanquished foe, pursued the fugitives with implacable hostility, and the victory in the end was converted into a massacre: the national guard so far disgraced themselves as to unite with the infuriated populace in the murder of their fellow-soldiers. Every Swiss soldier in the palace fell a sacrifice to the ungovernable resentment of the insurgents; and a small party of seventeen, who had taken refuge in the vestry room of the chapel, no sooner laid down their arms than they were put to death.

The gentlemen, who remained in the palace, had now no alternative but to seek a place of security from the fury of the mob, and after rallying about 500 of the fugitives, they at length succeeded in taking refuge in the national assembly, but not till they had passed through the ordeal of a galling fire from several of the insurgent battalions stationed at about thirty yards from the gates of the palace. Of the whole regiment of the Swiss, the number that survived this terrible day of slaughter did not exceed two hundred; and these by a decree of the assembly were placed under the protection of the state, but which in fact had no longer the power to afford pro-

(11) The conduct of Louis, on this and some preceding occasions, has excited the censure of many others besides Mr. Baines, who have thought that more energetic measures would have saved both his crown and life. It is possible, that a more consistent course of conduct from the first might have had the effect of postponing the period of the revolution; but after the acceptance of the constitution, it is doubtful whether any line of measures could have retrieved his sinking fortunes, so much were the minds of the people estranged from their former loyalty, and such had been the increase of their power, and the decline of that of the monarch. Against an exasperated populace led by military men, and provided with every species of arms, the king could oppose only the feeble barrier of his Swiss guards, reduced in numbers and spirit, and of a few hundred of his personal friends. These might have succeeded for a time in repulsing the assailants, but their prodigious force, and steady purpose of vengeance, must have ultimately prevailed, and the lives of all the royal family would probably have been sacrificed. The consideration of the danger of that family appears to have weighed deeply on the mind of the king. When after the events of the 20th of June, he was urged to adopt strong measures against the insurgents, he is reported to have said,* "I see plainly that it was their intention to assassinate me, and I cannot conceive why they did not carry their project into effect; but I shall not always escape; there are many chances against me, and I am far from being at my ease. If I were alone, I would risk another effort. Oh! if my wife and children were not with me, the world would soon see that I am not so irresolute as it imagines; but what would be their destiny, if rigorous measures were not followed by success!"

* *Précis Hist. de la Révolution, par Lacretelle.*

tection to its own institutions. The defenceless victims who still remained in the palace were involved in one promiscuous murder, and the massacre was followed by a general pillage. Without the precincts of the palace the fury of the mob was directed even against the porters of the coffee-houses and hotels, who passed under the general appellation of Swiss, numbers of whom fell a sacrifice to popular fury; and M. Carl, lieutenant-colonel of the foot gendarmerie, M. D'Hermigny, a colonel in the same corps, and M. Clermont Tonnerre, a sincere friend to the cause of liberty, but at the same time a strenuous opposer of popular licentiousness, shared the same fate.

While these sanguinary scenes were transacting, the national assembly continued, as they expressed it, "to deliberate," but their deliberations, like the acts of the sovereign, were no longer free. Their gallery was continually crowded with a turbulent auditory, that took their tone from the clubs, and that in effect dictated laws to the lawgivers. Under the guidance of these men, the assembly passed a series of acts, "declaring the executive power suspended; the authority given by the constitution to Louis XVI. from that moment revoked; and inviting the people to meet in primary assemblies, to form a national convention, to assemble on the 20th of September." This change in the government was followed by a decree, declaring the king to have forfeited the confidence of the nation, and a new executive council was formed, consisting of M. Roland, for the home department; M. Servan, Minister of War; M. Claviere, of Finance; M. Le Brun, Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. Monge, of Marine; and M. Danton, Minister of Justice. On the following day, the statues of Louis XIII., Louis XIV., and Louis XV., which had been erected in different squares of the metropolis, were overturned and defaced, and even the memory of Henry IV. could not protect his effigy! Louis XVI. was in the mean time conveyed under a strong escort to the Temple, while a decree of accusation was issued against several of his late ministers. In fact, the whole fabric of the constitution, which had been erected by some of the ablest men that France ever produced, crumbled into dust in a single day, under the licentious grasp of a sanguinary and misguided populace, who had now begun to supply the place of enthusiasm with terror.

M. La Fayette, who was amongst the first to oppose the despotism of the court, was equally adverse to the tyranny of the Jacobins; and no sooner had the intelligence of the events at Paris on the 10th instant reached his head-quarters at Sedan, than

he addressed the following letter to his soldiers;—

"Citizen Soldiers,

"It is no longer right to conceal from you what is going forward: the constitution you swore to maintain is no more: a banditti from Marseilles, and a troop of factious men, besieged the place of the Tuilleries; the national and Swiss guards made a vigorous resistance, but for want of ammunition they were obliged to surrender.

"General d'Affry, his aides-de-camp, and his whole family, were murdered.

"The king, queen, and all the royal family escaped to the national assembly; the factious ran thither, holding a sword in one hand, and fire in the other, and forced the legislative body to supersede the king, which was done for the sake of saving his life.

"Citizens, you are no longer represented; the national assembly is in a state of slavery; your armies are without leaders; Petion reigns; the savage Danton and his satellites are masters. Thus soldiers, it is your province to examine whether you will restore the hereditary representatives to the throne, or submit to the disgrace of having a Petion for your king."

The national assembly, which now exercised the sovereign authority, had anticipated the defection of La Fayette, and to counteract its effects, three commissioners, Antonelle, Kersaint, and Perraldi, were despatched to his army, either to gain the commander or to induce the troops to desert. These commissioners, immediately on their arrival at Sedan, were, by the direction of La Fayette, arrested as hostages for the safety of the king and his family, and kept in custody from the 14th to the 20th instant. Luckner, the generalissimo of the French army, heard of the outrages at Paris without equal emotion, and after displaying a great deal of irresolution, at length declared for the assembly. Lieutenant-general Arthur Dillon, the commander of the northern army, who had sat as a deputy in the first assembly, on hearing of the dethronement of the sovereign, and the horrible excesses which preceded that act, assembled his troops in the camp of Pont sur Sambre, and prevailed upon the soldiers to renew their oath of fidelity "to the nation, the law, and the king." Dumouriez, who had already proceeded to the armies in a military capacity, and who aspired to the chief command, hailed the recent transactions in the metropolis as events at once calculated to gratify his resentments, and administer to his ambition. According to his own account, he had been grossly deceived by the king,* and his only hope of advancement was from the republican party; he therefore refused to take or to administer the oath of fidelity, and the assembly rewarded his devotion to the new order of things, by immediately conferring upon him the chief command of the army.

* See "La Vie de Dumouriez."

The other generals, Biron, Montesquieu, Kellermann, and Custine, all bowed to the authority of the assembly, and of the provisional council, and along with the soldiers of their respective armies, took the republican oaths.

La Fayette, finding that every day rendered his situation more critical, and that he was on the eve of being abandoned by his army, at length determined on flight: on the night of the 19th instant he mounted his horse with seventeen of his companions, and quitting his army, took the way to Switzerland, when falling into the hands of a party of Austrians, in the neutral territory of Liege, they were all made prisoners, and sent to Namur.*

* LA FAYETTE—M. P. J. R. Y. G. Motier, Marquis de La Fayette, was born in Auvergne, and descended from an ancient family. He was educated in the college of Louis Le Grand, at Paris, and received a commission in the Mousquetaires; soon after which he married a lady of the family of Noailles. When only nineteen years of age, this nobleman repaired to America, where he acquired considerable reputation by his military achievements, fighting on the side of liberty, in the armies of the United States.

When the French revolution occurred, La Fayette prepared to act a distinguished part. In 1789, he became a member of the states-general, as a deputy from the nobility of Riom, in Auvergne; he had already been a member of the Notables, in 1789, and his attack on the administration of Calonne is said to have contributed to the downfall of that minister. He was the first to propose to the national assembly a plan for a "declaration of rights," and after the recall of Necker, was unanimously elected commander-in-chief of the National Guards. In this capacity, he presided at the grand confederation on the 14th of July, as the generalissimo of a greater body of troops, perhaps, than had ever been commanded by any other man since the days of Xerxes. No sooner was the constitution organized, than he resigned his power, and retired to one of his family estates, whence he did not return until a war against Austria had been resolved upon. He was at that period a major-general, but soon obtained the rank of lieutenant-general, and finally that of Marshal of France, with a red riband. Having been invested with the command of the armies of the Meuse and the Moselle, he left his head-quarters soon after the 20th of June, 1792, on purpose to complain of the indignities to which the king had been exposed in the course of that day. Subsequently to this period, he expressed his abhorrence of the catastrophe of the 10th of August, and his determination to support the "nation, the law, and the king;" but a decree of accusation being at length voted against him, he was forsaken by his troops, and deemed it prudent to seek an asylum in a foreign land.—Being seized on neutral ground in contravention of the laws of nations, he was considered in the light of a prisoner of war after he had ceased to be a soldier, and conveyed to the Luxembourg, where he was exposed to the insults of the emigrants, who saw in him one of the prime authors of the revolution; the Duke of Saxe Teichen went so far as to tell him that he was destined to the scaffold. He was afterwards delivered up to the King of Prussia, who caused him to be removed to Wesel, and afterwards to Mag-

The public mind in the French capital, as well as in several of the provinces, was at this period wrought up to the highest pitch of frenzy; and the leaders of the con-

debours, where he remained a year in a dungeon; but when Prussia made peace with France, the prisoner was restored to the Austrians, who sent him to Olmutz, where he was treated with still more rigour than at Magdebourg. A long illness however, compelled the physicians to request that his captivity might be mitigated, and then Dr. Bollmann, and the young Huger, a son of the gentleman with whom La Fayette had originally lived in America, executed the bold project of having him carried off, when he was led out to take the air; but eight leagues from Olmutz he was retaken, and he was afterwards confined more strictly than before, which increased his illness, and during the severe illness of 1794, he was without light, and even without linen; but at the end of the year 1795, his wife and daughters obtained permission to share his captivity. At last, after three years and five months of imprisonment, he obtained his liberty in August, 1797, at the repeated request of the directory, and of General Bonaparte. He then withdrew to Hamburgh; and after the 18th Brumaire returned to France to his estates in Auvergne, which were restored to him. (13)

(13) La Fayette was detained in captivity exactly five years, having been liberated in September, 1797. It would be difficult to point out an era in which (considering the comparative civilization of mankind) actions more discreditable to the human species were committed, than that of the French revolution. The crimes and cruelties that followed the abolition of royalty in France will long remain a blot upon the history of that country, although some apology may be found for the excesses of the people, when we reflect upon their sudden transition from the darkness of slavery to the full blaze of emancipation. But for the monstrous doctrines and grievous oppression of the combined monarchs, it would be difficult to find a reasonable excuse. When posterity shall review the history of that era, it will mark with the most signal reprobation the page in which is recorded the persecution of La Fayette, the generous, the enlightened, and the brave. His crime, the greatest that can be committed in the eyes of a monarch, was the attempt to give freedom to his fellow citizens. Detesting alike the tyranny of a single despot, and the unbridled licentiousness of a mob, he sought to obtain for his country a rational and temperate freedom, like that which he had fought for and witnessed in America. To this righteous end all his efforts were directed, with a zeal and devotion, that at a happier period, would have enrolled him among the great benefactors of mankind. But to the advocates of despotism, a philosophical and rational votary of liberty, like La Fayette, is more formidable than a whole host of enthusiasts. Excesses of every kind injure the cause they are intended to serve, and between the tyranny of one man and that of a thousand the difference is not very great. No prisoner could, therefore, have been more welcome to the confederated kings than La Fayette. The length and severity of his confinement evince their fear of his talents and character, as well as the light in which his preceding conduct was viewed by those who regarded the interests of the monarch as the supreme law of nations. For five years did this disciple of liberty, the friend of Washington, and the ornament of his

flicting factions found in this state of things a full scope for their talents. The Jacobins, now become lords of the ascendant, prevailed over their rivals the Girondists; and Marat, Danton, and Robespierre, like dregs in a violent fermentation, rose to the surface. Robespierre, surrounded by assassins, coolly dictated lists of proscription, while domiciliary visits, under the direction of the revolutionary tribunals, were made in every place amidst the silence of night. Not content with these terrible engines of despotism, the prisons were forced, and the refractory priests massacred without ceremony, while a multitude of nobles and officers, attached to the royal cause, were cruelly butchered under the form of justice.

But although the Jacobins displayed a bloody, vindictive, and ferocious disposition, it cannot on the other hand be denied, that they exhibited at this critical moment a degree of courage, energy, and perseverance, which achieved for a while, not only the complete triumph of their own party, but also the independence of France. All the implements of war were placed at the disposal of the ruling faction; the capital, and every city in the empire, became at once an arsenal and a workshop for the

armies, while each of the departments presented the appearance of an immense camp teeming with soldiers. The property of the emigrants, hitherto only sequestered, was now ordered to be sold, to oppose them and their allies. The brazen statues of their ancient monarchs furnished cannon to encounter the princes marching against them; the lead stripped from the palace of the last of their kings was melted into bullets, for the purpose of annoying the armies advancing to his support; while, by extracting saltpetre from the walls of the abandoned monasteries, and converting the forests appertaining to the royal domains into charcoal, thousands of chemists were enabled to supply the deficiency of the arsenals, and obtain the elements of destruction, by means of a new and an easier process.

The silver saints,* the consecrated vessels, and the bells of the cathedrals, were at the same time coined into the money for the maintenance of the armies: when this resource was exhausted, the *assignats* seemed to compensate for the loss of the precious metals; and the stamp, impressed by means of a paltry bit of copper, being circulated "in the name of the nation," at length exhausted the treasures of many of the crowned heads of Europe.

The guilty magistrates of Paris, as if desirous to obliterate their inhumanity by their patriotism, displayed a promptitude of exertion worthy of better men: and at the very moment when they continued the massacres of their countrymen, they took the most vigorous steps to repel the invasion of a foreign enemy. Under their direction, all the inhabitants of a proper age, and every horse fit for service, were put in what was termed "a state of requisition;" in other words, they ordered them to be kept in readiness for marching to the frontiers. An immense multitude of the youth ran eagerly to their respective districts, for the purpose of inscribing their names in the new military registers; a number of old men also enrolled themselves as volunteers; such as were disabled by age or infirmities confided their arms to those who enjoyed health and strength: a

country, suffer, in a succession of loathsome dungeons, the punishment of his political heresies. At length, with a broken constitution, but an unchanged mind, he was allowed to revisit France. Consistent throughout in his political principles, he opposed the assumption of the imperial dignity by Napoleon; when the allies invaded France in 1814, he offered his services in defence of his country; on the return of the emperor in 1815, he accepted a seat in the legislative assembly under the new constitution, and voted in favour of his abdication, and against the return of the Bourbons after the battle of Waterloo. In his present retirement, respected even by his political enemies, beloved by his friends, and honoured by the enlightened part of the world, he exhibits a brilliant example of the faultless patriot, unmoved by the ambition of shining at the expense of his country's liberties, and unchanged by suffering, or even by the ingratitude of his countrymen, "without fear and without reproach."

* In 1824, La Fayette visited the United States. He landed at New-York on the 15th of August; and having made a tour of the whole union, and received a liberal pecuniary compensation from Congress for his revolutionary services and sacrifices, he sailed from the Potomac on the 8th of September, 1825, and on the 8th of October arrived at the port of Havre, in France. After the revolution which occurred in his native country, preceded by a series of sanguinary conflicts between the citizens of Paris and the military, on the 27th, 28th, and 29th of July, 1830, La Fayette was placed, as in 1789, at the head of the national guards; and now, in the summer of 1832, he continues to enjoy that high degree of popularity and public confidence, to which, from a long life devoted to the cause of civil and religious liberty, he is so justly entitled.

W. G.

* "NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.—August 28, 1792.

"Certain petitioners appeared at the bar with a St. Roche and his dog in silver. They said, that they had prayed with great fervency to the saint, to cure their fellow-citizens of the political plague with which so many were afflicted, but in vain. The saint could do nothing for them in his present shape. They therefore requested the assembly to order him to be coined into *crowns*, in which new form they had no doubt that he might still be of service.

"Their gift was received with loud applause; and St. Roche, accompanied by his dog, was immediately sent to the mint."

military enthusiasm inspired all ranks and all parties; and the victors and the vanquished, who had so lately fought at the assault of the Tuilleries, mingled together in the same battalion.

These new troops, embodied under such unhappy auspices, immediately marched to Chalons, and carrying along with them a spirit of mutiny and insubordination, became more formidable at first to their own officers than to the enemy. But no sooner were their suspicions allayed, than they displayed an unexpected degree of zeal and valour, and contributed greatly by their gallantry, as well as by their obedience, to the victories that ensued.

The resolution taken to collect an army of reserve at Chalons, which was to form a junction with that of Flanders, in case of extremity, and instead of retiring behind

the Loire, as had been suggested, to send immediate and effectual succours to Dumouriez, instilled hope into the people, while it diffused courage among the armies; and the same man who had so recently countenanced the vilest murders, was now seen exhibiting the stoical virtue of a Roman; for when urged, as to the proximity of the danger, and told that the King of Prussia would sup on that day fortnight in the palace of the Tuilleries, Danton replied, with a fervour peculiar to his character in times of danger: "I have sent for my mother and two children to Paris, and they arrived but yesterday; sooner, however, than behold an audacious and triumphant army enter this city, I and my family will perish here, for twenty thousand torches shall reduce it to a heap of ashes."

CHAPTER III.

Opening of the Campaign—Surrender of Longwy, Verdun, and Stenay—Dumouriez repairs to Sedan and takes the Command of La Fayette's Army—Precarious Situation of the Prussian Army—Over-sight of Dumouriez—Position of Croix-aux-bois forced by the Prussians—Retreat of the French to St. Menehould—Affair at Valmy, and its Consequences.

No sooner had Frederick William received intelligence of the insurrection in Paris, the siege of the Tuilleries, and the captivity of the monarch, than he redoubled his exertions. The main body of the Austrians had not as yet arrived, but his own army was numerous; and while his infantry was allowed to be excellent, the cavalry was considered as the best appointed and most formidable that had perhaps ever taken the field; while the general who had acted under him was pointed out by the voice of the Prussian monarch, and of Europe, as the first captain of his age. Both the king and his son, who accompanied him on this expedition, appeared to be avaricious of glory, and careless of danger: it was imagined that their presence would insure success, and that commanders unacquainted with the art of war, unadorned by titles, and alike unknown in camps and in courts, would be abashed in the sight of kings. Although the combined army was amply provided with field-pieces, it happened to be completely destitute of the heavy artillery so necessary for the success of a siege; but it was hoped that no city would dare to resist, and that the fortified places would be readily surrendered by the very garrisons appointed for their defence. The exiles, too, offered, with their accustomed gallantry, to act as an advanced guard; and were not only desirous of encountering all

the dangers of the expedition, but likewise admirably calculated, by means of their information and connexions, to insure its success. Among them were many princes and peers of France, who were still supposed to possess immense influence; in their ranks were seen several generals, such as the Marshals de Broglio, and Castries, who had acquired glory in the last continental war, while the name of the Duke de Bourbon, and the military talents of the successor of the great Conde, seemed to reflect lustre on their cause.

The combined troops were at last put in motion, and as the season for action was already pretty far advanced, hopes were entertained that the celerity of their motion would fully compensate for the delays that had already intervened. They accordingly commenced their march in three separate columns, and entered France on the 19th of August.

On the 21st, General Clairfait, at the head of sixty thousand men, made an attack upon Longwy, a strong fortress garrisoned with three thousand five hundred French. The siege lasted only fifteen hours, when the fort surrendered, and was taken possession of in the name of Louis XVI. On the 31st the Duke of Brunswick himself summoned Verdun, where M. Beaurepaire was governor. His resolution was to defend the town to the last; but finding himself out

voted by the municipal officers, he drew a pistol from his belt, and, scorning to survive his honour, he discharged it against his temples in the midst of a council of war. About the same time, the Austrians took possession of Stenay, after a slight skirmish with Dumouriez's vanguard, whom they obliged to retreat, and take post at Mowzon, close by the main army.

Dumouriez, who, on the defection of La Fayette, had hastened to Sedan, found there the French army, not exceeding twenty-three thousand men, in a state of despondency and disorganization, opposed to a body of eighty thousand chosen soldiery, with four times the number of his cavalry, conducted by a powerful monarch, and generals grown hoary under arms. His first concern was to assemble a council of war, composed of Lieutenant-general Dillon, and the four Major-generals, Vouillers, Chazot, Danget, and Dietman; to these, he added Pettit, the principal commissary, and three officers who composed his own staff.

Having presented a map of Champagne, he told them, "that the King of Prussia, having taken Longwy, and sat down before Verdun, while another body of the army advanced beyond Thionville and menaced Metz, there were no means left either to form a junction with Marshal Luckner, or to procure succours from any other quarter in sufficient time to march against the Prussians and deliver Verdun; that he had despatched General Galbaud thither with two battalions; that whether he did or did not succeed in throwing himself into a place, with the weakness of which every body was acquainted; it ought to be regarded as lost, for it could hold out only a few days, more or less, according to the success of Galbaud's mission; that whatever might occur, he could not receive any reinforcements for upwards of a fortnight, and even these reinforcements would be very insignificant.

"That accordingly there was nothing to be depended upon but the little army which they had along with them, and which was intrusted with the salvation of their native country. It did not, in truth, amount to one quarter of the enemy's forces; but on other hand, the cavalry was composed of the best regiments of France, and consisted of upwards of five thousand men; more than one half of the infantry, which exceeded eighteen thousand, was formed of regiments of the line; the remainder of battalions of national guards, well disciplined, rendered warlike by a whole year's encampment, perpetual marches, and continual skirmishes with the enemy; the artillery was numerous and excellent, there

being more than sixty pieces in the park, in addition to the battalion guns.

"That with these means, and the advantage of acting in their own country, every thing was to be expected; because the Prussians would of course be retarded by the necessity of undertaking sieges, the difficulty of finding provisions, the delays incident to their convoys, their own numbers, and above all by their artillery. A numerous cavalry, the brilliant equipages of so many princes, and the quantity of draught horses necessary to transport their cannon and provisions, would render their march tedious and embarrassing." He concluded by observing, "That it was impossible to remain inactive in the position before Sedan, and it became necessary on the instant to take some decided part."

Lieutenant-general Dillon proposed "to post the army behind the Marne, on purpose to defend the passage of that river, and to wait for reinforcements, which would pour in from all parts, and enable the French once more to advance." This scheme, plausible in itself, was supported by reasons so forcible and cogent, that it was instantly adopted by the council; all the members of which immediately separated, except the Adjutant-general Thouvenot, who remained alone with Dumouriez. It was to him alone that he disclosed his plans, and detailed his reasons for opposing the prevailing opinion. He observed, "that he did not approve of retiring to Chalons, and abandoning Lorraine, the Bishoprics, and the Ardennes, which could not easily be reconquered; that besides it would hold out a fresh inducement for the Prussians to pursue him, and in such a case a retreat would soon degenerate into a flight."

Then, pointing to the pass of Islettes, on the confines of the forest of Argonne,* upon the map, "Behold," continued Dumouriez, "the Thermopylæ of France; if I have the good fortune to arrive there before the Prussians, all will be saved." The forest which Dumouriez intended to occupy was of an oblong form, at least thirteen leagues in length, and varying from one to three leagues in breadth: it extends from the neighbourhood of Sedan to more than a league beyond St. Menehould. Being intersected with mountains, rivers, and marshes, this woody country is rendered impervious to the march of an invading army, except by five avenues, called *Le Chêne-populeux*, leading from Sedan to Rhetel; *La Croix-aux-bois*, in the direction from Brigueuai to Vouziers; *Grandprey*,

* See vol. iii. of the *Life of Dumouriez*.

in the neighbourhood of which is the great road from Stenay to Rheims; La Chalade, which crosses the woods from Varennes to St. Menchould; and Les Islettes, through which lies the road from Verdun to Paris, by St. Menchould.

Having employed three whole days in making the necessary preparations, the commander-in-chief determined instantly to occupy these important passes, and having divided his army into three bodies, he gave orders that his vanguard should advance against Stenay, which it was instructed to mask, and lest any obstacle might intervene, he himself was to follow with the main body, composed of twelve thousand men, in order of battle, without any incumbrance whatever; while General Chazot, with a detachment of five thousand troops, should escort the baggage and artillery through Tanny and Armoises, without any danger of molestation, in consequence of this decisive movement in front.

Accordingly, after leaving a garrison of four battalions at Sedan, he made a movement with his army and artillery on the 31st of August, and commenced his march on the next morning. In consequence of orders transmitted to Dillon, General Mickzinsky was sent forward with fifteen hundred men to attack Stenay, and he himself was enjoined to support him by occupying the left bank of the river and the wood of Neuville. The brave Pole executed his instructions with equal promptitude and success, and a sharp action ensued, during which the cavalry on both sides displayed great courage; but the imperialists, under Clairfait, at length fell back to Brouenne.

Having encamped the first night by the side of the great road leading to Stenay, with his head-quarters at Yon, Dumouriez posted some infantry in the wood of Neuville, and along the borders of the Meuse; on the evening of the next day he took post at Berliere, and Dillon at St. Pierremont; on the succeeding afternoon, the latter passed through the defile of Chalade, and occupied the pass of Islettes, already taken possession of by General Galbaud, with four battalions and the garrison of Longwy, while the main body remained on the same ground, on purpose to allow Chazot's column to pass; after which, it continued its march, and reached Grandprey.

This position, rendered so memorable in consequence of the events to which it gave rise, was found to be nearly inexpugnable. Placed between two rivers, it was flanked by hamlets on the right and left, provided with a convenient village in the rear for the

artillery, and defended on all sides by means of woods, eminences, a castle, and redoubts lined with cannon.

The army, which now considered their own fidelity as the sole resource of their country, found themselves in possession of a strong post, to which they had been conducted by means of a masterly manœuvre; and they began to respect a leader, of whose zeal and talents they were the daily witnesses.

The general himself, with his usual confidence, transmitted the following letter to Servan, minister of the war department, in which he affected a laconic style, joined to a republican audacity, on purpose to keep alive the zeal of the Parisians.

"VERDUN is taken, and I expect the Prussians. The camps of Grandprey and Islettes have become the Thermopylæ of France; I shall prove more fortunate than Leonidas."

The combined troops had as yet been uniformly fortunate. Two garrisons had capitulated in the most shameful manner; several other towns appeared ready to open their gates to them; and their camps were crowded, not only with disaffected persons, but also with many who wavered between the two parties, and were desirous, by recurring to a temporizing policy, to have it in their power to declare in favour of the victor. Some trifling events, however, served to intimate that they were not always to expect cowardice, disaffection, or treason; and it is not a little remarkable, that the first checks received by the army of the coalition proceeded from two foreigners. It has been already stated in what manner a Pole drove in the outposts of the Austrian army, and forced the brave but cautious Clairfait to retreat to the intrenched camp of Brouenne. The next exploit was performed by a native of the *Pays de Vaud*, a country always treated with peculiar cruelty and injustice by the canton of Berne. Laharpe, one of its most illustrious defenders, driven into exile because he had endeavoured to loosen the chains of his countrymen, took refuge in the French camp, where he was welcomed as the martyr of liberty. Appointed chief of a battalion of volunteers, he was stationed at the castle of Rodemark, and exposed to the first onset of the invaders. Shocked at the general defection, he determined to give an example of devotion to the nation which had adopted him, and was lucky enough to communicate to the troops under him the enthusiasm with which he himself was actuated. Well knowing that their little post was not tenable, they entered into a solemn engagement not to capitulate, but either to

open a passage through the enemy with their bayonets, or bury themselves under the ruins of the castle, the vaults of which they converted into mines for that purpose. Having received orders, however, from his commanding officer to evacuate this position in consequence of the approach of the enemy, who were already masters of all the surrounding posts, the Swiss colonel sallied forth at the head of his garrison, and transported the artillery and stores to Thionville, in the face of a superior force. This daring feat, calculated to inspire the troops with valour, and prove that the foe was not invincible, procured for him who achieved it the appellation of "the brave Laharpe," with which he was afterwards honoured at the head of the French army.

In the mean time, Dumouriez did not neglect the necessary dispositions for resisting the enemy, in which he was seconded by the ardour and patriotism of his troops. He ordered the inhabitants to cut down the trees on the skirts of the forest; then to enter the roots, and pointing the branches in a horizontal position, thus form them into *abatis*: he commanded them also, on hearing the alarm bell, to fly to arms and oppose the enemy; he established a chain of posts, to keep up the communication with Dillon, the second in command, by Marque, Chatel, and Apremont, to Chalade and Islettes, and urged General Kellermann, who had assumed the command of the army of the Moselle, to approach nearer, and effect a junction. The enemy, the quickness of whose motions could alone insure success, spent nearly seven days in complete inactivity after the capture of Verdun. On the 8th of September, the vanguard of the Prussian army was at length discovered, and the main body began to occupy the extensive plain, and display its front from Briquenay to Clermont; while its head-quarters were established at Raucourt. On the succeeding day, the Prussians commenced a series of attacks on the out-posts of the French army, which, instead of being intimidated, expressed much joy at the appearance of the foe, and repulsed them at all points.

A celebrated foreigner, who arrived that very evening, distinguished himself in the course of the next forenoon. This was Miranda, who, after forming the daring project of achieving a revolution in New Spain, of which he was a native, and refusing the most brilliant offers on the part of the Empress of Russia, had repaired to Paris, and tendered his services to the patriots. Being posted with a detachment at Mortaume, he conducted himself with great gallantry, and withstood a brisk assault on that village, which he had been

ordered to occupy. General Stangel, born in the dominions of the Elector-Palatine, also acquired credit by his defence of St. Jouvin, and the enemy were repelled on all sides, without having been able to make the least impression.

At length, the grand army seemed determined to put an end to the awful suspense in which Europe had been for some time kept. The King of Prussia in person now began to menace the camp of Grandprey, while the prince of Hohenlohe appeared before Islettes, and General Clairfait presented himself at the pass of Croix-aux-bois. But a variety of circumstances seemed to combine, in order to render these tardy attacks inefficacious. At this critical period the rainy season had set in; the roads were extremely bad, and famine and disease already made their appearance among the invaders. Having consumed all the provisions found in Longwy and Verdun, and being unable to draw further supplies from a country previously exhausted by the French army, the Duke of Brunswick was obliged to have recourse to Luxembourg and the Electorate of Treves, which exposed his convoys to the attacks of the garrisons of Sedan, Montmedy, Thionville, and Metz. In addition to this, a body of French troops, under General Custine, had already penetrated into Germany, and was supposed to have meditated the capture of Coblenz, which would have enabled him to attack the enemy in flank and rear, and rendered a retrograde movement, in case of any disaster, extremely hazardous.

Such was the melancholy situation of the invading army, when an unpardonable omission on the part of the French general revived its hopes and reduced his own country to the very brink of despair. Although Dumouriez was well acquainted with the importance of the various passes leading through the forest of Argonne, and by a bold and decisive movement had rendered himself master of them; yet, in consequence of an oversight, equally gross and obvious, he had committed the defence of the important pass of Croix-aux-bois to the care of a colonel of dragoons, who by the nature of the service to which he had been accustomed, was unqualified for a situation where alone a veteran officer of infantry could have been useful. He had also neglected the professional assistance which might have been derived from the corps of artillery or engineers; and notwithstanding he possessed a park, well stored with cannon, this important avenue into the heart of France was not guarded by a single eight or twelve pounder. On the 11th of September, the colonel reported his intrenchments to be impregnable, but on the twelfth

he was obliged to evacuate them on the first attack of the enemy.

It was not until five o'clock in the evening, that the commander-in-chief received intelligence of the retreat from Croix-aux-bois from some of the fugitives; all the fatal consequences likely to ensue from this event were immediately anticipated by him, and he could depend on the vigour and resources of his own mind alone to extricate himself and his army from their present perilous situation. The number of his troops was now reduced to fifteen thousand; before him was an army of forty thousand Prussians; in his rear were twenty thousand Austrians; and a body of enraged emigrants had already penetrated into the forest, and was advancing on his flank. He was thus liable to be assailed in front by the Duke of Brunswick, while General Clairfait, by occupying the position of Croix-aux-bois, actually commanded his camp, and by inclining to the left, might descend towards Olizy Termes and Beauregard, and thus cut off the passage of the Aire and the Aisne at Senecque.* But notwithstanding the imminent danger he was in, the French general exhibited great presence of mind, and never betrayed the least symptom of fear relative to his perilous situation. On the contrary, he mounted on horseback, exhibited himself with confidence to the troops, and after calling in all his detachments, despatched orders to Beurnonville to set off instantly from Rhétel, and following the course of the Aisne as far as Attigny, to march towards St. Meneshould, with a view of effecting a junction there: he also instructed Kellermann to hasten by Bar and Revigny for the same purpose.

While incessantly occupied by preparations for securing his retreat, an *Aide-de-camp* arrived from the Prince of Hohenlohe, requesting an interview. This embarrassing circumstance was turned to advantage by Dumouriez, who took care on this occasion to remove many of the prejudices entertained on the part of enemy. He accordingly selected Major-general Duval, who had served during the seven years' war in the legion of Soubise, and was rendered respectable by his grey hairs and majestic figure, to meet the Prussian officer at the time and place appointed: the latter was unable to conceal his surprise at seeing so much order and regularity observed at the out-posts, and so many well-bred officers adorned with ribands and crosses; for the emigrants had represented the army as commanded by tailors, shoemakers, and obscure tradesmen. It also

added not a little to his astonishment to hear that most of the generals had served during one or two wars, and that Dumouriez himself was a major-general before the revolution. By way of concealing the intended retreat, it was at the same time intimated to him, in pursuance of one of those maxims by which untruth is admitted among the legitimate stratagems of modern warfare, that Beurnonville was to enter the camp in the course of the next day with a reinforcement of eighteen thousand men, while Kellermann, at the head of twenty thousand more, was only two marches distant.

On that very evening, however, the moment it became dark, the French advanced guard, in pursuance of orders, fell back in three columns, without either augmenting or diminishing the number of its fires; the right retreating through Marque, the centre by Chevieres, and the left by Grandprey. Having arrived at Damurartin, and ordered the troops to remain all night under arms, the general, who had been twenty hours on horseback, alighted and sat down to table at six o'clock, with a view of taking some refreshment: but he was disturbed by an alarm which had taken place in his camp. Although the rear-guard remained undisturbed at a league distance, the appearance of the enemy was everywhere announced; the artillery, which was harnessed, endeavoured to gain a height on the other side of a rivulet, called the Bionne; all the troops were mingled together in the confusion, and a general and immediate flight appeared to be inevitable. Dumouriez, having remounted his horse, instantly repaired to the spot, accompanied by the officers of his staff, his aides-de-camp, and his escort of dragoons, who at length succeeded in rallying the fugitives, by means of blows.

At break of day, order was restored among the dispersed soldiery, after which the tents were struck; the army continued its march in three columns, and arrived without any accident at the camp of St. Meneshould; for the enemy had not taken advantage of the confusion that ensued, but advanced with caution, and did not appear in sight of the French until the next day. Being no longer under any apprehensions, the commander-in-chief immediately communicated his situation to the president of the national assembly, in a letter written with Spartan brevity, and calculated to inspire confidence.

"I have been obliged to abandon the camp of Grandprey; the retreat was completed when a panic terror seized upon the army: ten thousand troops fled before fifteen hundred Prussians. The loss does not amount to more than fifty men, and

* *Memoirs du General Dumouriez, tome ii.*

some baggage: order is again restored, and I am ready to answer for the consequences. —DUMOURIEZ."

In the mean time, it was determined by the allies to lay siege to Thionville. This important fortress was invested on the 17th of September, by the Austrians and emigrants, under the command of the Princes of Hohenlohe and Condé; and little doubt was entertained that the garrison would follow the example of Longwy and Verdun. General Felix de Wimpffen, a native of Alsace, and a colonel of dragoons, under the old government, happened to be intrusted with the command of the place; but this, like all the other frontier towns, was unprovided with the means of effecting a vigorous resistance, and did not contain a sufficient quantity of provisions to enable the garrison to sustain a long siege. The enemy, on the other hand, was but ill prepared to reduce so formidable a fortress, for M. d'Antichamp, who superintended the attack, was not in possession of any battering cannon.

Not content with remaining merely on the defensive, Wimpffen immediately evinced a degree of activity that proved highly disastrous to his opponents. He made a vigorous sally at the head of four hundred infantry and one hundred cavalry; and with this small detachment destroyed a large quantity of forage in front of the camp at Richemont, by means of a stratagem; for by dividing his party into six separate bodies, and concealing the depth of his columns, he deceived the besiegers in respect to his numbers, and amidst the general confusion carried off their magazine, with one hundred and thirty-three wagons, which had been mistaken by them for a train of artillery. He was also fortunate enough to cut off a convoy in the course of the same evening; and four days afterwards he seized upon and destroyed a large quantity of provisions at Gavisse destined for the supply of fifteen thousand men.

St. Meneshould, the place at which Dumouriez had established his head-quarters, is the chief place in the district of Argonne, and only one hundred and ten miles from Paris. This place is rendered strong by nature, and the general, resolving to add all the advantages resulting from art, erected batteries in his front, so as to command the valley by enfilading it on every side. He stationed his vanguard along the Tourbe, with orders to retard the enemy's march by every possible means, and to retire slowly and in good order, taking care to cut down all the bridges in the rear; after this, the troops were to take post behind the Bionne. Injunctions were at the same time issued to lay waste the country around, and

to forage in all the adjacent villages, so that nothing might remain for the enemy's cavalry.

It now became necessary to effect the junction so much desired by the general, whose army was not sufficient to check the progress of the Prussians, although hunger and disease began already to make great havoc in their camp. Beurnonville, misled by the accounts of the fugitives, had at first retreated to Chalons, but he at length arrived very opportunely with a body of troops, who were happy at the idea of re-joining and serving once more under their old commander at the camp of Maulde. Intelligence was also received in the course of the same day, that Kellermann, after leaving a detachment of five thousand men to cover Bar and Ligny, was only two leagues distant with fifteen thousand men, one third of which consisted of excellent cavalry, being chiefly composed of regiments of the line.

On receiving this joyful news, Dumouriez instantly despatched instructions to his colleague, to continue his march and occupy the camp between the villages of Dampierre and Elise, behind the Aube, in the course of the next morning; and as he began to suppose from the extension of the enemy's line, that they meant to try the fate of an action, he pointed out the heights of Valmy and Gizancourt as a proper station for his field of battle; but having neglected to repair thither in person, or even to send an engineer to mark out the ground, the former mistook his field of battle for his camp, and much confusion ensued in consequence of this event.

In the mean time, the Duke of Brunswick's operations had been greatly retarded by the difficulties incident to the subsistence of so great an army in an enemy's country. His ovens were at Verdun, and much time was consumed in bringing bread to the camp; in proportion as the season became wet, obstacles of all kinds would of course multiply; and it at length appeared hazardous to advance a single march further from the magazines, for fear of being entirely deprived of their benefit. The commander-in-chief, therefore, was fettered in respect to his future progress, as he dared not to lose sight of his communications for a moment, but he had it still in his power to compel the enemy to make such movements in his presence, as would afford him an opportunity of attacking them to advantage.

At length it became evident that the French, instead of betaking themselves to flight, now occupied a strong intrenched camp, supported by an immense park of artillery, and were prepared to give battle. As Dumouriez appeared to have assumed

a masked position, with a view of concealing the number and situation of his troops, orders were instantly issued to obtain possession of the heights of Gizancourt. Several columns were accordingly put in motion; and the artillery was sent forward. On this, Kellermann brought up the whole of his cannon to a commanding eminence, on the hill of Valmy, and by means of a well-directed fire arrested the progress of the combined army.

In the mean time, the King of Prussia had established a battery on the heights of Gizancourt, which commanded the position at Valmy, but as Stengle now out-flanked the enemy, and had opened a sharp fire on the left of the attack, the assailants received a check, and were not only prevented from storming Valmy, but, perhaps, from also breaking, surrounding, and cutting off the detachment under Kellermann; for as his troops were encumbered, and the great road leading to St. Meneshould choked up with the baggage, a retreat would have become extremely difficult.

At the close of day, the artillery ceased to fire, and the troops detached by Dumouriez retired; those commanded by Kellermann remained under arms on purpose to withdraw to the station originally intended for them, while the Prussians not only retained the heights of La Lune and Gizancourt, but completely blocked up all intercourse with Chalons, and occupied a position between the enemy and the capital.

Thus ended the skirmish of Valmy, during which only three or four hundred men were killed, although the rival armies fired more than forty thousand cannon-shot. The combined forces on this occasion, by means of a masterly evolution, had contrived to cut off all direct communication between Dumouriez and his magazines; but they completely failed in the main object

of the contest, as the French were neither beaten nor intimidated. On the contrary, they in the end derived from this contest all the advantages that could have been expected from a signal victory.

The action at Valmy, since dignified with the appellation of the Battle of Valmy, completely dissipated the illusions of Frederick William II., who, after seeing the hopes of the emigrants in some measure realized by the surrender of Longwy and Verdun, is said to have expected either the immediate flight or desertion of the French forces;* but their intrepidity and patriotism not only disappointed his hopes, but gave a new turn to the war. The veteran troops, who had neglected on the preceding day to carry the heights of Valmy by the bayonet, might still indeed have marched straight to Chalons, which was only a few leagues distant; but the enemy, whose supposed disadvantages were now fully counterbalanced by a decided superiority in respect to artillery, as well as by recent events, would have cut off all communication with Verdun.

The King of Prussia accordingly began to reflect seriously on the critical situation to which he was reduced. He had fully acquitted himself of his engagement to enter France. None of the armies appeared in the least disposed to join him, and not a single department, or even district, had declared in favour of the ancient monarchy. He himself had already expended immense sums, and hazarded the existence of an army on which the security of his own dominions depended in behalf of the common cause. In addition to this, the fervour of his zeal had induced him to neglect many necessary precautions; several fortresses had been left in his rear, many of his convoys had been cut off, and not only famine, but disease already prevailed in his camp.

CHAPTER IV.

State of the Armies—France declared a Republic—Frederick William solicits and obtains an Armistice—Cordiality between the two Armies—Rupture of the Armistice—Disastrous Retreat of the Prussians—Observations on the Failure of the Enterprise—Agitations in Paris—Massacre of the 2d and 3d of September.

WHILE the combined army was encamped within eight, fifty thousand French maintained the formidable position of St. Meneshould, and were in daily expectation of receiving fresh succours; for general d'Harville was assembling troops at Rheims, and General Sparre at Chalons. Paris, Soissons, Eprenai, Troyes, and Vitry, were also pouring forth swarms of volunteers, unacquainted indeed with discipline, and impa-

tient of restraint, but zealous to shed their blood for their country, and acquire liberty and glory for themselves. On the other hand, the forces of the allied courts, which had been deceived as to the opposition they were likely to experience, became dispirited and dejected. They found themselves entangled amidst the fastnesses

* *Tableau Historique and Polit.* t. ii. p. 283.

of a sterile province, destitute of water, forage, and provisions, with a resolute enemy in front, fresh levies pouring in from all quarters, and their own resources diminishing daily.

Dumouriez, on the other hand, was equally aware of the superiority of his own position, and the critical and even desperate situation of the enemy. But a different opinion prevailed at Paris, whence he received couriers daily, with instructions to retreat. The romantic hopes and extravagant projects of this general, instead of allaying, served only to increase their fears; for although the combined forces were posted between him and the capital, and the immediate communication with his own magazines cut off, regardless of these directions, he continued to assert with great confidence, that his Prussian majesty would not be able to penetrate farther into Champagne; and that, within the short space of ten days, his once formidable army, consumed by hunger and disease, must be forced to retreat through the same defiles by which it had entered France. Not content with this prediction, which was speedily realized, he also assured them that he should have time to march to the succour of Lisle, now menaced by the Duke of Saxe Teschen, and demanded, by way of recompense for his services, that he might be permitted to make Brussels his headquarters during the winter, as he intended to be there by the 15th of November.

Opposing, therefore, the intrepidity of his character to the current of opinion, Dumouriez determined, at the risk of his life, to persevere; and as the direct road to Chalons, where his provisions were deposited, was now blocked up, he ordered his convoys to ascend along the left bank of the Marne to Vitry; he also caused new roads to be cut, and posted detachments to keep up the communication. But, notwithstanding all his care, the army, which was sometimes two or three days without bread, began to murmur. On these occasions, in imitation of the generals of antiquity, he was accustomed to mingle with and appease the soldiery.

"The famous Marshal Saxe," said he, "has written a book on the art of war, in which he maintains that the regular delivery of provisions to the troops should be discontinued at least once a week, in order to make them less sensible of such a privation in cases of necessity. As for us!" he would exclaim, "we have not half so much reason to complain as these Prussians encamped within our sight, who are sometimes destitute of bread for four days in succession, and reduced to the necessity of feeding on their dead horses! You have

plenty of hogs'-lard, rice, and flour; make cakes with these, and liberty will give them a relish."

At another time, when a convoy had been retarded, he assumed a severe air, and cried out—

"Which are the bad citizens who are so cowardly as not to sustain hunger! Let them be stripped of their arms and uniforms, and instantly chased away. Such are not worthy of participating with us in the honour of saving our country! You cannot receive any bread before to-morrow; show yourselves therefore capable of surmounting every thing. No more murmurs: Liberty for ever!" On this, the whole camp began to shout—"Liberty for ever! Long live our father!"

While Dumouriez was thus occupied by turns in opposing the enemy, and soothing, reprimanding, and acquiring the confidence of his own troops, a great event had occurred at Paris, which produced a complete change in the nature and form of the government. At the very moment when the King of Prussia, at the head of an immense army, had driven the French from the camp of Grandprey, and Longwy and Verdun were in possession of the enemy, a national convention had assembled, royalty was abolished, and France declared a republic.*

This intelligence soon reached the camp of St. Menehould, and was immediately succeeded by three commissioners, who ordered the new oath of allegiance to be administered to the troops; and the commander-in-chief, even had he been otherwise inclined, was under the necessity of exhibiting a prompt obedience.

The deputies, Sillery, Carra, and Prieur, had been selected on purpose to procure the accession of the army to the late decree of the convention; and their success did not belie the expectations which had been conceived of them, for being indignant at the supposed treachery of the king, and the presence of "a horde of foreign mercenaries," they consented with joy to pass from a monarchal to a republican form of government.†

The Prussian monarch had already become tired of a war, whence he could reap neither glory nor advantage, and began to

* NATIONAL CONVENTION—September 21, 1792.

† The national assembly decrees, that royalty is abolished in France;

"That all public acts shall be dated—'The first year of the French Republic';"

"That the seal of the state shall be changed, and have for legend 'French Republic';"

"And that the national seal shall represent a woman sitting on a bundle of arms, and having in her hand a pike with the cap of liberty upon it; on the exergue shall be engraved, 'Archives of the French Republic.'"

† *Mém. du General Dumouriez, tome iii.*

wish for an opportunity of withdrawing his army, the safety of which had now become precarious. It was with this intention, that he sent Colonel Manstein, his adjutant-general, to the French head-quarters, on the 22d of September, for the purpose of holding a conference with the commander-in-chief, about the mutual exchange of prisoners. After many compliments on both sides, it was finally resolved to discontinue skirmishing in front of their respective camps, and a suspension of arms accordingly took place in that direction. Dumouriez, with his usual acuteness, took advantage of this event, for he instantly despatched orders to General Dubouquet, who was stationed at *Notre Dame de l'Epine*, in the neighbourhood of Chalons, to march at the head of sixteen battalions of infantry, and two squadrons of dragoons, to Fresnoe, near Sommièvre, while General Despres-Grassier was to advance with two thousand foot and a thousand horse to Espèze and Noirliu. He also despatched eighteen squadrons of light horse, under Trecheville, towards Sommièvre, Herpont, and Moyon, on purpose to occupy the right flank of the combined army; and he repeated his injunctions to Lieutenant-general d'Harville to proceed to point Faurgues, and even as far as St. Hilary.

As the Prussians, by the armistice in the van, sacrificed the emigrants who had advanced in flank, the latter were forced by these movements to fall back from Sui-eppe, which they had reached, towards Croix-en-Champagne, where they already began to anticipate the fate that was preparing for them. But this was not all; for Colonel Trecheville, at the head of a body of horse, advanced boldly in the rear of the Prussians, and obtained much booty; while General Neuilly, marching from Papavant with the light troops, took a circuit by the forest of Argonne, on purpose to annoy the enemy's left wing. Beurnonville's advanced guard at the same time penetrated by Marche across the forest to the old camp of Grandprey, and by cutting off the supplies of provision, carried on a still more fatal and destructive species of warfare.

The treaty relative to the exchange of prisoners, negotiated by Colonel Manstein, on behalf of his Prussian majesty, extended only to the Prussian, Austrian, and Hessian troops, for the unfortunate exiles were excluded from any participation in this cartel.

The unhappy emigrants being now considered as rebels, in consequence of this concession, the Prussian adjutant-general assured Dumouriez that his majesty was no longer desirous of continuing the war against France; that he did not wish to

intermeddle either in respect to her constitution or government, but merely expected that the king should be liberated from his confinement, and his authority restored in the same manner as it existed previously to the 10th of August.

In reply to these propositions, which were unnecessary before the combined forces entered France, but had now become impracticable, the general presented Colonel Manstein with the official documents just received from Paris, by which it appeared that the national assembly had been changed for a national convention, and the monarchy converted into a republic.

In the mean time, the utmost cordiality subsisted between the advanced posts of the two armies. Dumouriez presented the King of Prussia with coffee, sugar, fruit, and wheaten bread, of which he knew the monarch to be in want, while the troops divided their rations of provisions with the enemy, who were dying of hunger, and exposed to the ravages of the dysentery.

Colonel Thouvenot, according to instructions, repaired next day to the head-quarters at Hans, in the rear of the camp of La Lune, where he was well received by the Duke of Brunswick; and the French general, wishing to take advantage of these friendly dispositions, with his usual readiness and ability drew up a memorial, in which he threw the whole blame of the war on the house of Austria, and endeavoured to persuade the King of Prussia that it was his interest to detach himself from an alliance at once unnatural and disadvantageous. But these remarks appear to have been disagreeable to his majesty; for an aid-de-camp was soon after despatched by the commander-in-chief, with a manifesto couched in the same haughty tone as his former proclamations. This production appeared so harsh and ill-timed to Dumouriez, that he spoke to the officer to whose care it had been intrusted, thus;—"Sir, I took the liberty to transmit a memorial to the King of Prussia; but I did not address myself to the Duke of Brunswick, who undoubtedly mistakes a French commander-in-chief for a burghmaster of Amsterdam; tell him that the truce ceases from this moment, and that I have given orders for that purpose in your presence."

The necessary preparations were accordingly made, and the French army rejoiced greatly at the event, for they began to be jealous of the frequent communications that took place between their general and the Prussians. The conferences having been thus broken off, the situation of the grand army became every day more critical, but it might still have been relieved from its embarrassments by a victory, and a council of war was held, at which it was determined

to hazard the event of a battle, in express opposition to the private opinion of the commander-in-chief. The necessary instructions were accordingly given for that purpose; but after the combined army had been drawn out, and the signal for action was expected with impatience, Frederick William, with his usual irresolution, commanded the troops to retire.*

As it was now not judged advisable either to advance or risk a general action, and the havoc of famine and disease increasing daily in the allied camp, proper precautions were adopted to withdraw the troops as soon as possible from this scene of death and desolation.

In the mean time, the troops who had threatened to avenge the cause of sovereigns, to restore the dispossessed nobles, to rebuild the violated altars, and to reinstate the deposed monarch, were obliged to take advantage of the night, in order to conceal their flight, and insure their own safety. The camp of La Lune was accordingly abandoned late in the evening of the 30th of September, and in the course of the succeeding morning, the main body fell back about a league, the artillery and heavy baggage having been sent off before. On receiving this intelligence, Dumouriez immediately sent a courier to the minister of war;† and despatched General Dampierre with a brigade of infantry; the latter found the ground lately occupied by the Prussians strewed with the carcasses of men and horses, while the ditches were so full of blood, that many of the sick had fallen into them, and actually perished there. Such a position as this became untenable, on account of the infection arising from

epidemic maladies, and it was accordingly relinquished by the French.

As might have been expected, the retreat of the Prussians from Champagne was effected with the utmost difficulty, and it is extremely probable, notwithstanding the acknowledged talents of the Duke of Brunswick, and the bravery and perseverance displayed on this occasion by the King of Prussia himself, that if the whole French army had proceeded in pursuit, while Custine advanced on the side of Coblenz, they would have been reduced to the necessity of capitulating. The distance from the camp of La Lune to Luxembourg does not exceed twenty-eight leagues, yet no less than three whole weeks were consumed in the route. As part of the way led through a marshy country, and the roads were broken up by the rains, while the neighbouring rivers overflowed their banks, but little progress could be made; accordingly, the troops often marched from break of day until night, without advancing more than five or six miles. The whole army was literally *stuck fast in the mud* during a week, before the village of Grandprey; and in order to save the artillery, it became necessary to cut down part of the neighbouring forests, and by placing the trees side by side, a new road was constructed with infinite toil, for the cannon and baggage.

In the mean time, the Generals Stengel, Beurnonville, Galland, and Chazot, although at too great a distance to produce any considerable effect, hung upon their flanks and rear, cut off the stragglers, and destroyed all the forage and provisions they could find in the neighbourhood. Valence, on being nominated to succeed Arthur Dillon, attacked and carried several of their posts, and obliged them to agree to the surrender of Longwy and the evacuation of Verdun, before he would consent to an armistice.*

At length on the 23d of October, the Prussian army reached Austrian Flanders, reduced to the most deplorable state by famine and the dysentery, with the surviving soldiers entirely destitute of shoes, clothes, and not unfrequently even of arms. All the way from the height of Hans to the fortress of Luxembourg was strewed with

* Tableau Historique et Politique de l'Europe, par Segur, ex-ambassadeur, 2d edition, tom. ii.

† Copy of a Letter from General Dumouriez to the Minister at War.

* MY DEAR SERVANT—The Prussians are in full retreat; the brave Beurnonville, who has been christened the 'French Ajax,' has taken within these two days from them above four hundred men, more than fifty wagons, and above two hundred horses. By what we can learn from the prisoners and deserters, their army is wasted by fatigue, famine, and the bloody flux. The enemy march always by night, only going one or two leagues during the day-time to cover their baggage and artillery.

"I have reinforced Beurnonville, who had above twenty thousand men, and who will not rest until he has exterminated them. This day I shall join and assist him. I have sent you copies of my correspondence with the enemy, which I have caused to be printed, that no suspicion may arise. I hope, if the troops have any confidence in me, to winter at Brussels. Assure the august assembly of the sovereign people that I will not rest till I have rendered the tyrants incapable of doing us any further mischief.
DUMOURIEZ."

* This armistice is so far memorable, as it afforded the first opportunity of recognising the republic, by the admission of the following article:—

"Pour donner à la présente convention la plus grande authenticité, elle sera revêtue du sceau du Peuple Français, et de celui de S. M. le roi de Prusse."—"To give greater authenticity to this convention, it shall be invested with the seal of the French people, and that of his majesty the King of Prussia."

the wreck of the fugitives; the camp equipment was abandoned, and half of the cavalry either killed or rendered unfit for service. (14)

Thus, after the loss of upwards of twenty thousand Prussian and Austrian troops, the sacrifice of the French king, princes, and nobility, and the recognition of that very republic which had been threatened with annihilation, ended this memorable campaign; in which, perhaps, for the first time in the annals of mankind, the fate of a great empire was decided without a general battle. A variety of obvious causes may be assigned for the failure of this expedition. The grand army took the field at too late a season of the year for effective operations; the indiscriminate vengeance of the allied courts, instead of dividing, united France; the house of Austria, in consequence of a recent war with the Turks, had been rendered unable to fulfil its engagements; while the increasing jealousies of ancient rivalry, and the secret and perhaps separate views of those princes who publicly professed to restore the mitre and the crown, perpetually intervened, so as to prevent a cordial union. To these are to be added the difficulties of the original enterprise and the constitutional versatility of the hero of the league. Such was the fatal impolicy of the original measure, that it involved in certain ruin all those whom it professed to save; it whetted the axe of the executioner, and prepared the scaffold for the unhappy king; it put an end to the reigning dynasty, converted monarchical France into a military commonwealth, and at length endangered, not the repose alone, but the independence of Europe.

In the course of a single fortnight after the publication of the two celebrated de-

clarations by the Duke of Brunswick, Louis XVI. was not only suspended, but imprisoned; and immediately after the treacherous surrender of Longwy and Verdun, royalty itself was abrogated, and the republic proclaimed. Nor was this all: the predominant faction, driven to despair by the approach of a victorious army, not only planned and perpetrated the execrable massacres of September, but swore the destruction of the whole Capetian race. From this moment, too, the democracy of France, wielded by a coarse but irresistible arm, after demolishing the nobles, the dignified clergy, and the throne was uplifted to crush all the surrounding states.

It has been before intimated, that the capture of Longwy, and the approach of the Prussians, spread an instantaneous alarm throughout Paris, and that the assembly itself was not exempt from the panic. At this awful moment, suspicion lodged in every heart, and terror was depicted upon every countenance. Danton, the Minister of Justice, stood forward in the assembly on this occasion: he observed, that there were more than 80,000 stand of arms in Paris in the hands of private persons, and with these he proposed to equip a volunteer army, who should sally forth to meet the enemy. This proposal was immediately adopted; and it was followed by a decree for disarming all suspected persons. Danton was at this time closely connected with M. Robespierre, who occupied the situation of public accuser, and with M. Marat, a Prussian,* now become a distinguished member of the Jacobin club; and to this execrable triumvirate, the horrors of the sanguinary massacres of the 2d and 3d of September are to be imputed. Instead of directing the enrolment of volunteers to be made in their respective sections with order and quietness, they directed that the alarm guns should be fired at two o'clock; that the tocsin, or alarm bell, should be sounded; that the country should be proclaimed in danger; and that the populace of Paris should be summoned to meet in the Champ de Mars, whence, as they pretended, they were to march in a body to meet the approaching enemy. It is only justice to the Parisians to say, that, on this occasion, they showed more discretion than their rulers; and that, for the most part, they assembled in their respective sections to enrol their names as the defenders of their country. A great concourse was however

(14) The distresses of the Prussians on this retreat were trifling in comparison with those endured by the French emigrants. Abandoned by their recent allies in the treaty for the exchange of prisoners, they were exposed to every species of suffering after that event. During the retreat they were chiefly employed as a rear-guard, and according to an impartial historian,* "both conquerors and conquered, united in showering their indignation upon these unfortunate persons. The aged and infirm, who could not keep up with the march of the army, fell into the hands of the French, and were immediately put to the sword, while the Prussian huzzars plundered them with the most revolting indignity." Such was the fate of those, who but a few months before had entered France, with the threat of reducing the people to unconditional submission. While it is impossible to avoid commiserating the sufferings of these unhappy persons, it cannot be denied that they were well merited, and afford a solemn warning to all who would invoke the interference of foreigners in the internal disputes of their own country.

* Lacretelle.

* Lempriere's Biog. Dict. represents Marat as having been born at Beaudor, near Neuchâtel, in Switzerland, in 1744.

W. G.

collected, composed, as the Gironde party (which derived its name from the department which returned its leading members) assert, partly of assassins, hired by the Mountain party (which took its name from its members occupying the highest seats in the convention), and at the head of which, at this moment, stood Robespierre, Danton, and Marat. The resolutions of the assembly had scarcely been formed, when a number of voices exclaimed, that "they were ready to devote themselves to the service of their country, and to march against their foreign enemies; but they must first purge the nation of its domestic foes!"

Without further deliberation, a party of armed men proceeded to the Carmes, where a number of the non-juring priests were detained till an opportunity should occur of putting in force their sentence of banishment; and there, in cold blood, the remorseless assassins sacrificed every one of these defenceless, and probably innocent men. From the Carmes, they proceeded to the Abbey Prison, in which were confined the Swiss officers, and those arrested for treasonable offences against the nation on the 10th of August. The murderers proceeded with a kind of method in their crimes. They empannelled a jury, nine of whom, it is said, were Italians, or assassins from Avignon, and the other three, French. Before these self-constituted judges, the wretched prisoners underwent a summary examination. The watchword that pronounced the culprit guilty, was, "Il faut le 'larger,'" (he must be set at liberty,) when the victim was precipitated from the door, to pass through a defile of miscreants differently armed, and he was cut to pieces with sabres, or pierced through with innumerable pikes. Some they acquitted, and these were declared under the protection of the nation, and accompanied to their respective homes by some of the banditti.

The whole of the staff-officers of the Swiss guards were massacred, except their commander, M. d'Affry.

The assassins continued the whole night of the 2d at the Abbey, and the prison of the Chatelet, whence they proceeded to the prison of La Force, where the ladies of the court, who were arrested on the 10th of August, were confined. In this dungeon was the beautiful and accomplished Princess de Lamballe, the friend and confidante of the queen. This ill-fated princess was dragged from her bed, and her head being severed from her body, her mangled corpse was exposed to every kind of indignity; and the head, fixed upon a spike, was carried to the temple, and shown to the unfortunate queen, who fainted at the horrid sight. Madame de Tourzelle, her daughter, and some other ladies, who were confined in the same prison, were spared.

These dreadful massacres lasted the whole of the 2d and 3d of September. At the Abbey prison, 159 were massacred, exclusive of M. M. d'Augremont, Rosoy and de la Porte, who had been previously beheaded; at the seminary of St. Fermin, 92 unfortunate victims suffered; at the Carmes, 141; at the Hotel de la Force, 168; at the Chatelet, 214; at the Conciergerie, 85; at the Bicetre, 153; at the cloister of the Bernardines, 73; in all amounting to the shocking number of *one thousand and eighty-five*. The number of the assassins have been variously reported; but the general opinion is, that they did not exceed two or three hundred.

The example of Paris was fatally imitated in other places, particularly at Versailles. The prisoners, who had been confined at Orleans for state offences, were ordered thither by the national assembly, on the 8th of September. The preceding evening a party of assassins proceeded from Paris, and as soon as the prisoners arrived, massacred them on the spot. Thus perished the Duke of Brissac, the Bishop of Maudes, and about thirty others. At Lyons also some prisoners were massacred on the 9th.

CHAPTER V.

Spires taken by the French—Surrender of Worms, Mentz, and Francfort—War declared against Sardinia by France—Conquest of Savoy—Of Nice—Geneva acknowledges the French Republic—Unsuccessful Attack of the Austrians upon Lisle—Dumouriez's Successes in the Netherlands—Battle of Gemappe—Privations of the French Army—Evacuation of Francfort by the French—Dumouriez pairs to Paris to save the life of the King.

At the very moment when Dumouriez, at the head of a few undisciplined forces, not exceeding, as he asserts, 17,000 men,

collected in haste, and bereaved of their original leader, was struggling against the efforts of the combined army in the plains

of Champagne, prodigious exertions were made throughout the whole French empire. Camps were formed on all the frontiers, and swarms of armed citizens were put in motion against the enemy in every possible direction. While the fate of the empire appeared as yet uncertain, inroads were made into the territories of hostile powers; and those very states that had entertained the project of dismembering France, were themselves taught to experience all the horrors of dismemberment.

On the 29th of September, Custine commenced his march, at the head of about 20,000 troops, and proceeded directly to Spire, which contained immense magazines belonging to the enemy, and the Austrians having recently withdrawn a body of 12,000 troops from the neighbourhood of Landau to invest the fortress of Thionville, that portion of Germany between the Rhine and the Moselle was entirely unprotected, and nothing was left to oppose his progress but about 4000 troops belonging to the emperor and the Elector of Mentz.

On his arrival at Spire, the French general found the enemy drawn up in battle array, their right being posted on a declivity, with a ravine in front, while the left was flanked with gardens surrounded by steep hedges. Notwithstanding the strength of their position, Custine lost not a moment in commencing the attack. While his troops were forming for this purpose under cover of a heavy fire of artillery, four battalions had been despatched to take possession of a height which not only commanded but overhung the enemy's left flank. On this they retired within the city, and the French general advancing in pursuit, orders were issued to force the gates by means of cannon; but on perceiving that the soldiers were animated with an extraordinary degree of ardour, he preferred to make use of the hatchets of the grenadiers. One of them was accordingly cut open in the course of a few minutes: another experienced the same fate, and the Germans, on seeing themselves repulsed on all sides, immediately retired to the houses, in the walls of which loop-holes had been formed for their musketry, and as the enemy advanced they poured down an incessant fire upon them. For a moment the French troops gave way under this galling fire, but the general, having placed eight-pounders and howitzers at the head of his columns, was soon enabled to rally his troops, and at length succeeded in forcing the Austrians to evacuate the city, with the loss of eight hundred slain during the action. The fruits of this day's victory, besides the magazines, consisted of 2,900 prisoners, who laid down their arms and

were sent to France, five stand of colours, and a contribution of 450,000 livres, levied principally on the opulent ecclesiastics.

The conquest of Spire, and the complete defeat and subsequent capitulation of the troops intrusted with its protection, not only affrighted the garrisons of the neighbouring cities, which soon experienced a similar fate, but induced the inhabitants to court rather than avoid the protection of France, as a fruitless resistance would only expose them to a bombardment. Custine, taking advantage of the terrors recently impressed by his arms, marched against Worms, on the 21st of October, which immediately surrendered; and the valuable magazines contained in that city not only produced a timely supply of provisions and necessities for his own troops, but served also to cut off the resources of the enemy. He was now desirous to obtain possession of Mentz, which has always been considered as one of the bulwarks of Germany. He accordingly appeared before that place while still unprepared for a siege, and defended only by a feeble garrison, which, after the exchange of some cannon shot, immediately capitulated, and were permitted to march out with all the honours of war.

A few days subsequent to this, several detachments from the same army, proceeding along the banks of the river, appeared suddenly before Francfort. The inhabitants were greatly astonished to find two columns of French at their gates, the one commanded by General Neuwinger, and the other by Colonel Houchard; but, before they could recover from their surprise, the magistrates received a summons to admit these troops within their walls. As the sole defence of the city consisted of a broad ditch, and the enemy's cannon were already pointed, resistance became unavailing; and the keys were accordingly presented; and the navigation of the Maine became tributary to the victors, while Hesse, Hanau, and the neighbouring country supplied them with provisions. The French general, having exasperated the wealthy inhabitants of the city, by enjoining them to pay the sum of two millions of florins, within a certain period, under pain of military execution, committed a great mistake in placing a slender garrison in the place; for the municipal officers, taking advantage of the weakness of the garrison, incited the inhabitants to rise upon them, and succeeded without much difficulty in liberating themselves from the oppressive dominion of a band of foreigners.

While these operations were taking place at Francfort, Coblenz was menaced by the French, and the important fortress of

Ehrenbreitstein would, perhaps, have fallen, had it not been for the forced march of the Hessians. Friedberg, and the salt pits of Neuheim, were seized upon by a body of troops under Houchard, while other detachments took possession of Hombourg, Usingen, and Veelbourg; and in all these expeditions, care was taken to insure the favour of the peasantry by the most exemplary moderation, while the princes, nobles, and dignified clergy, were treated with great harshness, and the prince of Hesse, in particular, experienced the marked enmity of the French generals.

While the Imperial and Prussian eagles were flying before the army of Dumouriez, and the banks of the Rhine, the Lahn, and the Maine resounded with the shouts of the victorious French, preparations had been already made to carry the three-coloured standard into the dominions of the King of Sardinia, and avenge the real or supposed injuries committed by the court of Turin.

From the commencement of the French revolution, Victor Amadeus III. King of Sardinia, attached by a triple marriage to the court of Versailles, displayed a decided hostility to the recent changes that had taken place in France, and was at length prevailed upon by his son-in-law, the Count d'Artois, to declare in favour of the exiled princes and nobles. This declaration, combined with a number of hostile indications, at length roused the indignation of the national assembly, who, on the sixteenth of September, passed a decree, declaring war against the King of Sardinia.*

The French, who had been little ambitious of following the wise maxim of the Romans, never to engage in war with more than one state at a time, had, in anticipation of this event, appointed Montesquieu, in the spring of 1791, to the command of the southern departments. In the course of the ensuing summer, this general denounced the hostile preparations of the King of Sardinia; and on the 24th of September he entered Savoy, on the side of Mount Melian, with nearly 20,000 troops, without recurring to the formality of a manifesto. Chamberri, the capital, immediately surrendered on his approach, and he subdued the whole duchy, without experiencing any serious resistance.

While Montesquieu overran one portion of the dominions of the King of Sardinia,

Anselme, at the head of the army of the Var, prepared to attack another. He accordingly commenced his march, and planted the tree of liberty in the city of Nice. He then commenced the blockade of Montalban, which soon capitulated, and, having obtained possession of Villa Franca, a frigate, a sloop of war, several magazines, filled with naval stores, and one hundred pieces of ordnance, became the prey of the republicans. But in the course of a few weeks, the French general received a check at Sospello, and lost several of his cannon; this being followed by a retreat from Castillon, where he had been beaten, he was immediately suspended by the commissioners who attended his army, and sent a prisoner to Paris.*

At this period of the war, the French made a number of proselytes in the conquered countries. A society of "the Friends of Liberty and Equality," was established at Chamberri, and another at Nice, while the inhabitants were eager to transmit addresses replete with attachment to the cause of France; and the republic of Geneva embraced the opportunity of being the first independent state that acknowledged the republic. On the other hand, the court of Turin was reduced to the most deplorable situation; Nice and Villa Franca were already lost; Savoy was annexed to France,

* GENERAL ANSELME. This officer, previously to the revolution, had been colonel of the royal grenadiers. In 1791, he was made a *maréchal de camp*, and on the 21st of Sep. 1792, nominated successor to General Montesquieu by the executive council; but he had not time to set off for the head-quarters of the southern army, as the convention rescinded the appointment in the course of the succeeding day. He however was placed at the head of the army of the Var, and conducted himself with so much moderation, that the inhabitants of Nice demanded for him the rank of Marshal of France. At first, all his operations proved successful, and victory seemed to be attached to his standards, but he at length experienced a reverse of fortune, and was soon afterwards suspended from his command by the commissioners by whom he was accompanied. They informed the convention, "that the late disasters had originated in consequence of the departure from principles, carelessness, and want of circumspection, on the part of General Anselme; and that being fully convinced of his incapacity, they had nominated Biron to succeed him." Although neither treason nor venality of any kind appeared to be urged against the conqueror of Montalban, Nice, and Villa Franca, yet Tallien moved for a decree of arrest; but Goupilleau prevented that measure from taking place immediately, by insisting on previously hearing the commissioners. He was however imprisoned in the abbey a short time afterwards, but on pleading his wounds, permission was granted to retire to his own house. At length, he was fortunate enough to be acquitted of all the charges brought against him, and remained in obscurity during the remainder of the revolution.

* NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.—September 16, 1792.—The minister for foreign affairs informed the assembly, "that the executive council had resolved that war should be declared against the King of Sardinia; his openly encouraging French rebels, and insulting the ambassador from France, having rendered such a step necessary."

under the name of the department of Mont Blanc, by a decree of the 27th of November; the island of Sardinia was menaced by a naval armament; and the republic threatened to plant the tree of liberty in Piedmont.

Instead of being reduced to the necessity of defending her own territories, as formerly, France now threatened all her enemies with coercion, and proclaimed "that the country was no longer in danger."* At this memorable period upwards of 60,000 men, under the Generals Kellermann, Valence, and Chazot, were employed in pursuit of the retreating Prussians; eighteen thousand more, commanded by d'Harville, had assembled at Maubeuge: Labourdonnaue had collected nearly thirty thousand, including the garrisons of the northern departments; Custine, with twenty thousand, kept possession of Mentz and Francfort; from fifteen to eighteen thousand were serving under Biron, before Strasbourg and Huningen; the successors of Montesquieu and Anselme were still at the head of thirty thousand; while Beurnonville, with about twenty-two thousand more destined for the invasion of the Low Countries, was on his march to French Flanders. Thus an immense body of nearly two hundred thousand troops had been brought into action, and great and important designs of conquest and revenge were now meditated.

Dumouriez, after conducting his troops to Vouzieres, on their way to the relief of Lisle, repaired to Paris for the purpose of concerting a plan for the winter campaign. After remaining only four days in the capital, where his military achievements had rendered him extremely popular, he set out for Valenciennes on the 20th of October, where he arrived before the army.

While Dumouriez had defended the important passes leading to those of Argonne, Duke Albert of Saxe Teschen, the Governor-general of the Austrian Low Countries, who was well acquainted with the weakness of the French in that quarter, prepared to invade French Flanders; and in the course

of a few days presented himself before Lisle, with 25,000 men, and an immense train of artillery. On the 29th of September, the duke summoned the city to surrender. To which, the commander, Marshal Rault, answered—"We have just renewed our oath to be faithful to the nation; to maintain liberty and equality; or to die at our posts. We will not perjure ourselves." The Austrians rejoined by opening their batteries upon the town. The inhabitants, inspired with a degree of extraordinary heroism, caused the keys of the city to be carried into the great square and hung on the tree of liberty, at the same time determining, that whoever presumed to remove them, with a view of delivering up the city, should be punished with instant death. The Archduchess Christiana, consort of Duke Albert, was at the siege, and applied the match to the first mortar fired upon the occasion. The bombardment continued for eight days, during which period the bombs and bullets never ceased to shower destruction on this seemingly devoted city; but the heroic ardour of the little garrison, joined to the well regulated enthusiasm of the inhabitants, finally prevailed, and the assailants, unable to make any impression on the walls, and hearing of the discomfiture of the combined army, retired amidst the maledictions of the citizens, two thousand of whose houses were destroyed, and six thousand damaged. During this siege, the women, emulous to share the common danger, carried water, consoled and dressed the wounded, encouraged the combatants, and even danced on the batteries in sight of the enemy.

The successes of the French about this period produced a desire to effect a revolution in the conquered countries. The national convention accordingly decreed, "that in all the territories occupied by the armies of the republic, the generals shall proclaim peace, fraternity, and equality; abolish tithes, nobility, and feudal services; that they shall also convoke primary assemblies; but none of the privileged orders are to be allowed to vote until they have sworn to renounce their privileges."

Dumouriez was now prepared, with a body of nearly 90,000 men, to make a third attack upon the Austrian Low Countries. Having made all the necessary military arrangements, he resolved to enter immediately on the campaign; but he did not omit to provide himself with arms of a new kind, far more destructive to the power of the enemy than the most terrible engines of modern warfare. These consisted of pamphlets, declarations, advertisements, and addresses, drawn up with skill, and productive of so powerful an effect, that the

* NATIONAL CONVENTION.—October 20, 1792. The foreign enemies of the republic having been forced to quit her territories, the national convention seizes this opportunity to publish the following proclamation to the French armies.

"Citizens in arms, who combat for the rights of men, you whose courage has insured the triumph of liberty and equality, a grateful country addresses you through us. Receive then the recompense of the danger, the fatigues, and the sacrifices, which have marked your path towards glory. The national convention accordingly declares, in the name of the French people, that you have saved the republic, and that your country is no longer in danger."

Austrian government found it necessary to prohibit "all communication" between the two nations. The French general himself penned a manifesto with his own hand, in which he announced to the Belgians, that his troops intended to enter their country, not as enemies, but as brothers and friends; that their design was to assist them in the recovery of their ancient rights; that they would neither intermeddle in their government nor their laws; that they would also leave it to themselves to organize whatever constitution they might be inclined to adopt; and that they would not levy any contribution, nor exercise any act of conquest whatever.

"Provided," added he, "you but establish the sovereignty of the people and renounce the dominion of despots, we will become your supporters: we will respect your property and your laws, and the most rigid discipline shall prevail throughout the French armies. Belgians, we are brethren! Our cause is the same. You have given so many proofs of impatience under the yoke, that we cannot entertain the least apprehension of being obliged to treat you as enemies."

In the mean time, the Austrians, under the Duke of Saxe Teschen, determined to adopt a defensive system, and by means of a war of posts, provide for the safety of the Low Countries. The duke, by his junction with General Clairfait, was now at the head of 25,000 men; and Dumouriez, in consequence of detachments sent on other services, had no more than 32,000, but in order to preserve his superiority, he ordered General Harville to reinforce him with his corps, 12,000 strong. Three days after this, he advanced from his head-quarters at Hanning, and the first skirmish occurred with the Austrians on the part of the Belgic infantry, who of their own accord attacked the enemy's advanced posts on the village of Thielin, and drove them before them; but having pursued the fugitives into the plain towards the mill of Bousac, the Imperial hussars became the assailants in their turn, and four companies were either killed or taken prisoners.

On the 5th of November, the French army was ranged in columns along the forest, in such a manner as to be readily drawn up in order of battle parallel to the village of Gemappe, with a wood in the rear, the right at Hamery, and the left at Hormes; it being resolved to attack the heights on which the enemy were intrenched in the most formidable manner in the course of the ensuing day.

The French commander-in-chief having made the proper dispositions for an assault, a vigorous cannonade was begun at seven

o'clock in the morning, which lasted until ten. It appeared to Dumouriez, that it was necessary for the soldiers to commence a conflict with bayonets: but he feigned to hesitate in giving the order, and merely commanded the batteries to approach nearer to the city. At the same time, he gave directions that the village of Quareignon, which protected Gemappe on one side, should be carried; and this point was speedily gained. At noon, all was disposed for a general attack; it was confided principally to General Beurnonville, called by Dumouriez "the French Ajax," and to the eldest son of Egalité, Duke of Orleans.* The ardour of the soldiers was not to be repressed; and the first line of redoubts was almost immediately carried. The obstacles to their progress seemed however to increase. The enemy's cavalry advanced at this instant with a view of flanking the French columns; but young Egalité was despatched to rally the troops, and attack the second line of redoubts. This assault was favoured by the third regiment of chasseurs, and the sixth of hussars, which arrived in time to charge the cavalry of the enemy, and hold them in check. At the same time, some disorder having appeared in the cavalry of Beurnonville, while he was charging the enemy at the head of his infantry, Dumouriez himself rallied them, and attacked the enemy's horse with great vigour, which had already encroached upon his right flank. During the interval of the conflict on the right, the left wing of the French had carried Gemappe, and the centre had obtained possession of the second line of redoubts. A second, though a far shorter and less vigorous engagement now took place upon the heights. The Austrians were at length obliged to retire in disorder and precipitancy upon Mons.

The conquest of the Netherlands was the reward of the victory of Gemappe. It is difficult to state with precision the loss sustained by both sides in this engagement. Dumouriez estimates the loss of the Austrians at four thousand, while he rates his own at only nine hundred killed and wounded. It is, however, evident from the circumstance of the disadvantageous situation of the latter, that this account is highly improbable, and even impossible.†

The French, pursuing their victorious career, obtained possession of Ath, and of Tournay, two days after the battle of Gemappe; and the commandant of Dunkirk with 1,800 infantry marched to Nieuport,

* Now King of the French, under the title of Louis Philippe I. W. G.

† *Precis Historique de la Revolution Française* par Lacretelle, t. i. p. 102.

Ostend, and Bruges, all of which immediately opened their gates at his approach.

On the morning of the 7th, Dumouriez entered Mons, amidst the shouts of the inhabitants, who received the conquerors as deliverers. After possessing himself with some difficulty of the heights of Anderlecht, the French general despatched Colonel Westermann with a trumpet, to summon Brussels. Marshal Bender, on this, immediately evacuated that city, and Dumouriez entered it amidst the acclamations of the people, and, what was perhaps still more pleasing, between a double row of Austrian deserters, who lined the streets on each side, and amounted to more than four thousand.*

During this campaign, Tournay, Malines, Ghent, and Antwerp, fell in succession before the armies of France, under the command of General Labourdonnaye; Louvain and Namur, assigned to the care of the Austrian General Beaulieu, were taken by General Valence. Ostend fell on the 15th of November, and the citadel of Namur surrendered on the 2d of December, to General Valence.

The siege of the citadel of Antwerp was confined to General Miranda, who, in opposition to the declaration of the States-general, that by "virtue of treaties no ship of war could enter," ascended the Scheldt with a flotilla of five armed vessels under the command of Captain Moulton, (15) and prosecuted the siege with so much vigour as to triumph over all difficulties in a few days.

Thus Dumouriez in some measure realized all his boastings; for, within the space of one month after opening the campaign, notwithstanding the steady opposition on the part of the enemy, and the not less formidable obstacles relative to the supply of money, clothes, ammunition, and provisions, he now found himself completely master of all the Low Countries, and the whole of the territory belonging to Liege,

with the exception of the dutchy of Luxembourg, and the little town of Herre.

Dumouriez, after despatching General Lamalriere to levy contribution in the dutchy of Cleves, belonging to the king of Prussia, determined to march immediately against the Austrians. But his army, still encamped behind Liege, was deprived of every comfort. Some of the battalions were entirely destitute of shoes and stockings; whole regiments were infected with the itch; neither straw nor wood could be obtained; and Rousin, the commissary-general, who was at variance with the commander-in-chief, supplied the army with provisions only from day to day.

At length, the general having borrowed, or rather exacted, the sum of one hundred and fourteen thousand livres from the seven collegiate churches of Liege, determined to set out in quest of the enemy, now posted in divisions communicating with each other at Aix-la-Chapelle, Havre, and Henry-Chapelle. Having despatched Colonels Trecheville and De Hack to act against their left flank, he ordered General Stengel to advance in front. The imperialists, after maintaining their position for some time with their accustomed valour, retired with the loss of about 300 men, and General Clairfait immediately occupied a new and formidable position behind the Herfte. The French in the mean time had only to accomplish a march of ten leagues in order to dislodge him, but both bread and forage were wanting to enable them to conclude the campaign by so brilliant an enterprise.

While the victorious armies of the republic extended their fame and their conquests, and threatened the humiliation of all their enemies, the convention began to experience the degrading influence of Robespierre and Marat. The war department, under Pache, was administered without any regard to the wants of the army, and the general complained with too much reason, "that, for the purpose of retarding his success, and ruining his reputation, the minister Pache, supported by the criminal faction to whom all the disasters that followed are to be ascribed, suffered the victorious army to want every thing, and succeeded in disbanding it by famine and nakedness. The consequence was, that more than 15,000 men were in the hospitals, more than 25,000 deserted, through misery and disgust, and upwards of 10,000 horses died of hunger."

To add to the calamities of France, a period was about to be put to her successes in Germany, and Custine, partly in consequence of his own imprudence, and partly from not being supported by Kellermann, was forced to evacuate Francfort; while the Prussians, after exhibiting the most distin-

* NATIONAL CONVENTION—Nov. 14, 1792.

Copy of a despatch from General Dumouriez.

"CITIZEN PRESIDENT,—Yesterday, I presented myself before Brussels: the Austrians employed a considerable force against me, by means of which they disputed the heights of Anderlecht. Desirous to spare the blood of my fellow citizens, I lay all night under arms, and was received this morning at Brussels as the deliverer of the Brabant nation. The minister of war will give you further particulars; but what I can assure you is, that it may be said of the French army, *vires acquirit eundo*; (it has acquired strength by the conflict.) The Austrian government has retired to Zuremonde.—DUMOURIEZ."

(15) Captain Moulton was an American officer, but at that time in the service of France.

ished marks of discipline and perseverance, on their retreat from France, now occupied that city as well as Coblenz and Treves.

About this period, Dumouriez repaired to France, ostensibly to consult the ministers relative to the approaching campaign, but in reality, according to his own account since published, to save the life of the

unfortunate monarch. But the Parisians were at this moment outrageous against their late king, and the influence of the Jacobins now preponderated in the convention. The national guards were taught to consider Louis XVI. as a perjured and perfidious prince; and the commander-in-chief himself asserts,* that even the troops of the line had become indifferent to his fate.

CHAPTER VI.

Observations—Discovery—Contents of the concealed Documents—Trial of Louis XVI.—His Conduct subsequent to the Trial—His Execution—His last Will and Testament.

It has been well observed, that "short 's the distance between the prison and the grave of a sovereign;" and the fate of the unfortunate Louis XVI. adds another to the numerous illustrations afforded in the annals of nations, of the truth of this observation. Ever since the massacre of the 2d of September, the MOUNTAIN, or ANARCHISTS, as they were called, had been labouring to wash away the remembrance of their own guilt on that fatal day, in the blood of their sovereign; and in the month of October various motions were introduced into the convention, and carried by overwhelming majorities, sometimes by acclamation, for the purpose of bringing the king to trial and punishment; and, though these measures were generally opposed by the Gironde party, their eloquence and influence were found insufficient to restrain that implacable and sanguinary disposition which had taken possession of the breasts of their rivals, and communicated itself to a great part of the population of the metropolis.

About this period, a discovery was made which served to heighten the popular resentment against the lately deposed king, and appeared to involve the most important consequences. A workman, who had been employed to form an iron chest or closet in the wall of the Tuilleries, revealed the fact to Roland, the minister of the home-department, and conducted him to the place which contained the sacred deposit. This chest was found to contain a great number of correspondencies, and a committee, consisting of 24 members of the convention, was chosen to inspect the papers, and prepare the act of accusation. On the 6th of November, Valaze, the chairman of the committee, presented the report, when the principal proofs of guilt produced against the king from the concealed documents, were the following:—

1. A receipt from Bouille, dated Mayence, October 15, 1791, containing an account of the expenditure of the sum of 993 thousand livres issued for the formation of the camp at Montmedy. This money had been distributed amongst the following persons, viz. Monsieur, the Comte d'Artois, the Prince de Nassau, the Duc de Choiseul, Demandell, Bon, Hamilton, Lassale, Weyman, and several other general officers and private persons.

2. Another, signed Choiseul-Stanville, attesting the receipt and distribution of 600,000 livres.

3. A letter, stating that the diamonds of Madame Elizabeth had been transmitted on the 22d of June, 1791, to an officer of huzzars, who had carried them to the brothers of the late king.

4. A paper, proving that the editor of the "*Postillon de la Guerre*" (a newspaper) had received 8000 livres from the civil list, and the "*Logographe*," no less than 60,000 livres, during the space of three months only.

5. A great number of letters, &c. &c., proving that Louis Capet was a monopolizer of corn, sugar, and coffee: these monopolies were made in foreign countries; the treasurer of the civil list superintended the business, and was ordered to advance to the amount of three millions.

6. A new order of chivalry, introduced under the name of "*Chevaliers de la Reine*;" the decoration of this order consisted of a medal, one side of which was adorned with a portrait of the queen; the other had this inscription: "*Magnum regina nomen adumbrat*." Several persons had received this decoration, notwithstanding an express decree forbidding the creation of any new orders of chivalry.

7. A bundle of papers, which prove that a person of the name of Gille had received 12,000 livres, in order to pay a band of sixty men, against the express letter of the constitution, which forbids the king to raise or maintain any armed men without the permission of the legislature.

8. A carton full of proofs that Louis Capet had continued the pay of such of his body-guards as had emigrated to Coblenz; that a number of conspirators were constantly assembled at the Tuilleries; that Bouille had the audacity to repair there since the invasion projected in 1791; and that, from the day that the *ci-devant* Comte d'Artois had been decreed to be in a state of accusation, Louis XVI. had assigned a pension of 200,000 livres to his children.

The discussion on the report was imme-

* *Life of Dumouriez*, vol. iii. p. 428.

diately followed by the introduction of a question, the most embarrassing to his accusers, and to the convention: viz. whether the king was not by the constitution invested with perfect and legal inviolability; and whether consistent with justice, he, whom the law had solemnly pronounced to be above the reach of any legal process, could be brought to trial. This objection was strangely and most unjustly overruled by the convention, who, in this instance established the precedent, always so fatal to liberty, of an *ex post facto* law, and evinced to the eyes of Europe, their inattention to those "rights of man," which the nation had so solemnly proclaimed.

Immediately on the act of accusation being past, the king was forcibly separated from his family, and the whole of the unhappy prisoners in the Temple were guarded with redoubled vigilance; and, contrary to the practice in all criminal cases in almost every civilized country, it was decreed that Louis should be brought before the convention without previous notice or preparation. (16)

On the 10th of December, the unfortunate monarch was ordered to the bar of the convention, and the act of accusation having been read, he was required by the president, Barrere, to answer to each separate charge. So important a record, it would be inconsistent with the fidelity of history to abridge, and it is therefore subjoined entire from the most authentic source.

Extract of the Proceedings of the National Convention, on the 11th of December, 1792.

Louis came to the bar: a profound silence reigned in the assembly. The president said to him,

"Louis, the people of France accuse you: the national convention has decreed that you shall be tried, and that its members shall be your judges. You shall now hear the declaration of the crimes imputed to you. Louis, sit down."

The king seated himself. A secretary read the accusation, and the president then said,

"Louis, you are to answer the questions I am commissioned by the national convention to propose to you. Louis, you are accused of having committed a multitude of crimes, to establish your tyranny by destroying liberty. On the 20th of June, 1789, you committed an outrage against the sovereignty of the people, by suspending the assemblies of its representatives, and by driving them with violence from their place of meeting. The proof of this is the verbal process, drawn up in the Tennis Court at Versailles, by the members of the constituent assembly. What have you to answer?"

(16) The facts are rather incorrectly stated here. On the 3d of December, the convention decreed that Louis should be tried. On the 10th, he was brought to the bar to answer to the interrogatories. At a subsequent day, counsel was assigned him; and it was not until the 26th that his trial commenced, twenty-three days having been allowed him to prepare his defence.

VOL. I.

I

6*

Louis. "I acted against no law then in existence."

President. "On the 23d of June, 1789, you attempted to impose laws upon the nation; you surrounded the sitting of the constituent assembly with troops; presented them with two royal declarations, subversive of all liberty, and you commanded them to separate."

To this, the king gave the same answer as to the preceding question.

President. "You ordered an army to march against the citizens of Paris; their blood was shed: you did not withdraw your troops till the Bastille was taken, and a general insurrection taught you that the people were victorious. The answers you returned to the deputations of the constituent assembly, on the 9th, 12th, and 14th of July, show what your intentions then were; and the massacre at the Tuilleries also deposes against you. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "I had at that time, the power to employ my troops where I thought the circumstances required; but I never had any intention to shed blood."

President. "After these events, notwithstanding the promise made by you in the assembly on the 15th, and in the Hotel de Ville on the 17th, you persisted in your projects against the national liberty. You long evaded sanctioning the decree of the 11th of August, for abolishing personal servitude, feudal rights, and tithes; you at first refused to acknowledge the declaration of the rights of man; you doubled the number of your body-guards, and ordered the regiment of Flanders to Versailles; during the festival at that place, you permitted the national cockade to be trampled under foot before your face, the white cockade set up, and the nation to be blasphemed. In short, you rendered a new insurrection necessary, and occasioned the death of many citizens. It was not till after the defeat of your guards, that you changed your language, and renewed your perfidious promises. The proofs of these facts are in your own observations of the 18th September on the decree of the 10th of August, in the verbal process of the constituent assembly, on the events which took place at Versailles on the 5th and 6th of October, and in the answer you returned to the constituent assembly, namely, 'That you would be guided by their counsel, and never separate yourself from them.' What have you to answer?"

Louis. "I made the observation which occurred to me, as just and necessary upon the decrees presented to me. The charge respecting the cockade is false. I was witness to no such scene."

President. "At the federation of the 14th of July, 1790, you took an oath which you did not adhere to, but endeavoured, on the contrary, to corrupt the public mind through the agency of Talon, in Paris, and the influence of Mirabeau in the provinces. You lavished millions to corrupt the public mind; you attempted to make popularity itself an engine against the people. These facts are evident from a memorial of Talon's, verified by your hand, and by a letter which La Porte wrote to you on the 19th of April, in which, speaking of a conversation he had with Rizzardi, he informs you that the sums you had been advised to distribute had produced nothing."

Louis. "I don't exactly remember what passed at that time; but all these are circumstances which occurred previously to my accepting the constitution."

President. "Was it not in consequence of a plan formed by Talon, that you went to the Faubourg St. Antoine, distributed money amongst the poor workmen, telling them that you could do no more for them?"

Louis. "I had no greater satisfaction than in giving to those who required relief. In this I had no insidious design."

President. "Was it not in consequence of the same project, that you feigned an indisposition to prepare the public mind for your journey to St. Cloud, or to Rambouillet, upon pretext that the country air was necessary for your health?"

Louis. "This accusation is quite absurd."

President. "You had long meditated the design of escaping. A plan for that purpose was presented to you on the 23d of February, 1791, which you verified by your own handwriting; and on the 28th, a considerable number of officers and nobles assembled in the palace of the Tuilleries, in order to favour your escape. You attempted to go from Paris to St. Cloud, on the 11th of April; but the opposition of the citizens convinced you that your design was suspected by the public. You endeavoured to dissipate this distrust by communicating to the assembly the letter in which you had freely accepted the constitution. Notwithstanding this, you made your escape by means of a false passport, on the 21st of the month of June following, leaving behind you a declaration against this very constitution. You ordered the ministers not to sign any acts which came from the national assembly; and you prohibited the minister of justice from sealing them with the seal of the state; the public money was lavished to insure the success of this treason; and you ordered Bouille to assist you with an armed force; that same officer who commanded at the massacres of Nancy, to whom you wrote on that occasion, 'endeavour to preserve your popularity; it may be useful.' These facts are founded on the memorial of the 23d of February, verified by your own hand; and on the declaration of the 20th of June, entirely in your own handwriting; on your letter of the 4th of September, 1790, to Bouille; and on a note from him, giving you an account of the employment of 993,000 livres, which you had given him, and which he had partly expended in corrupting the troops that were to escort you. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "I know nothing of the memorial of the 23d of February.—With respect to my journey to Varennes, I refer to the answer I at that time made to the constituent assembly."

President. "After you were stopped at Varennes, your executive power was for some time suspended, but you still conspired; and on the 17th of July, the blood of the citizens was shed in the Champ de Mars. A letter in your own hand, addressed to La Fayette, 1790, proves that a criminal coalition existed between you and him, to which Mirabeau had also agreed. All kinds of corruption were employed by you. You paid the expense of publishing libels, pamphlets, and journals, which tended to pervert the public opinion, to discredit assignats, and to support the cause of the emigrants. The registers of Septuail state what enormous sums were expended for these profligate purposes. You affected to accept the constitution of the 14th of September; you declared yourself willing to maintain it, yet you laboured to overthrow it before it was completed. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "What passed on the 17th of July, cannot be justly attributed to me. As to the other charges, I have no knowledge of them."

President. "A convention took place at Pilnitz, on the 24th of July, between Leopold of Austria, and Frederick William of Brandenburg, for the purpose of re-establishing absolute monarchy in France, with which you were acquainted, yet you concealed it from the national assembly until it

was known to all Europe. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "I made it known as soon as I knew it myself; besides, by the constitution, it was the business of the ministers."

President. "Arles raised the standard of revolt; you favoured it by sending commissioners, who, in place of endeavouring to check the counter-revolutionists, encouraged them by justifying their attempt. What do you answer?"

Louis. "The commissioners' instructions will exhibit the nature of the orders with which they were intrusted. I knew none of the commissioners when my ministers proposed them to me."

President. "Avignon and Venaissin had been reunited to France; but you did not execute the decree till a month after; during that interval, a civil war desolated the country and the commissioners you sent completed the devastation. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "That charge cannot personally affect me. I know not what delay attended the execution of the decree; but those who were intrusted with it are alone responsible."

President. "Nîmes, Montauban, Mendes, and Jales, experienced violent commotions in the commencement of liberty. You did nothing to extinguish these sparks of counter-revolution till the moment, when the conspiracy of Saillans broke out. What do you answer?"

Louis. "I gave the orders upon that occasion which were proposed to me by my minister."

President. "You sent two battalions against the Marseillois, who were marching to reduce the counter-revolutionists of Arles. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "I must see the papers which regard this affair, before I can answer to the charge."

President. "You gave the command of the south to Weigenstein, who wrote to you on the 21st of April, after he had been recalled, in these terms: 'A few moments longer and I should have surrounded your majesty's throne with millions of Frenchmen, rendered once more worthy of the wishes you form for their happiness.' What have you to answer?"

Louis. "This letter by the statement of the charge is posterior to his recall. He has never been employed since. I recollect nothing of the letter."

President. "You paid your disbanded body-guard at Coblenz, as the registers of Septuail testify; and various orders, signed by you, confirm your having remitted considerable sums to Bouille, La Vauguyon, Choiseul-Beaupre, d' Hamilton, and the woman Polignac."

Louis. "I no sooner received intelligence that my body-guards had assembled in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, than I ordered their pay to be stopped. I remember nothing respecting the rest."

President. "Your brothers, enemies of the state, have called emigrants around their standard; they have raised regiments, borrowed money, and contracted alliances in your name; you did not disavow them till you were well assured that you could not injure their plots. Your correspondence with them is proved by a note in the handwriting of Louis Stanislaus Xavier, signed by both your brothers, as follows:

"I have written to you, but it was by the post, so I could say nothing. We are here two, but in mind only one; the same principles, the same sentiments, the same ardour to serve you, animate us both. We still keep silence; we should injure you by breaking it too soon, but shall speak out when assured of general support, and that moment is near. If they speak to us on the part of those people, we will listen, but never alter our course; if there

fire, they should exact that you make some declaration to us, make it without hesitation; be easy with regard to your safety; we exist only to serve you: we shall ardently exert ourselves for that purpose, and every thing will go well. Even your enemies have too much interest in your preservation to commit a useless crime which would complete their ruin. Adieu.

L. S. XAVIER, et
CHARLES PHILLIPPE.

"What have you to answer?"

Louis. "As soon as I heard of my brothers' proceedings, I disavowed them as the constitution prescribes. I have none of their letters."

President. "The troops of the line, who ought to have been kept up to the war establishment, amounted only to one hundred thousand men at the end of December: you had thus neglected to guard the safety of the nation. Narbonne, your agent, had required, that fifty thousand additional troops should be raised; but he stopped the levies at twenty-six thousand, declaring that every necessary provision for national defence was made, yet nothing was prepared. Servan proposed to form a camp of twenty thousand men near Paris; the legislative assembly decreed this, but you refused to give your sanction to the decree. A patriotic emotion prompted many citizens, in the most distant provinces, to march to Paris: you issued a proclamation, the tendency of which was to stop their march; meanwhile, our armies were deficient in soldiers; Dumouriez, who succeeded, declared that the nation was not sufficiently provided in arms, ammunition, or subsistence for the troops; and that the frontier towns were not in a state of defence. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "I gave to the minister the orders necessary for the augmentation of the army; the statements were laid before the assembly; if there were errors in them, it was no fault of mine."

President. "You gave directions to the commanders of the troops to relax the discipline of the army, to excite whole regiments to desert, and to pass the Rhine in order to join your brothers, and Leopold of Austria. This fact is proved by a letter of Toulougeon's, commander in *Franche Comte*. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "There is not a word of truth in this accusation."

President. "You commissioned your diplomatic agents to encourage a coalition between your brothers and foreign powers against France, particularly to strengthen the peace between Turkey and Austria; that the latter by withdrawing her troops from the Turkish frontiers, might be enabled to direct a greater force against France, as is proved by a letter from Choiseul Gouffier, ambassador of Constantinople. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "M. Choiseul has not spoken the truth; there is no foundation for such an idea."

President. "You neglected to provide for the safety of the nation at a most dangerous crisis; you delayed till the legislative assembly required of the minister Legard to point out the means of defence, and then, but no sooner, you sent a message to the assembly, proposing a levy of forty-two battalions. The Prussians were advancing to our frontiers; your minister was ordered, on the 8th of July, to give an account of our actual situation with regard to Prussia; you answered on the 10th, that fifty thousand Prussians were on their march against us, and that you gave that information to the assembly, as directed by the constitution. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "I had no knowledge of the fact until the tenth; all diplomatic correspondence was carried on by the ministers."

President. "You placed Dabancourt, the nephew of Calonne, at the head of the war department; and such was the success of your treachery, that Longwy and Verdun were delivered up as soon as the enemy appeared before them."

Louis. "I did not know that M. Dabancourt was the nephew of Calonne; it was not I who dismantled these towns; I never would have authorized it."

President. "Who dismantled Longwy and Verdun?"

Louis. "If such was their situation, I knew nothing of it."

President. "You have destroyed our navy; so many of its officers emigrated, that there hardly remains a sufficient number for the service; nevertheless, Bertrand continued to grant passports, and when the legislative body represented to you, on the 8th of March, his criminal conduct, you answered that you were satisfied with his services."

Louis. "I did every thing in my power to retain the officers in the service. The national assembly produced no charge that appeared to me of a criminal nature against Bertrand, therefore I did not think it just to dismiss him."

President. "You countenanced absolute government in the colonies; your agents fomented disturbances, and the counter-revolution there, at the same time that it was to have taken place in France."

Louis. "If any persons called themselves my agents in the colonies, they did it without authority from me. I gave no countenance for any thing of the nature you mention."

President. "The national tranquillity was disturbed by fanatics; you showed yourself their protector, and manifested an evident intention of recovering your former power by their means. What do you answer?"

Louis. "I have no answer to make to this charge. I had no knowledge of any such design."

President. "The legislative body, on the 29th of November, passed a decree against seditious priests, but you suspended the execution of it. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "The constitution allowed me the free power of sanctioning or rejecting decrees."

President. "Disturbances increased; the minister declared, that he knew no existing laws by which the guilty could be punished. The legislative body passed a new decree; you suspended the execution of that also."

Louis. The same reply.

President. "The bad conduct of those guards which the constitution had given to you, was such, that the assembly was under the necessity of decreeing, that they should be disbanded; the day after, you wrote a letter to the assembly, declaring your satisfaction, and you continued to pay them, as is proved by the accounts of the treasurer of the civil list."

Louis. "I continued their pay only until they should be re-established according as the decree required."

President. "You retained your Swiss guards about your person in violation of the constitution, and after the legislative assembly had ordered their departure. What do you answer?"

Louis. "I conformed to the decree on that subject."

President. "You authorized d'Augremont and Gilles secretly to maintain private companies in Paris, for the purpose of exciting commotions favourable to your plans of counter-revolution. The receipts of Gilles, who was ordered to organize a company of sixty men, will be presented to you. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "I am quite ignorant of those schemes attributed to me. The idea of a counter-revolution never entered my head."

President. "You endeavoured by considerable sums to bribe several members of the constitution and legislative assemblies. The fact is proved by letters from Dufresne, Saint Leon, and many others, which will be produced."

Louis. "Such plans were frequently presented to me, but I rejected them."

President. "Who were the members of the constituent and legislative assemblies whom you corrupted?"

Louis. "I never sought to corrupt any. I know of none."

President. "Who were the persons that presented plans to you?"

Louis. "The plans were so absurd, that I don't recollect."

President. "To whom did you promise money?"

Louis. "To none."

President. "You suffered the French nation to be degraded in Germany, Italy, and Spain, by not exacting reparation for the insults offered to the French in these countries. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "The diplomatic correspondence proves the contrary. At any rate, that was the business of the ministers."

President. "On the 10th of August, you reviewed the Swiss guards at five o'clock in the morning, and they fired first on the citizens. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "I that day reviewed all the troops that were assembled near me. The constituted authorities, the mayor of Paris, &c. were present. I had even requested a deputation might be sent me from the national assembly, that they might advise me how I should act in that emergency; and I afterwards took refuge in the assembly, with my family."

President. "Why did you cause the Swiss guard to be doubled in the beginning of August?"

Louis. "All the constituted authorities knew that the palace was to be attacked. As I was one of the constituted authorities, I had a right to defend myself."

President. "Why did you send for the mayor of Paris on the evening of the 9th of August?"

Louis. "Because of the rumours which were spread."

President. "You caused the blood of Frenchmen to be shed."

Louis. "No, sir, it was not I."

President. "Did not you authorize Septucl to undertake a commercial speculation in grain, sugar, and coffee, at Hamburg, and in other towns? This is proved by Septucl's own letters."

Louis. "I know nothing about what you mention."

President. "Why did you put a veto on the decree, ordering a camp to be formed round Paris?"

Louis. "The constitution gave me full powers to sanction decrees or not. At that time, I ordered a camp nearer the frontiers at Soissons."

President. "Louis, have you any thing to add in your defence?"

Louis. "I demand a copy of the act of accusation, and that I may be allowed counsel to conduct my cause."

Valaze, who sat near the bar, presented to Louis Capet the pieces, viz. The memoir of Laporte and Mirabeau, and some others, containing plans of a counter-revolution.

Louis. "I disown them."

Valaze next presented several other papers, on which the act of accusation was founded, and asked the king if he recognised them. These papers were the following:

Valaze. "Letter of Louis Capet, dated June 29, 1790, settling his connexions with Mirabeau and La Fayette, to effect a revolution in the constitution."

Louis. "I reserve to myself to answer the contents." (*Valaze* read the letter)—"It is only a plan in which there is no question about a counter-revolution; the letter was not to have been sent."

Valaze. "Letter of Louis Capet of the 22d of April, relative to conversations about the Jacobins, about the president of the committee of finances, and the committee of domains; it is dated by the hand of Louis Capet."

Louis. "I disown it."

Valaze. "Letter of Laporte, of Thursday morning, March 3, marked in the margin, in the handwriting of Louis Capet, with 'March 3, 1791,' implying a pretended rupture between Mirabeau and the Jacobins."

Louis. "I disown it."

Valaze. "Letter of Laporte, without date, in his handwriting, but marked in the margin by the hand of Louis Capet, containing particulars respecting the last moments of Mirabeau, and expressing the care that had been taken to conceal from the knowledge of men, some papers of great concern which had been deposited with Mirabeau."

Louis. "I disown it as well as the rest."

Valaze. "Plan of a constitution, or revision of the constitution, signed La Fayette, addressed to Louis Capet, April 6, 1790, marked in the margin with a line in his own handwriting."

Louis. "These things have been blotted out by the constitution."

Valaze. "Do you know this writing?"

Louis. "I do not."

Valaze. "Your marginal comments?"

Louis. "I do not."

Valaze. "Letter of Laporte, of the 19th of April, marked in the margin by Louis Capet, 'April 19, 1791,' mentioning a conversation with Rivarol."

Louis. "I disown it."

Valaze. "Letter of Laporte, marked April 16, 1791, in which it seems complaints are made of Mirabeau, the Abbe Perigord, Andre, and Beaumetz, who do not seem to acknowledge sacrifices made for their sake."

Louis. "I disown it likewise."

Valaze. "Letter of Laporte of the 23d of February, 1791, marked and dated in the handwriting of Louis Capet; a memorial annexed to it respecting the means of his gaining popularity."

Louis. "I know neither of these pieces."

Valaze. "Several pieces without signature, found in the castle of the Tuilleries, in the gap which was shut in the walls of the palace, relating to the expenses to gain that popularity."

President. "Previous to an examination on this subject, I wish to ask a preliminary question—Have you caused a press with an iron door to be constructed in the castle of the Tuilleries, and had your papers locked up in that press?"

Louis. "I have no knowledge of it whatever."

Valaze. "Here is a day-book, written by Louis Capet himself, containing the pensions he has granted out of his coffer from 1776 till 1792, in which are observed some douceurs granted to Acloque."

Louis. "This I own, but it consists of charitable donations which I have made."

Valaze. "Different lists of sums paid to the

Scotch companies of Noailles, Gramont, Montmorency, and Luxembourg, on the 9th of July, 1791."

Louis. "This is prior to the epoch when I forbade them to be paid."

President. "Louis, where had you deposited those pieces which you own?"

Louis. "With my treasurer."

Valaze. "Do you know these pension lists of the life guards, the one hundred Swiss, and the king's guards for 1792?"

Louis. "I do not."

Valaze. "Several pieces relative to the conspiracy of the camp of Jales, the originals of which are deposited among the records of the department of L'Ardeche."

Louis. "I have not the smallest knowledge of them."

Valaze. "Letter of Bouille, dated Mentz, bearing an account of 993,000 livres received of Louis Capet."

Louis. "I disown it."

Valaze. "An order for payment of 168,000 livres, signed Louis, endorsed Le Bonneirs, with a letter and billet of the same."

Louis. "I disown it."

Valaze. "Two pieces relative to a present made to the wife of Polignac, and to Lavauguyon and Choiseul."

Louis. "I disown them as well as the others."

Valaze. "Here is a note signed by the two brothers of the late king, mentioned in the declaratory act."

Louis. "I know nothing of it."

Valaze. "Here are pieces relating to the affair of Choiseul Gouffier, at Constantinople."

Louis. "I have no knowledge of them."

Valaze. "Here is a letter of the late king to the bishop of Clermont, with the answer of the latter, of the 16th of April, 1791."

Louis. "I disown it."

President. "Do you not acknowledge your writing and your signet?"

Louis. "I do not."

President. "The seal bears the arms of France."

Louis. "Several persons made use of that seal."

Valaze. "Do you acknowledge this list of sums paid to Gilles?"

Louis. "I do not."

Valaze. "Here is a memorandum for indemnifying the civil list for the military pensions; a letter of Dufrenoy St. Leon, which relates to it."

Louis. "I know none of these pieces."

The president then, addressing the king, said:

"I have no other question to propose, have you any thing more to add in your defence?"

Louis. "I wish to have a copy of the accusation, and of the papers on which it is founded. I also wish to have counsel of my own nomination."

President. "Your two first requests are already decreed, and the determination respecting the other will be made known in due time."

The convention, after some deliberation, decreed that counsel should be allowed to the king, and his choice fell upon M. M. Tronchet, Lamoignon-Malesherbes, and Deseze. On the 26th of December, the king appeared for the last time at the bar, and M. Deseze read a defence which the counsel had prepared, replete with sound argument, and exhibiting a masterpiece of composition.

At the close of the defence, the king arose, and with a firm voice and dignified manner, said:—

"CITIZENS,—You have heard my defence; I now speak to you, perhaps for the last time, and declare that my counsel have asserted nothing but the truth; my conscience reproaches me with nothing; I was never afraid of having my conduct investigated; but I observed with great uneasiness, that I was accused of giving orders for shedding the blood of the people on the 10th of August. The proofs I have given through my whole life of the contrary disposition, I hoped, would have saved me from such an imputation, which, I now solemnly declare, is entirely groundless."

On the 16th of January, the trial closed; and, after a sitting of nearly thirty-four hours, the punishment of death was awarded. When all the members had voted, the president rose to pronounce the result of their deliberations. A profound and awful silence ensued, while he declared, that out of seven hundred and twenty-one votes, three hundred and sixty-six were for death; three hundred and nineteen for imprisonment during the war; two for perpetual imprisonment; eight for a suspension of the execution of death till after the expulsion of the Bourbons; twenty-three for not inflicting the punishment of death unless the French territory should be invaded by some foreign power; and one was for death, but with commutation of punishment. "In consequence of this decision," said the president, "I declare that the punishment decreed against Louis CAPET is death!"

At this period of the sitting, the king's counsellors were admitted to the bar, when M. Deseze addressing the convention, said:—"Citizens, representatives, the law of the nation and your decrees have intrusted to us the sacred functions of the defence of Louis. We come, with regret, to present to you the last act of our function. Louis has given to us his express charge to read to you a letter, signed with his own hand, of which the following is a copy:

"LETTER.

"I owe it to my honour, I owe it to my family, not to subscribe to a sentence which declares me guilty of a crime, of which I cannot accuse myself. In consequence, I appeal to the nation from the sentence of its representatives; and I commit by these presents to the fidelity of my defenders, to make known to the national convention this appeal, by all the means in their power, and to demand that mention of it be made in the minutes of their sitting.

(Signed)

"LOUIS."

This appeal was rejected, and only one effort more remained to be made in favour of the unfortunate monarch, which was to press for the respite of the sentence of death. The appeal-nominal on this important question was terminated at midnight, on Saturday the 19th of January. The members were required to give their votes simply *yes* or *no*, without arguing the point; and on the scrutiny, 310 votes appeared in favour of the respite, and 380 for the execution of the sentence in twenty-four hours, the time prescribed by the law against criminals; and the executive council were accordingly instructed to prepare the devoted Louis for his fate.

At the request of the king, the Abbe Edgeworth, grand vicar of the diocese of Paris, and confessor of the Princess Elizabeth, an ecclesiastic of an Irish family, was permitted to attend him as his confessor, and it is on the authority of the Abbe, that the following particulars, which are little known, are communicated:—

It was not till the 20th of January, at four o'clock in the afternoon, that the Abbe was sent for to the Tuilleries, by the executive council, who were assembled at that place. This summons he instantly obeyed, and on entering the apartment, Garat, the minister of justice, said, "Louis Capet desires to see you, will you go to the Temple?"—"Unquestionably I will," replied the Abbe, "the king's request is an order in my eyes."—"Follow me, then," said the minister, and ordering his carriage, they drove off to the Temple. After remaining some time in the hall, where his pockets were searched, and his snuff-box examined to see that it did not contain poison, he was shown to the apartment of the king, whose countenance exhibited the utmost serenity. The Abbe sunk on his knees, kissed his majesty's hand, and bathed it with tears. The king, equally affected, raised him, saying, "None but the most unrelenting of men have been allowed to approach me of late. My eyes are accustomed to them; but the sight of a man of humanity, a faithful subject, affects my whole soul, and melts me as you see."

Being in some measure recovered, he led the Abbe into his closet, and having made him sit down, he read his last will twice over to him, with a firm tone, and proper emphasis, his voice faltering only at those parts where mention is made of the queen, his children, and the Princess Elizabeth. It is difficult to do justice to the devout, sublime, and heroic sentiments expressed by the king in this interesting conference, particularly when he spoke of his own situation, and that of his family, but above

all when he dwelt on the misfortunes of his country.

After this, he rose, saying, "I must now go and see my family for the last time. This will be the severest trial of all. When that is over, I will fix my mind solely on what concerns my salvation."

Leaving the Abbe in his closet, the unhappy monarch went to the room where his family were already assembled, which was separated only by a door from that in which were two commissaries constantly on duty: this door was of glass, so that these men could see all that passed. In such horrible circumstances, and in this dismal room, did the king of France meet his deploring family, now rendered more dear to him than ever by his own approaching fate, and their unexampled misfortunes. Here passed a scene of woe, far beyond the power of description, to which the mind of sensibility alone can do justice. In such a moment, the monarch must forget his crown, and the regrets of ambition must be unfelt amidst the anguish which overwhelms the broken heart. That anguish was not confined to the bosom of the king, the queen, and his sister. The princess, his daughter, had attained that age when the heart is perhaps the most susceptible of strong impressions, and its sensibility the most exquisite. Even the young prince, who was only in his ninth year, partook deeply in the general sorrow, and while his eyes were bathed in tears, he cried sobbing to Santerre, "*Ah laissez moi courir les rues ! j'irai aux districts—j'irai a tous les sections, demander grace pour mon papa.*"—"Oh let me run through the streets ! I will go to the districts—I will go to all the sections and beg for my papa." At the close of this agonizing interview, which lasted more than an hour, the king returned to his own room in a state of emotion that cannot be expressed. "Why," said he, addressing the Abbe, after he had recovered himself, "why do I love with so much tenderness, and wherefore am I so tenderly beloved ?—But the painful sacrifice is over ; let me turn my thoughts to the care of my salvation alone."

Having thus expressed himself, he remained for some minutes in silent meditation, interrupted by sighs, accompanied with tears, and then began to converse on the great truths of religion ; and astonished his confessor as much by the extensive knowledge he displayed on that subject, as he had before edified him by his piety.

About ten o'clock, the king took a slight supper, which being over, the Abbe asked him whether he would not like to hear mass, and to receive the communion. The king replied, that he most ardently desired it ; but he showed, at the same time, that

he had little hopes of that favour being granted him. "I must have permission," said he, "from this council in the Temple, who have hitherto granted me nothing but what it was impossible to withhold." M. Edgeworth went directly, and signified the king's request to the council sitting in the Temple. He met with many difficulties. "There are examples in history," said a member of their court, "of priests who have mixed poison with the host."—"I have been sufficiently searched," said the Abbe, "to satisfy you that I have no poison about me: but to render yourselves still more certain, you have only to furnish me with the hosts; and if they should prove poisoned, the blame will not be imputable to me."

To this, the council made no immediate answer; but the members went into the room where they usually held meetings. The king's demand was formally deliberated on; after which, the Abbe being called in, the president said: "Citizen minister of worship, that which Louis Capet requests, not being contrary to law, we have agreed to grant it on two conditions: first, that you sign the request; and secondly, that the ceremony you intend to perform shall terminate before seven o'clock to-morrow morning; as, at eight o'clock, Louis Capet must go hence to the place of execution."

The Abbe Edgeworth submitted to these conditions, and went to inform the king, who expressed the highest satisfaction at the hope of once more having the consolation of hearing mass, and of receiving the communion. When his confession was ended, M. Edgeworth, seeing the king exhausted by the anguish and fatigue he had undergone, advised him to go to bed and endeavour to obtain a little repose. With this advice the king thought proper to comply.

Having slept with tranquillity, Louis called for Clery, his valet, early next morning, to assist him in dressing. He heard mass and received the communion with the most profound devotion. After having finished his prayers, he said to M. Edgeworth, "How happy am I in having retained my faith in religion. Yes! I shall be enabled to show them that I do not fear death."

A noise being heard at the door, the Abbe was agitated. He thought the fatal moment had already arrived. The king, without betraying the least emotion, maintained his usual serenity. It was the guards who resumed their posts. "Here they come, however," said the king, calmly, on hearing some persons ascending the stairs. It was the commissaries of the commune, with a priest at their head, called Jacques

Roux. They came to announce that the hour was at hand. "It is enough," said the king, "I will join you directly: but I wish to pass a few moments alone with my confessor." They retired. His majesty shut the door, and said, falling on his knees, "All is consummated. Give me your last benediction."

Fear of the danger to which M. Edgeworth might be exposed in accompanying the king to the place of execution, had prevented his majesty from making such a proposition; and he supposed that they were now about to separate; but when he found that it was the fixed determination of this venerable man, worthy of the sacred functions he exercised, to abide by him to the last, his majesty was at once moved by tenderness and filled with satisfaction. Having thrown open the door,

"*Marchons,*" (let us go,) said he with a firm tone of voice, to Santerre who waited without.

Here, the king offered to Roux, the priest, a packet, containing his testament, desiring that he would deliver it to the commune. He refused to take it, saying that it was his duty to conduct him to the scaffold, but nothing else. One of his companions, however, took the packet, and remitted it carefully to the commune.

Before they came to the stair of the temple, the king, perceiving that the commissaries were covered, desired Clery to bring his hat, which he immediately put on his head; and being escorted by a very numerous detachment of national guards, he walked through the first court of the temple, and found the carriage provided for him in the second. Two men belonging to the *gendarmes* stood at the door. One of them got into the carriage, followed by the king and M. Edgeworth. The other *gendarme* placed himself by his comrade.

A profound silence reigned among the people all the way from the temple to the Place de Louis XV. The whole streets were lined with national guards under arms. Nothing was heard but the sound of drums. His majesty continued reading with the utmost devotion, till the carriage stopped near the scaffold. The executioners having opened the door, the king said to the two *gendarmes*, "Gentlemen, I recommend M. Edgeworth to your protection." As they made no immediate answer, he added with greater earnestness, "I conjure you to take care that no harm befall him after my death."

"Well, well, give yourself no further trouble; we shall take care of him," answered one of them, in a harsh and ironical tone of voice.

The king, having thrown off his coat, was

going to ascend the scaffold, when they seized his hands on purpose to tie them behind his back. As he was not prepared for this last insult, his first movement was to repel it with indignation: but M. Edgeworth, sensible that all resistance would be useless, and would expose the king to outrages still more violent, persuaded him into compliance, by saying "Sire, this new humiliation is another circumstance in which your majesty's sufferings resemble those of that Saviour who will soon be your recompense."

As he was mounting the scaffold, supported by the Abbe Edgeworth, this servant of God addressed the king in this sublime expression, "*Offspring of St. Louis, ascend to heaven!*"

As soon as he came upon the scaffold, advancing with a firm step, to the part which faced the palace, he desired the drums to cease, and was immediately obeyed, in spite of the orders that had been received. He then pronounced, with a voice loud enough to be heard at the garden of the Tuilleries,

"I die innocent of all the crimes which have been imputed to me. I forgive my enemies. I implore God from the bottom of my heart to pardon them, and not to take vengeance on the French nation for the blood about to be shed—"

He was continuing, when Santerre pushed furiously towards the drummers, and forced them to beat without interruption. The executioners, at the same time, laid hold of their victim—his head was placed on the block—the fatal instrument of death descended—and the horrid deed was completed!

As soon as the king's head was severed from his body, a young man, appointed to that service, seized it by the hair, and holding it up to the people, exclaimed repeatedly, *Vive la Nation!* To which some of the populace replied, *Vive la Republique!* but the majority appeared to be struck dumb with horror, while the affections of many led them to bathe their handkerchiefs in his blood, and his hair was sold in small parcels, probably to those whose pity and tenderness would esteem it an inestimable relic.

"As if every incident in this tragedy," says an elegant writer, "had been intended to display the strange vicissitudes of human fortune; as if every scene was meant to 'point a moral;' the body was conveyed in a cart to the parish church of St. Madeleine, and laid amongst the bodies of those that had been crushed to death on the *Place de Louis XV.* when Louis XVI. was married, and of those who had fallen before the chateau of the Tuilleries, on the 10th

of August. The grave was filled with quick lime, and a guard placed over it till the corpse was consumed. The ground was then carefully levelled with the surrounding earth, and no trace or vestige remains of that spot, to which, shrouded by the doubtful glare of twilight, ancient loyalty might have repaired and poured a tear, or superstition breathed its ritual for the departed spirit."

Thus fell Louis XVI., a monarch possessed of good talents, a benevolent temper, and a sincere desire to promote the good of his people; but it must be added, that he was too tenacious of power, and deficient in that candour of character and directness of purpose, which a sovereign owes to the people over whom he is placed. It would have been happier for him, if from the breaking out of the revolution he had acted a more open and decided part: but this may be excused from considering the manners of the court in which he was educated, and the influence of the courtiers by whom he was surrounded. The assembling of the troops near Paris in 1789, and his flight to Varennes, appear to have made an indelible impression upon the minds of his people, and to have generated a degree of suspicion, which the factions of Paris turned to his ruin. Of his guilt or innocence, with respect to the grand charge of corresponding with the emigrants, and exciting a foreign war against the existing government of his country, for the purpose of effecting a counter-revolution, the documents are too slight to lead to a decisive opinion. Thus far may however perhaps be conceded, that his intended flight to the frontiers, and the proclamation which he left behind him, too clearly showed that he was dissatisfied with the limited share of authority which the constitution of 1791 allowed him; and the insults which he afterwards experienced, were not calculated to reconcile him to that spirit of democracy which had taken possession of his people. The charge relating to the defence of the Tuilleries on the 10th of August, 1793, appears extremely ill-founded, and the opposition presented to an armed mob, who assailed the royal residence on that occasion, was perfectly justifiable, even on the ground of self-defence. On the whole, the condemnation and execution of this unfortunate sovereign is at variance with the due administration of judicial proceedings, and the sacred principles of justice; on the first of which points, it may be observed, that the convention by a strange anomaly held the incompatible offices of accusers and judges; and on the second, that the constitution, which he was charged with violating, had declared the person of the king to be inviolable.

The character of the man, and of the monarch, will perhaps be best collected from his last will and testament, written in the prospect of death; and we deem ourselves particularly fortunate in having it in our power to present to the public a correct copy of this document,* so pointedly referred to in the new French constitution just promulgated by Louis XVIII.

The last Will and Testament of Louis XVI.

"In the name of the Holy Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. This day, the 21st of December, 1792, I, Louis the Sixteenth, King of France, having been for more than four months shut up with my family in the tower of the temple, by those who were my subjects, and deprived of every communication, even with my family, since the eleventh of this month; and being moreover involved in a trial, of which, from the passions of men, it is impossible to foresee the event, and for which neither pretext nor precedent can be found in any existing law; having no witness of my thoughts but God, and no one but him to whom I can address myself, I here declare, in his presence, my last will and sentiments.

"I recommend my soul to God my Creator, beseeching him to receive it in his mercy, and not to judge me according to my merits, but according to the merits of Jesus Christ our Lord, who offered himself as a sacrifice to God his Father for the human race, unworthy as we are, I myself in particular. I die in the communion of our holy mother, the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church, which holds its power by an uninterrupted succession from St. Peter, to whom Jesus Christ intrusted it. I finally believe all that is contained in the apostle's creed, and in the commandments of God and the church; in the sacraments and mysteries, as the catholic church teaches and has always taught. I have never presumed to make myself a judge of the different manners of explaining the doctrines which divide the church of Jesus Christ, but I have always adhered to, and if it pleases God to prolong my life, shall always abide by, the decisions which the superior ecclesiastics, in union with the holy church, have given according to the discipline observed since Jesus Christ. I lament, with my whole heart, those of my brethren of mankind who are in error, but do not presume to judge them; and I do not the less love them all in Jesus Christ, as Christian charity enjoins. I implore God to pardon all my sins. I have endeavoured

scrupulously to know them, to detest them, and to humble myself in the presence of the Almighty. Not having it in my power to avail myself of the ministry of a catholic priest, I pray God to receive the confession which I have made to him; above all, my deep repentance for having signed my name (although against my will) to acts contrary to the discipline and belief of the catholic church, to which my heart has ever been sincerely united. I beseech God to accept my firm resolution of taking the first opportunity in my power of making a full confession of my sins to a catholic priest, and of receiving the sacrament of penitence. I beg all those whom I have offended, through inadvertency (for I do not recollect having ever intentionally offended any one), and also those to whom I may have given a bad example, to forgive me for the evil which such conduct may have produced. I beseech all those who are endowed with charity, to join their prayers with mine, to obtain of God the pardon of my iniquities. I pardon, with my whole heart, those who have become my enemies without cause, and I pray God to pardon them; as also those who, from false or mistaken zeal, have done me the greatest injuries.

"I recommend to God my wife, my children, my sister, my aunts, my brothers, and all those who are attached to me by the ties of blood, or in any manner whatsoever. I earnestly entreat of God to cast the eyes of mercy on my wife, my children, and my sister, who have for a long time suffered with me; and in case of their losing me, that he may be their support and consolation, as long as they shall remain in this perishable world.

"I recommend my children to my wife. I never doubted her maternal tenderness; and I recommend, above all, that she will carefully endeavour to make them good Christians; to teach them to consider worldly grandeur as dangerous and perishable, and to fix their minds on eternity, where alone solid and lasting glory is to be found. I entreat my sister to continue her tenderness to my children, and that she will be to them as a parent, if they should have the misfortune to lose their mother. I beseech my wife to forgive me all those hardships she has undergone on my account, and all the uneasiness I may have given her in the course of our union; and if she should think that she has any cause to reproach herself on account of any part of her conduct towards me, she may rest assured that I retain nothing on my mind unfavourable to her.

"I recommend with the greatest earnestness to my children, after what they owe to God, which must ever be considered as their

* Ant. Fr. Bertrand de Moleville's "Private Memoirs of Louis XVI."

first duty, to remain always united to each other, submissive and obedient to their mother, and grateful for the pains and care she takes of them; and I conjure them, for my sake, that they will respect their aunt as a second mother.

"If my son should ever have the misfortune to be established on the throne, I anxiously recommend that he should devote himself to the happiness of his countrymen; that he ought to divest himself of all resentment and animosities, particularly those which have a reference to my misfortunes and miseries. He can insure the happiness of the people only according to the laws; although at the same time a king cannot make himself respected, and do all the good which is in his heart, without a necessary degree of authority; without which he must be confined in his operations; and when he cannot inspire respect, he necessarily becomes more hurtful than useful.

"I recommend to my son to take care of all those persons who have been attached to me, as far as the circumstances in which he may find himself shall afford him opportunity. He ought ever to regard this as a sacred debt which I have contracted towards the children or parents of those who perished for my sake, or have been rendered miserable on my account. I know there are several persons, amongst those who are attached to me, who have not behaved towards me as they ought to have done, and who have even shown ingratitude; but I forgive them (for in times of trouble and effervescence, men are not always masters of their conduct), and I beseech my son, should he find an opportunity of serving them, to reflect only upon their misfortunes.

"I wish it were in my power openly to express my gratitude to all who have shown me a truly disinterested attachment; but if I have been painfully affected by the ingratitude and disloyalty of those to whom

I have always acted with kindness, I have likewise had the consolation of receiving services and strong marks of attachment from several of my subjects, on whom I never had bestowed any favour. I beg that all those persons will accept my grateful acknowledgments. In the present situation of things, I fear that I should injure them by being more explicit on this subject; but I particularly exhort my son to seek opportunities of making them a suitable return. I think, however, that it would be calumniating the nation to express any fear of openly recommending to my son, M. de Chamilly and M. Hue, whose sincere attachment to me has induced them to shut themselves up along with me in this melancholy abode, and who have been frequently in danger of becoming victims to their generosity. I also recommend to him, Clery, with whose attention I have had every reason to be satisfied since he has been with me: and as he has remained with me to the last, I beg of the commune to give to him my clothes, my books, my watch, my money, and all the other effects belonging to me, which have been deposited in the hands of the council of the commune.

"I most willingly pardon those who have guarded me, for the harshness of their conduct, and the constraint which they thought necessary to impose upon me. I have found in the Temple some persons of feeling and humanity; may they long enjoy that serenity of mind which such dispositions naturally produce.

"I beseech Messrs. de Malesherbes, Tronchet, and Deseze, to receive my most grateful thanks and cordial acknowledgments for the pains and labour they have taken for me.

"I conclude, by declaring, before God, being ready to appear in his presence, that I do not reproach myself with any of those crimes which have been charged against me.

"LOUIS."

CHAPTER VII.

All the principal States of Europe likely to become involved in the War—The Government of France disinclined to a War with England—Chauvelin and Talleyrand arrive from France—Disputes relative to the Opening of the Scheldt—Political Clubs—Maret's Missions—Sensations produced in England by the Execution of the French King—Declaration of War.

It is time to return from this long but not uninteresting digression, to the proper object of the history. The melancholy catastrophe of Louis XVI. appeared to produce a new combination of states, some free, and some enslaved, and not only ren-

dered the contest more general, but also more ferocious. The contest with France until then was confined to the courts of Berlin and Vienna, who had been forced to withdraw their armies, and were now threatened with a severe retaliation; while

the King of Sardinia, who acted the part of a feeble ally, and an impotent enemy, beheld the three-coloured flag advancing towards the walls of his capital. But at this eventful epoch in the history of the war, fresh schemes of subjugation were formed, new alliances entered into, and ancient enmities forgotten.

Spain, actuated by a generous indignation against the regicides of France, and disappointed in her humane application to the national convention to save the life of the king, immediately began to arm; Naples followed her example; and the Holy See, lamenting over the degraded state of religion in a country so lately under the peculiar care of the church, and desirous to avenge the death of an anointed monarch, hastened to join the league; Portugal, scarcely possessing a will of her own, was ready to follow in the train of indignant sovereigns; but Sweden and Denmark, tenacious of the blessings of peace, could not be induced to depart from their well-judged neutrality. The Empress of Russia could not remain an unmoved spectator of the scenes which agitated all the principal courts of Europe, but she confined her resentment to the dismissal of the Sieur Genet, the French ambassador, whom she ordered "to quit her capital in eight days, and the states of Russia as soon as possible;" and this procedure was soon after imitated by the British cabinet. Holland, too, which had so long profited by the follies and prejudices of other nations, was doomed to be involved in this contest.

In Britain, where the French Revolution, in its earliest stages, had been looked upon with an eye of complacency, if not of satisfaction, the war of opinion had already commenced; and a celebrated divine, alike esteemed for his talents and for his integrity,* having preached and published a sermon, asserting the justice of the English Revolution, towards the end of the 17th century, and anticipating much happiness from that which had so recently happened in France, was answered by an eloquent statesman, who had devoted the whole of his public life to the cause of liberty.† As the current of popular opinion did not then flow in the same direction as the favour of the court, a pamphlet entitled "The Rights of Man," in which sentiments of an opposite kind were maintained with peculiar asperity of animadversion, was read and circulated in such a manner as to alarm the administration. Editions were multiplied in every possible form and size; it was alike seen in the hands of the noble and of the plebeian, and became at

length translated into the various languages of Europe. The cabinet council soon afterwards issued a proclamation against "wicked and seditious libels;" prosecutions were commenced with a zeal unknown under the government of the reigning family; and it was reserved for the singular fortune of an unlettered man,* after contributing by one publication† to the establishment of a trans-Atlantic republic in North America, to introduce, with astonishing effect, the doctrines of democratic government into the first states of Europe.

The inhabitants of Great Britain, whose aversion to the French had originated chiefly in the degrading nature of their government, rejoiced to behold a neighbouring nation rescuing itself from the bondage of ages, and asserting its rights to a free constitution. Many political clubs and societies were eager to felicitate the first assembly on its labours; some of them actually transmitted shoes for the French troops, and even contributed money to furnish them with arms. Of the addresses which accompanied these presents, a few were unobjectionable; but several were couched in language calculated to give offence to moderate men of all parties, and abounded with such inflammatory allusions in respect to the British government, that they incurred the severest censure and reprehension.

England was at this period recovering fast from the wounds inflicted by the American war. The genius of the country had been suffered to develop itself in the elegance, variety, and cheapness of her manufactures. Every market in the world was supplied with her commodities; and the cities of Europe, Asia, and America glittered with her productions. Every strait, every bay, and every sea, was visited by her ships; and there was scarcely a portion of the habitable globe that might not be considered as contributing at the same time to the opulence of her adventurous merchants, the prosperity of her flourishing manufactures, and the necessities of her artisans.

Many men of the greatest weight, talents, and importance in the kingdom, were decidedly adverse to hostilities: amongst whom in one house of parliament appeared a Bedford, doomed to finish his early career before his talents were fully unfolded; a Lauderdale, distinguished by the depth and extent of his knowledge; a Stanhope, celebrated for his philosophical attainments; a Lansdowne, who had occupied the highest situations in the state, and grown hoary in the contemplation of

* Dr. Price. † The Right Hon. Edmund Burke.

* Thomas Paine.

† Common Sense.

public affairs. In another was seen a Grey, just bursting into manhood, and yet already celebrated for his various acquirements, and for his political knowledge; a Sheridan, delighting by the keenness of his wit, and the force of his arguments; and a Fox, who, by a rare union, exhibited in the same person, the philanthropist, the statesman, and the orator. On the other hand, a minister justly celebrated for his knowledge of finance, and at the same time capable of displaying the most distinguished eloquence, presided at this period over the councils of the nation; and such was the activity of his mind, that the various courts of Europe had by turns been the theatre of his diplomatic skill; and Spain and Russia already felt that he was desirous of acquiring a new species of glory. The virtues and abilities of his father had already engendered a high degree of partiality in his favour, and the ingenuous modesty of his early youth rendered him at one time the peculiar favourite of every Englishman. The injustice, the venality, and the corruption of the American war, were the themes by means of which Mr. Pitt obtained the favour of the nation, and obtained the highest offices of the state. Eagerly seizing on every occasion to descant on the degeneracy of the constitution, he laboured to restore it to its original purity. This youthful statesman, since his elevation to the office of prime minister, probably alarmed by the excesses of the French Revolution, judged it proper to cast his weight of talent and of influence into the scale of prerogative, and to endeavour to check that spirit of democracy which, after having exhibited itself in so hideous a garb in a neighbouring country, seemed, as he imagined, to endanger the safety of his own. Mr. Windham, too, a statesman of an eccentric but capacious mind, and of deep political penetration, pressed forward to exhibit those talents against republican France, which he had before displayed in behalf of republican America; while Mr. Burke, himself a host, prepared to exhaust the powers of his mind against a nation which he reproached with having at the same time contumeliously overturned the throne of its kings, and the altars of its God.

From the commencement of the French Revolution, many of the popular leaders had been eager for a war with the house of Austria; but it was manifestly contrary to the interests, as well as to the wishes of all descriptions of persons, the royalists only excepted, to enter into a contest with England. The ruling party in that country appears, on the contrary, to have been particularly eager to conciliate the esteem

of a country, which at this period not only possessed the command of the ocean, but had attained an unexampled degree of freedom and prosperity, in consequence of an event similar in principle to that which had so recently occurred in their own.

It was with this view, that M. Chauvelin had been nominated minister-plénipotentiaire to the court of London, and M. Talleyrand associated with him in that important embassy. But no sooner did official intelligence arrive of the assault on the Tuilleries, and the imprisonment of the king, than Earl Gower was immediately recalled from Paris: and that nobleman, before his departure, intimated, that any violence committed against the royal family would not fail to excite sentiments of universal indignation throughout Europe. In the mean time, the executive council delegated new powers to M. Chauvelin; but Lord Grenville, the English Secretary of State, intimated that as he was no otherwise accredited to the British government than in the name of his most Christian majesty, he could be acknowledged at this court in no other public character than that of minister from Louis XVI., and that consequently, he could not be admitted to treat with the king's ministers, in any other quality.

The disputes between the governments of the two countries were not however entirely confined to punctilios. The convention, exasperated to desperation by the conduct of most of the neighbouring courts, had resorted to a measure utterly unjustifiable in its own nature, and tending in its consequences to produce a general insurrection throughout Europe. This was the famous decree of Fraternity, ordered to be published in all languages; by which assistance was offered, in the name of the French people, to every nation desirous to recover its freedom, while the generals at the head of the armies were empowered to protect such foreign citizens as had suffered, or might suffer, in the cause of liberty.*

Another subject of complaint, but in which England was far less interested than her allies, originated in the measures lately adopted for the free navigation of the

! * NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Sitting of the 19th of November, 1793.

DECREE OF FRATERNITY.—"The National Convention declares in the name of the French nation, that it will grant fraternity and assistance to all people who wish to recover their liberty; and it charges the executive power to send the necessary orders to the generals to give assistance to such people, and to defend those citizens who have suffered or may suffer in the cause of liberty." On the motion of Sergeant, it was resolved "that this decree be translated into and printed in all languages."

Scheldt,* the shutting up of which river, however obnoxious such a measure may seem, had been repeatedly guaranteed by all the great maritime states of Europe, and by England and France in particular.

M. Chauvelin, notwithstanding the recall of Earl Gower, still remained in England, and on the 27th of December, in the year 1792, he addressed a note to Lord Grenville, in which, calling himself "plenipotentiary of France," he professes the desire of the French government to continue at peace with England, and demands a categorical answer to the question, whether England is to be considered as a neutral or a hostile power. Reducing the motives that might be alleged for his Britannic majesty breaking with the French republic to three, he says:—

First, "If the British ministry are really alarmed at the decree of the 9th November, it can only be for want of comprehending its true meaning. The national convention never intended that the French Republic should favour insurrections, and espouse the cause of a few seditious persons, or, in a word, that it should endeavour to excite disturbances in any neutral or friendly country whatever. This decree then is applicable only to those people, who, after having conquered their liberty, may request the fraternity and assistance of the French republic, by a solemn and unequivocal expression of the general will. France not only ought and wishes to respect the independence of England, but that also of all its allies with whom it is not at war."

On the *second* point he says, that he "has been charged to declare formally, that France will not attack Holland while that power confines itself on its part within the bounds of strict neutrality."

And on the *third* and last, that the British government being thus assured respecting these two points, no pretence for the least difficulty can remain, but on the question of opening the Scheldt—a question irrevocably decided by reason and justice; of little importance in itself, and on which the opinion of England, and perhaps even of Holland, are too well known to render it difficult to make it seriously the sole cause of war. Should the British ministry, however, embrace this last motive, to induce them to declare war against France, would it not then be probable that their private intention was to bring about a rupture at any rate, and to take the advantage at present of the most futile of all pretences, to colour an unjust aggression long ago meditated."

* Decree of the executive council of France for the free navigation of the Scheldt and Meuse. November 16, 1792.

To this note of the 27th, Lord Grenville returned an answer on the 31st of December, in which, after stating that he, M. Chauvelin, "cannot be acknowledged in any other character than that of minister from his most Christian majesty," he adverts to the explanations on the three points referred to in M. Chauvelin's note, and says, that in the expressions of the decree of the national convention, of the 19th of November, all England saw the formal declaration of a design to extend universally the new principles of government adopted in France, and to encourage disorder and revolt in all countries, even in those that are neutral. "If," continues he, "this interpretation, which you represent as injurious to the convention, could admit of any doubt, it is but too well justified by the conduct of the convention itself; and the application of these principles to the king's dominions, has been shown unequivocally by the public reception given to the promoters of sedition in this country; and by the speeches made to them precisely at the time of this decree, and since on several different occasions; yet, notwithstanding all these proofs, supported by other circumstances, which are but too notorious, it would have been with pleasure that we should have seen here such explanations, and such a conduct, as would have satisfied the dignity and honour of England, with respect to what has already past, and would have offered a sufficient security in future for the maintenance of that respect towards the rights, the government, and the tranquillity of neutral powers, which they have on every account the right to expect.

"Neither this satisfaction, nor this security, is found in the terms of an explanation, which still declares to the promoters of sedition in every country, what are cases on which they may count beforehand on the support and succour of France; and which reserves to that country the right of mixing herself in our internal affairs, whenever she shall judge it proper; and on principles incompatible with the political institutions of all the countries of Europe.

"On the other two points of your explanation,—'The declaration that France will not attack Holland so long as that power shall observe an exact neutrality,' is conceived nearly in the same terms with that made in the month of June last. Since that first declaration was made, an officer, stating himself to be employed in the service of the French, has openly violated both the territory and the neutrality of the republic, in going up the Scheldt, to attack the citadel of Antwerp, notwithstanding the determination of the government not to

grant this passage, and the formal protest by which they opposed it. Since the same declaration was made, the convention has thought itself authorized to annul the rights of the Republic, exercised within the limits of its own territory, and enjoyed by virtue of the same treaties by which her independence is secured; and at the very moment when, under the name of an amicable explanation, you renew to me, in the same terms, the promise respecting the independence and rights of England and her allies, you announce to me, that those in whose name you speak, intend to maintain these open and injurious aggressions.

"But I am unwilling to leave, without a more particular reply, what you say upon the subject of the Scheldt. If it were true that this question is in itself of little importance, this would only serve to prove more clearly, that it was brought forward only for the purpose of insulting the allies of England, by the infraction of their neutrality, and by the violation of their rights, which the faith of treaties obliges us to maintain. But you cannot be ignorant that here the utmost importance is attached to those principles which France wishes to establish by this proceeding, and to those consequences which would naturally result from them; and that not only those principles and those consequences will never be admitted by England, but that she is, and ever will be, ready to oppose them with all her force."

His lordship in conclusion says: "If France is really desirous of maintaining friendship and peace with England, she must show herself disposed to renounce her views of aggression and aggrandizement, and to confine herself within her own territory, without insulting other governments, without disturbing their tranquillity, without violating their rights."

In answer to this, the provisional executive council of France addressed a note to Lord Grenville of the date of the eighth of January, in which they confirmed the explanations which M. Chauvelin had given, and repeated, that the decree of November 19th could be applicable only to the single case, where the general will of a nation, clearly and unequivocally expressed, should call for the assistance and fraternity of the French nation; and concluded by saying: "The executive council declares, not that it may appear to yield to some expressions of threatening language, but only to render homage to truth, that the French Republic does not mean to establish itself a universal arbiter of the treaties which bind nations together. It equally knows how to respect other governments, and to take care that it may make its own respected. It does not

wish to give laws to any one, and it will never suffer any one to give laws to it. It has renounced, and still renounces all conquest; and its occupying the Netherlands will continue no longer than the war, and during that time which may be necessary for the Belgians to secure and consolidate their liberty; after which, provided they be independent and happy, France will be sufficiently rewarded.

"When that nation shall find itself in the full possession of its liberty, and when its general will may be declared legally and unfettered, then if England and Holland still affix any importance to the opening of the Scheldt, the executive council will leave that affair to a direct negotiation with the Belgians. If the Belgians, through any motive whatever, shall consent to deprive themselves of the navigation of the Scheldt, France will not oppose it. It will respect their independence even in their errors.

"After so free a declaration, which manifests the purest designs of peace, the ministers of his Britannic majesty ought to entertain no doubt respecting the intentions of France. But if these explanations appear to them insufficient, and if we are still obliged to hear the language of haughtiness, and if hostile preparations are continued in the ports of England, after having done every thing in our power to maintain peace, we will prepare for war, conscious at least of the justice of our cause, and of the efforts we have made to avoid that extremity. We shall combat with regret the English, whom we esteem, but we shall combat them without fear."

Lord Grenville, in a second letter, dated the 18th of January, signified to M. Chauvelin, that he found nothing satisfactory in the paper from the executive council—that to threaten Britain with a declaration of war, because she had adopted for her own safety such precautions as already existed in France, might be considered as new ground of offence—that he had already informed him what those dispositions were which alone could maintain peace—and that, under present circumstances, Britain would continue those measures which might be necessary for protecting the tranquillity and rights of the country, and those of her allies; and for setting a barrier to those views of aggrandizement which had become the more dangerous, as being supported by the propagation of principles destructive of all social order.

This correspondence was closed on the 24th of January, three days after the execution of Louis XVI., by the following letter from Lord Grenville to M. Chauvelin, ordering him out of the country:

"I am charged to notify to you, sir, that the character with which you had been invested at this court, and the functions of which have been so long suspended, being now entirely terminated by the fatal death of his most Christian majesty, you have no longer any public character here.

"The king can no longer, after such an event, permit your residence here. His majesty has thought fit to order that you should retire from this kingdom within the term of eight days; and I herewith transmit to you a copy of the order which his majesty, in his privy council, has given to this effect.

"I send you a passport for yourself and your suite; and I shall not fail to take all the other necessary steps, in order that you may return to France with all the attentions which are due to the character of minister-plenipotentiary from his most Christian majesty, which you have exercised at this court.

(Signed)

"GRENVILLE."

From the portentous aspect of public affairs, his majesty had been advised to assemble parliament at an earlier period than usual, and four days after the date of the above letter, a message was sent by the king to both houses of parliament, sufficiently indicative of the approaching storm. The message was couched in the following terms :—

"GEORGE R.

"His majesty has given directions for laying before the House of Commons copies of several papers which have been received from M. Chauvelin, late minister plenipotentiary from the most Christian king, by his majesty's secretary of state for foreign affairs, and of the answers returned thereto; and likewise the copy of an order made by his majesty in council, and transmitted by his majesty's command to the said M. Chauvelin, in consequence of the accounts of the atrocious act recently perpetrated at Paris.

"In the present situation of affairs, his majesty thinks it indispensably necessary to make a further augmentation of his forces by sea and land; and relies on the known affection and zeal of the House of Commons, to enable his majesty to take the most effectual measures, in the present important conjuncture, for maintaining the security and rights of his own dominions; for supporting his allies; and for opposing views of aggrandizement and ambition on the part of France, which would be at all times dangerous to the general interest of Europe; but are peculiarly so, when connected with the propagation of principles which lead to the violation of the most sacred duties, and are utterly subversive of the peace and order of all civil society.

G. R."

The national convention and executive council became seriously alarmed at the hostile disposition manifested by the English cabinet. A naval war was greatly to be dreaded, more especially at a period when the nobles, who seem to have been exclusively consecrated to the sea-service, had emigrated in immense numbers from their native country. The forlorn state of the colonies, too, was a continual subject of grief, and even of despair, as the possessions of the republic on the continent of Asia were exposed to an easy conquest by

land, while the sugar islands, in case of a war, must inevitably fall a prey to superior fleets. Nor was it forgotten, that the immense wealth of this nation would enable her to continue the contest with many obvious advantages, both in the East and West-Indies; while her subsidies might unite the discordant interests of rival powers, and enable the armies of the European sovereigns to persevere also in the conflict.

Actuated by these considerations, it was accordingly determined to make great sacrifices to insure peace; and a person who had been employed before on a confidential mission, was once more sent to London with proposals for an immediate accommodation.* These are said to have embraced every subject in dispute between the two nations, and to have even included the evacuation of Savoy and Belgium; but, unhappily for the cause of humanity, Maret experienced the fate of Chauvelin, and was forced to leave England without disclosing the particulars of this mission.

On this it was deemed necessary to vindicate the dignity of the new republic by force of arms, and Brissot, the organ of the committees for naval and diplomatic affairs, and for the general defence, presented the plan of a decree to the national convention, in which was detailed the motives for the commencement of hostilities: these consisted of the withdrawing of the English ambassador from Paris; the discontinuance of all official correspondence with the French minister at London; the refusal to acknowledge the provisional executive council instituted by the legislative assembly, as well as the national convention and the republic; the embargo laid on corn, intended to be exported to France; the prohibition of *assignats*; the alien bill; the protection and pecuniary succours afforded to the emigrants; and lastly, the order for the ambassador of France to quit the dominions of Great Britain within the space of eight days.†

* M. Maret, afterwards secretary of state to the Emperor Napoleon.

† In the treaty of commerce and navigation, between his Britannic majesty and the most Christian king, signed at Versailles the 26th of September, 1786. "It is (in the 2d article) concluded and agreed, that if at any time there should arise any misunderstanding, breach of friendship, or rupture between the crowns of their majesties, which God forbid! (which rupture shall not be deemed to exist until the recalling or sending home of the respective ambassadors or ministers,) the subjects of each of the two parties, residing in the dominions of the other, shall have the privilege of remaining and continuing their trade therein, without any manner of disturbance, so long as they behave peaceably and commit no offence against the laws and ordinances; and in case their conduct should render them suspected, and the re-

The complaints against Holland were confined solely to the Prince of Orange, who was said to have treated the agents of France with contempt; to have welcomed the emigrants; to have maltreated the patriots; to have liberated the forgers of assignats; to have ordered a Dutch squadron to join the English, by whom he was influenced; to have opened a loan to support the expenses of the war; and to have obstructed the exportation of provisions to France, while he favoured the supply of the Prussian and Austrian magazines. Considering these grievances as tantamount to acts of hostility, and equivalent to a formal declaration for that purpose, the national convention decreed, on the first of February, that the French republic was at war with the King of England, and the Stadtholder of the United Provinces.

On the 11th of the same month, a manifesto against France was drawn up on the part of Great Britain, and signed at the Queen's House, reciting, "that divers injurious proceedings had lately taken place there, in derogation of his majesty's crown, and the just rights of his people," and that "several unjust seizures had been made of the ships and goods of his majesty's subjects," followed afterwards "by an open declaration of war against his majesty and his ally the republic of the United Provinces. The king of Great Britain, therefore, being determined to adopt such measures as are necessary for "vindicting the honour of his crown, and procuring reparation and satisfaction to his injured subjects," was pleased to order that "general reprisals be granted against the ships, goods, and subjects of France."

Thus a new and disastrous conflict took place, from the guilt and odium of which, the ruling parties in both nations have anxiously endeavoured to vindicate themselves. On this subject, it may be observed, that the shutting up of the Scheldt, one of the ostensible causes of the war, had been repeatedly guaranteed by all the great maritime states of Europe, and by England and France in particular. That the new republic had violated this guarantee, not only by an express decree of the executive council, but also by an armed squadron fitted out for this very purpose, is notorious; though the question still remains to be decided, whether this infraction afforded a

just cause for war; but supposing this treaty to have been strictly binding, Holland, in whose favour the restriction had been originally obtained, appears to have waived her claim to its enforcement, and to have been greatly alarmed at the idea of a contest, which might in the event, and which actually did, involve both her commerce and her independence in one common ruin.

The next great object in dispute was the decrees implicating neutrals as well as hostile powers, which was too well calculated to give alarm to every government in Europe, because it officiously held out a pretext for interference in domestic quarrels, and afforded hopes of encouragement and protection to the disaffected of all nations. Attempts were indeed made to qualify this declaration, by limiting the assistance promised to such general insurrections as had occurred in Holland at one period, and in England at another; but it is greatly to be lamented that the national convention did not either wholly rescind this obnoxious decree, or at least limit its operation to enemies alone. It was equally unfortunate, on the other hand, that the English ministry, by withdrawing an acknowledged diplomatic agent from Paris, and by first refusing to recognise, and then sending away, an ambassador duly authorized by an executive council, should not only have exhibited a marked hostility to the new form of government, adopted by an independent nation, but also cut off all regular means of direct communication.

Posterity, either entirely devoid of the passions of the present day, or at least less agitated by them, will be better able than ourselves to appreciate the conduct of those who at this period presided in the councils of the two rival nations. But even now it will appear, perhaps, to candid and dispassionate men, that both were to blame: the convention, by its obstinate adherence to the offensive decree of fraternity, as well as by its ill-timed agitation of the question relative to the opening of the Scheldt; and the English ministry by a precipitate declaration of war, in consequence of the contumacious expulsion of the diplomatic agent of France, an act of unusual rigour, which, while it imbittered existing enmities, at the same time precluded the possibility of compromise or accommodation. (17)

spective governments should be obliged to order them to remove, the term of *twelve months* shall be allowed them for that purpose, in order that they may remove with their effects and property, whether intrusted to individuals or to the state. At the same time, it is to be understood, that this favour is not to be extended to those who act contrary to the established laws."

(17) Posterity can be in no doubt on which side to throw the blame of a war in which the blood of thousands was shed in order that one man might retain the power of oppressing France. It must be evident to the most careless observer, from a perusal of the correspondence between the two governments, that while the French nation

CHAPTER VIII.

Interruption into Holland—Siege of Williamstadt—Defeat of the French in Flanders—Dumouriez retreats from Holland—Battle of Nerwinden—Defection of Dumouriez from the Cause of the Republic—Enters into a Treaty with Prince de Cobourg—Commissioners sent to arrest Dumouriez—The French General sends them as Hostages to the Austrians—The French Army desert Dumouriez—His Flight.

It was now determined to carry the arms of France into Holland, and to extinguish the influence of Great Britain in that country; and the various preparations for this purpose were made with so much celerity by Dumouriez, that in the course of a few days he was ready to commence hostilities. Previously to the invasion, the French general addressed a declaration to the inhabitants, in which he endeavoured to separate the interests of the republic from those of the stadtholder, and in which he says, "The Belgians already consider us as their deliverers, and I hope you will soon call us yours also."

On the 17th of February, the French army took the field. The troops collected for the conquest of Holland were composed of no more than twenty-one battalions, two of which only were of the line, and of these one had never been in action. As the regiments were incomplete, the whole amounted to but thirteen thousand seven hundred men; many of the soldiers were boys from thirteen to sixteen years of age, while no more than eight battalions possessed field-pieces. The cavalry did not exceed a thousand. As a party was ready to declare in favour of the French on their entrance into

the Dutch territories, and success in a great measure depended on the celerity of their movements, Dumouriez had not time either to discipline or to organize his troops; but they were full of ardour and replete with confidence.

Every thing being at length ready, General Berneron was ordered to advance with the van-guard, and despatch Lieutenant-colonel Daendels, a Dutch patriot in the service of France, to Mordyck, on purpose to detain all the boats in that neighbourhood, as well as to throw a bridge over the Merk, with a view to keep up the communication. But as these instructions were not executed in time, the Dutch embraced this opportunity of carrying all the small vessels to the other side, under the protection of three armed shallops stationed near Dort. On receiving this intelligence, Berneron and Daendels were immediately enjoined to advance, while General D'Arcon with the right wing formed the blockade of Breda, and Colonel Le Clerc with the left invested Bergen-op-Zoom and Steenberg. On this, the governors of the two last places immediately abandoned all their outposts; and the fort of Blaw-Sluis, near Steenberg, being taken, the garrison of the latter was summoned, while that of Bergen-op-Zoom hazarded a few sallies, which were productive only of deserters, who immediately entered into the battalions formed by their countrymen.

manifested the most ardent desire for the continuance of peace, the administration of England was actuated by the most hostile and vindictive intentions. The letters of M. Chauvelin are remarkable for their humble and conciliating spirit; those of Lord Grenville for a tone of arrogance and insult, unprecedented even in the diplomatic history of England. The representative of a people struggling for liberty, asked only of the government of another nation which boasted of its freedom, not to throw obstacles in the way of its emancipation, and received in return reproaches and threats! France did no more by her king than England had formerly done by one of hers with impunity. Will it be believed that in little more than a century after the revolution of 1688, the minister of England, writing to the republican government of Holland, characterized the illustrious men who bore a part in the first acts of the French revolution as "*miscreants*, assuming the name of philosophers, who presumed to think themselves capable of establishing a new system of civil society."* It is gratifying to reflect, that when, four years afterwards, the valour of the republic had foiled the hopes of the parties to the treaty of Pilnitz, the tone of the English ministry in soliciting peace was as respectful and conciliating as it had been arrogant and insulting when there was a prospect of obtaining part of the spoils.

* Letter of Lord Auckland to the States-Generals, January 23, 1793.

In conformity with this original plan, the commander-in-chief now moved forward between the two wings with the rear division of the army, to Sevenbergen, and gave orders to besiege Klundert and Williamstadt immediately; while Daendels, by advancing to Nordschantz, was to cut off all intercourse between them. During the period that a flotilla was preparing under his directions to carry his troops across the Mordyck, he ordered General D'Arcon to attack Breda. This place, which had always been considered as strong, besides being provided with two hundred pieces of cannon, possessed an excellent palisade, and was protected by means of an inundation. The garrison consisted of two thousand two hundred infantry, and a regiment of dragoons: but the Count de Ryland, the governor, was totally ignorant of military affairs, while the inhabitants were strongly attached to the French party. After the bombardment had con-

tinued three days, during which period the fire of the enemy was kept up with great briskness, it was found that sixty bombs only remained, and that the siege must inevitably be raised as soon as these were expended. In this dilemma, Colonel Philip Devaux, one of the aides-de-camp, entered the place with a flag of truce, on the 2d of March, and announced that General Dumouriez was expected to arrive immediately with the whole of his army, after which the garrison must not hope for quarter. The governor was so terrified with this threat, that scarcely taking time to consult his officers, he instantly capitulated, and was allowed all the honours of war. Thus, with a detachment of only three thousand eight hundred men, one of the strongest towns in Holland was taken in the course of a few days: two hundred and fifty pieces of artillery, three hundred thousand weight of gunpowder, five thousand muskets, and five vessels, fell into the hands of the victors; some of whom had carried their temerity so far, during the siege, as to dance the *carmagnol* on the glacis opening to that part of the fortification which was not inundated.

Nor did the success of the French arms stop here, for Klundert surrendered two days afterwards. The commandant, who was a German lieutenant-colonel, defended the place with great bravery, notwithstanding the garrison did not exceed one hundred and fifty soldiers; but after keeping up a smart fire for several days, on perceiving that he could no longer shelter his men, he determined to nail up his cannon, and retire, with such of the troops as remained alive, to Williamstadt. While attempting to execute this enterprise, he was intercepted by a detachment of Batavians, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Hartmann, whom he killed with his own hand; but he himself soon after experienced a similar fate. Fifty-three pieces of cannon, a few mortars, a large quantity of bombs, bullets, and powder, were found in the place; and while the French became animated by such easy conquests, consternation and dismay spread throughout Holland.

Berneron now received orders to lay siege to Williamstadt, while D'Arcon advanced against Gertruydenberg. The latter was immediately attacked by means of a few cannon and some mortars, brought from Breda, and after a few shot had been fired, Colonel Devaux entered with a flag of truce, and prevailed on the governor, Major-general Bedaux, upwards of eighty years of age, to capitulate, and accept the honours of war in return for the surrender of the place. By this new acquisition, the French acquired one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, two hundred thousand pounds of

gunpowder, two thousand five hundred new muskets, and, what was still more essential, they at the same time obtained a good harbour, and more than thirty vessels of different sizes for the transport of their troops.

The siege of Williamstadt, however, was not so prosperous as had been expected. This place, rendered strong both by nature and art, could only be attacked in one part, which exhibits but a small front to the assailant, while supplies of both men and provisions might be thrown in at any time. In addition to these advantages, the garrison was encouraged by the presence of its gallant governor, the Baron de Boetzelæer; and aided by some British gun boats, and by the landing of a body of guards under the command of the Duke of York, the second son of the King of England. Dumouriez, who imagined that the works had been erected at too great a distance, sent thither Dubois de Crance and Marescot, who traced out a battery within two hundred yards of the walls; but the Dutch made a successful sally, and these two engineers were both killed on the spot.

Notwithstanding the courage displayed by the besieged, and the arrival of assistance from an ally, the French were still able to attempt a passage from Mordyk, where Dumouriez had prepared a flotilla, and to contend for the possession of Holland: they already occupied the fortresses of Breda, Klundert, and Gertruydenberg, in which strong garrisons might be placed for the purpose of securing their rear, while a body of troops under General de Flers could continue the blockade of Steenberg and Bergen-op-Zoom at pleasure. The commander-in-chief accordingly proposed to embark his vanguard at Roowaert, and send his right division from Gertruydenberg, where he had found a great number of vessels admirably adapted for his purpose; and as the distance to Dort was not great, he hoped to effect it by fortifying an intermediate isle with cannon of large dimensions, on purpose to keep off the armed vessels belonging to the enemy.

The necessary preparations being made, it was determined to attempt the passage during the night; but an event occurred in the mean time that saved Holland from the miseries of invasion, gave a short respite to the Orange party, entirely changed the nature of the war, and at length forced the French to retire within their own territories.

The army which had so lately chased the Austrians from the Low Countries, and appeared destined to prevent their return, was not only dispirited by the absence of its leader, but rendered incapable of active operations in consequence of the disputes that prevailed among the generals. Miran-

da, in pursuance of orders, had laid siege to Maestricht, and commenced a terrible bombardment, which set fire to that city in several parts. The defence, however, was far more vigorous than had been expected; for a body of French emigrants, who expected little mercy in case their countrymen should triumph, had thrown themselves into the place, under the command of M. d'Autichamp, and displayed equal skill and bravery in the course of the siege. General Champmorin had also failed in his attempt to obtain possession of Venloo; for although he had taken the forts of Stevenswert, and St. Michel on the Meuse, he had been anticipated in his design by the Prussians, who immediately occupied the place.

While the Generals Valence, Stengel, and Dampierre, remained in their cantonments in the neighbourhood of Liege and Aix-la-Chapelle, the Prince de Cobourg, an officer who had distinguished himself during the war against the Turks, arrived at Cologne, and assumed the command of the Austrian forces. Having learned that disunion prevailed among the leaders of the enemy's army, and discontent among the troops, he immediately collected his army, and determined to commence his military career by some brilliant exploit.

General Clairfait accordingly passed the Roer during the night of the 28th of April, and not only repulsed the French army both on the side of Duren and Juliers, but compelled it to retreat beyond Aldenhoven, with the loss of two thousand men killed, wounded, or taken prisoners, twelve pieces of cannon, thirteen ammunition wagons, and the military chest. In the mean time, the Austrian commander-in-chief penetrated through Aldenhoven, without experiencing any obstructions whatever, and five days after obtained a decisive victory over the enemy, whom he chased before him.

The French, who remained in cantonments, and had not as yet any central position assigned where they might assemble, immediately fell back on Liege, without fighting. General Leveneur, who presided over the attack at Maestricht, on the side of Wyck, deemed himself fortunate in being able to carry away his cannon and cross the Meuse, while General Miranda was under the necessity of entirely relinquishing the siege. Lieutenant-general Lanoue was also obliged to retreat from Aix-la-Chapelle, after being beaten at Aldenhoven; and General Valence, with some difficulty, saved a column of twenty-seven battalions, by a vigorous charge of cavalry, in the plain of Tongres. The Imperialists having thus relieved Maestricht, crossed the Meuse, and entered Liege, where they seized all the magazines belonging to the French, and

got possession of the clothing for the troops; the Prussians at the same time obliged General Champmorin to evacuate Stevenswert and Fort St. Michel, and fall back on Diest: in consequence of which, the course of the Lower Meuse was subject to their control, and had they persevered and penetrated either by Antwerp or Bois-le-Duc, the retreat of the army in Holland would have been entirely cut off, or at least rendered equivocal. In short, the defeat of the republican troops in the Low Countries was so complete, that, excepting the battering artillery, nothing was saved; desertion immediately succeeded, and more than ten thousand men retired amidst the general confusion.

Dumouriez, whose enterprising spirit had led him to expect the speedy conquest of Holland, was awakened from his dream of glory by the unwelcome tidings of a fugitive army, and a victorious foe. After a short struggle, he however obeyed the orders of the council at Paris, and set out on the 9th of April for Flanders, leaving the troops under the command of General de Flers, with directions to attempt the passage from Gertruydenberg, and in case of success to wait at Dort, where he was to receive further instructions. But the arrival of the English forces in Holland, the check received by the grand army, and the sudden departure of Dumouriez rendered the invaders dispirited. De Flers, instead of effecting a descent, found it necessary, in consequence of the approach of the Prussians, to throw himself into Breda, with six battalions of infantry, and two hundred horse, while Colonel Tilly garrisoned Gertruydenberg with three battalions and five hundred cavalry. The rest of the army was conducted to Antwerp under the command of the Colonels Devaux and Thouve-not, who evacuated the batteries of Mordyck without loss, destroyed the fortifications of Klundert, and prevented the troops, now greatly dispirited, from flying in disorder.

Thus terminated the expedition against Holland, the idea of which was conceived, and the plan carried into execution, within the space of a few days. The success of this irruption was at first far greater than it deserved; for the French were actually destitute of cannon and ammunition, and had it not been for the unexpected surrender of Gertruydenberg and Breda, Dumouriez must have retired before in disgrace.

During this period, the progress of the French arms in Germany in a great measure ceased to be either brilliant or prosperous. Custine had been unable to prevent the Hessians from rendezvousing at Coblenz, whither the King of Prussia also directed his march, and who not only occupied the two banks of the Lahn, but forced the

general to abandon Francfort, and shut himself up within the walls of Mentz.

While the blockade of Mentz was conducted in a languid manner during the winter by the Prussians, the French appear to have remained on the defensive; but they resumed offensive operations early in the spring, and endeavoured to make up by celerity their deficiency in respect to numbers. Custine accordingly made an irruption into the territories of the Duke of Deux Ponts, and suddenly took possession of his residence at Calsberg; their serene highnesses escaping with great difficulty. But the tide of war now set in a contrary direction, and the tri-coloured flag, which had so lately flaunted in triumph along the Rhine and Maine, was doomed in its turn to experience humiliation.—Konigstein, with its garrison of four hundred and forty men, surrendered to the Prussians; Worms was evacuated; and part of the magazines at Bingen, Kreutznach, and Nierstein seized.

Nor was this all, for the states of the empire had at length declared war against France; and the diet of Ratisbon, in consequence of the menaces of the courts of Vienna and Berlin, had ordained “a junction of arms,” and voted the necessary contingents.

These adverse and unexpected disasters greatly disconcerted Dumouriez: aware, however, of his critical situation, and conscious that he had no time to lose in unavailing regret, he repaired, after having issued orders to arrest the deserters and collect the fugitives, to the head-quarters at Louvain, where he introduced a new system of subordination into the army, which was still formidable in point of numbers, and amounted to forty thousand infantry, and four thousand five hundred cavalry. General Valence was appointed to the command of the right, the Duke of Chartres of the centre, and General Miranla of the left. Under these served the Generals Dampierre, Champmorin, and Neuilly; the reserve was commanded by General Chancel, and the advanced guard by General La Marche.

Having retaken Tirlemont from the Austrians, who recrossed the Grete, and occupied the heights of Neerlanden, Nerwinden, Middlewinden, and Oberwinden, the French commander-in-chief advanced once more against them, and seized on Gotzenhoven, which he maintained during an engagement of eighteen hours between the two advanced guards, supported by the main body of each of the hostile armies.

Dumouriez, encouraged with this success, determined to give battle to the enemy, and he was induced to adopt this decisive measure, as well by the hope of im-

peding their further progress, as of preventing them from receiving the reinforcements now marching to their assistance. The French general spent the whole day preceding the attack in reconnoitering the position of the Imperialists, posting his troops in order of battle, and preparing his plan of operations. The army, divided into eight columns, was at length put in motion between seven and eight o'clock on the morning of the 18th of March, and crossed the river without any obstacle. General La Marche, with the first column, immediately entered the plain of Landen, and, not finding the enemy there, joined the second, which attacked the village of Oberwinden, and the town of Middlewinden, about ten o'clock, with such vigour that they were both carried; but the Austrians afterwards retook the latter, the importance of which became now apparent; the possession was accordingly disputed during the whole of the day. The third column, under General Neuilly, about the same time drove the Imperialists from a village where they had taken post, but in consequence of a mistake it was immediately abandoned. The Austrians on this resumed their former position, whence they were chased a second time by the fourth and fifth columns, under the command of the Duke of Chartres; General Desforets, however, having been wounded in the head with a musket shot, the village encumbered with infantry, and the troops thrown into confusion, it was once more relinquished on the approach of the enemy, who threatened to carry it by assault.

In the mean time, while the republican troops were in disorder, the Austrians, relying on the superiority of their cavalry, descended into the plain between Nerwinden and Middlewinden, and made a furious charge on the French horse. General Valence, who fought with great valour at their head, was wounded and obliged to retire to Tirlemont; notwithstanding this, the Imperialists were at length forced to withdraw. Nearly at the same period, another body of cavalry attacked the infantry of the fourth column on the left of Nerwinden with great gallantry; but General Thouvenot, who was posted there, received them with coolness, and rendered their charge destructive to themselves alone; for, on perceiving their approach, he opened his ranks to allow them to pass, and made such a critical discharge of grape and case shot from his artillery, in addition to a close fire of musketry from the regiment of Deux-Ponts, that nearly the whole of this detachment was destroyed.

The fate of the action, both in the centre and on the right, now appeared to be de-

cisively in favour of the French, and these two divisions passed the night in the field of battle, on purpose to resume the engagement and complete the victory at the break of day.

But, while success smiled on this portion of the army, a far more different fate was reserved for the left wing. The sixth and seventh columns, which had attacked the enemy with great success, were already in possession of Orsmael, when a panic terror appears to have seized on some of the battalions, in consequence of which great confusion immediately ensued. General Clairfait augmented the disorder by a brisk charge of cavalry, which completed the route of the two columns, occasioned the slaughter of a great number of men, and rendered the officers incapable of restoring order. Guiscard, a *marechal-de-camp*, attached to the artillery, was killed upon this occasion; and General Ruault and Iller, with several *aides-de-camp*, and other persons belonging to the staff, were among the wounded.

On this, General Miranda gave orders to retreat, and withdrew to a position behind Tirlemont, without being harassed by the Austrians, who were as yet unacquainted with the extent of their good fortune; General Champmorin also retired from Leav, crossed the river by the bridge of Bingen, which he cut down after him, and resumed his position at Oplinter.

Dumouriez, who had superintended the movements of his right and centre in person, being greatly alarmed at not hearing from his left flank, entered Tirlemont, where he found General Miranda, and gave him orders to assemble his division during the night, on purpose to occupy the heights of Wommersen, as well as the great road, and the bridges of Orsmael and Neerhelpen, with a view of insuring the passage of the Gette, as well as the retreat of the right and centre, which would otherwise engage with the enemy's army subject to the disadvantage of a river in their rear.

In this action, the French, according to the confession of their own general, sacrificed about three thousand men, either killed or taken, and more than a thousand wounded, besides many cannon; while the loss of the Imperialists, which fell principally upon their cavalry, did not exceed fourteen hundred. Both armies displayed great courage and perseverance on this occasion; and had not Dumouriez lost the confidence of all the volunteers, and most of the superior officers, who dreaded lest they should be betrayed, victory, perhaps, would have once more declared in his favour.

The French army was enabled to withdraw to the heights behind Tirlemont in

good order, in consequence of the able and intrepid conduct of all the generals, particularly Dampierre, who acquired great celebrity on this occasion; but the disaffection of the national guards soon rendered a further retreat necessary. Nor were they mistaken in respect to their suspicions, for their commander, alike unmindful of his engagements and his oaths, and anxious alone to escape the punishment that awaited his disobedience, had entered into a conspiracy for the evacuation of Belgium, and the subversion of the French government. Under pretence of treating about the wounded and prisoners, he despatched an officer belonging to his staff,* with the necessary instructions, to the head-quarters of the Prince de Cobourg, where he had a conference with Colonel Mack, with whom a suspension of arms was agreed upon. On the evening of the succeeding day, the latter repaired to Louvain, and the following articles, without being reduced to writing, were acceded to verbally:—

1. "That the Imperialists should make no more general attacks, and that the French commander-in-chief should not on his side endeavour to give battle.

2. "That, in conformity to this tacit convention, the French should retire to Brussels, by easy marches, and in good order, without being harassed.

3. "That the same parties should meet again after the evacuation of that city, on purpose to agree as to future contingencies.

Dumouriez, in conformity with this treaty, now gave orders for abandoning the Netherlands; and after his army had marched through Brussels, an interview took place between him and the adjutant-general of the Austrian army, in the course of which he announced his intentions of marching to Paris and dissolving the convention. On this, it was agreed, that the Imperialists should either remain passive, or act the part of auxiliaries, as occasion might require: but it was expressly stipulated, on the other hand, that Conde should be delivered up to them until the conclusion of peace, and the regulation of indemnities: the Duke de Chartres, Generals Valence, Thouvenot, and Colonel Montjoye, were present upon this occasion, and assisted at the deliberations.

An unexpected movement of a division under General Neully, which rendered the surrender of these fortresses much more difficult, tended not a little to defeat these projects of Dumouriez.

The French general in the month of March, received a visit from three deputies, from the jacobin society of Paris, who soon penetrated his intentions and immediately denounced him to the convention as a traitor.

* Colonel Montjoye.

tor to the liberties of his country. This alarming intelligence had no sooner reached Paris, than the minister of war, Beurnonville, and four commissioners, were sent to the army with powers to suspend and arrest all generals and military officers whom they should suspect, and send them to the bar of the convention. The commissioners halted at Lisle, and despatched a summons to the general to appear in that city, and answer the charges against him. Dumouriez did not obey this mandate, but his answer did not openly avow the design he was meditating; he replied "that being in the sight of the enemy, and his presence constantly necessary for the preservation of an army, which he was now busied in reforming, it became impossible for him to be present at the inquiry, but that if the deputies would repair to his camp, he would answer any questions with his accustomed frankness." He added, "that as soon as he had secured his retreat within the French territories, he would have more time to attend to matters that concerned himself personally; but that he was fully determined never to enter Lisle, unless it should be at the head of his troops, and on purpose to punish the cowards, who, after having abandoned their colours, dared to calumniate the gallant defenders of their country."

Almost immediately after these transactions, Dumouriez received intelligence, that Antwerp had been abandoned by the troops he had stationed there, who had retreated into France. On the following day, he resolved to raise the camp at Tournay, and occupy that of Maulde. In the mean time, he sent orders through Colonel Mack, to the garrisons of Breda and Gertruydenberg, to capitulate on condition of being allowed to return to France.

Dumouriez, finding that it was no longer practicable to temporize, came to the resolution of arresting the commissioners assembled at Lisle, and he accordingly directed General Miaczinski to repair to Lisle with a large body of troops, and seize the deputies from the convention, together with all the principal members of the jacobin club; but that general imprudently divulging the object of his mission, no sooner entered the city than the gates were shut upon him, and he found himself the prisoner of the men he was sent to arrest. This unfortunate foreigner was immediately sent to Paris, and soon after lost his life upon the scaffold. The machinations of Dumouriez to deliver up Condé and Valenciennes, were frustrated by the patriotism of Generals Ferrand and Chancel.

The commissioners of the convention, unintimidated by the previous attempt that

had been made to arrest them, proceeded to St. Amand, where Dumouriez then had his head-quarters, and were admitted into his presence on the 2d April, and explained to him the object of their mission. After a conference of some hours, the general, finding it impossible to seduce them from their allegiance to the convention, gave the signal to a body of chosen troops, who were in waiting to take them into custody, and the minister of war, and the four commissioners, Camus, Blancal, La Marque, and Quinette, were immediately conveyed, under a strong escort, to General Clairfait's head-quarters at Tournay, to be detained as hostages for the safety of the royal family.

Dumouriez, notwithstanding his splendid talents, appears, however, to have been grossly mistaken with regard to the disposition of his army. They might be disposed to resent the affront which was so imprudently offered to their general, in ordering him to appear as a criminal at Paris; but when he came to propose to them the restoration of royalty in the person of the prince, and to turn their arms against their country, the prejudices or the patriotism of Frenchmen assumed their wonted influence, and they considered it as their duty to disobey. The general lost no time in despatching Colonel Montjoye to acquaint Colonel Mack with the arrest of the commissioners, and to appoint the time and place for a conference to conclude the terms of their treaty. During the night, he composed a manifesto addressed to his army, which he digested and put in order the following day.

On the morning of the 3d, he went to the camp, and addressed the troops, who, he says, appeared to approve his conduct. He then proceeded to St. Amand, in which place was the corps of artillery, who also expressed their satisfaction. At St. Amand, General Dumouriez thought it prudent to sleep, for the purpose of marking his confidence in the troops there.—The whole of the third, he says, passed with as much success as he could expect; except that murmurs were heard among some of the battalions of the volunteers.

On the morning of the 4th, he left General Thouvenot at St. Amand, and departed himself for Condé; but when he had approached within half a league of that fortress, he was met by an officer despatched by General Neully to inform him that the garrison was in the greatest fermentation, and that it would not be safe for him to enter the place. He sent back the officer with an order to General Neully, to send the 18th regiment of cavalry to escort him. He had just before overtaken a column of

volunteers marching towards Condé, who, however, did not then attempt to molest him. It was while they were yet in sight, that General Neuilly's messenger arrived; and he had scarcely delivered his message to the officer, when the head of the column quitted the high road, and ran towards him with shouts and menaces, and a universal exclamation of "Stop, stop." The general, now perceiving himself in the most imminent danger, mounted a horse belonging to a domestic of the Duke de Chartres, and escaped through a dreadful discharge of musketry, which the whole column poured upon him and his associates. Finding it impossible to gain the camp of Maulde, the general proceeded along the Scheldt, and passed the ferry near the village of Wikers, on the imperial territory. From this place, he continued his route on foot to Bury, where in the evening he met Colonel Mack, and passed the night in digesting the proclamation of the Prince of Cobourg, which appeared on the 5th with his own. It was also agreed in this conference, that as soon as the general should be master of Condé, he should deliver it to the Austrians, to serve as a magazine and place of arms, in case of aid being demanded by General Dumouriez. The proclamation of General Dumouriez contained a recapitulation of his services to the French republic; a statement of the cruel neglect which his army had experienced in the preceding winter, and of the outrages practised by the Jacobins towards the generals of the republic, and particularly towards himself; the reasons which induced him to arrest the commissioners; and a glowing picture of the evils to be apprehended from a continuance of anarchy in France. It concluded with an exhortation to the French, to restore the constitution of 1789, 1790, and 1791; and a declaration on oath that he bore arms only for the restoration of that constitution; and that as soon as he had effected that purpose, he would forever abandon every public function, and in solitude console himself with having contributed to the happiness of his fellow citizens.

The manifesto of the Prince of Saxe-Cobourg, which accompanied the preceding, reflected great honour on that general; and it can never be sufficiently regretted, that the terms which it held forth were ever departed from by the allied powers. It passed high encomiums on the disinterested and patriotic views of General Dumouriez. It announced that the allied powers were no longer to be considered as principals, but merely as auxiliaries in the war; that they had no other object but to co-operate with General Dumouriez in giving to France her constitutional king,

and "the constitution which she formed for herself." On his word of honour, he pledged himself, that he would not come upon the French territory to make conquests, but solely for the ends above specified. The prince declared further, that any strong places which should be put into his hands, should be considered as sacred deposit, to be delivered up as soon as the constitutional government should be established in France, or as soon as General Dumouriez should demand them.

On the 5th of April, at daybreak, General Dumouriez proceeded with an escort of fifty Imperial dragoons to the advanced guard of his camp at Maulde. He harangued the troops; but though there was no open opposition, he observed some indications of that spirit, and several factious groups assembled in different parts. His next design was to go to St. Amand; but as he was entering the city he was met by an aid-de-camp, who informed him that during the night the corps of artillery, excited by some emissaries from Valenciennes, had risen upon their general, and were marching to that fortress. The money, however, and the equipages of the officers, which remained in the city without a guard, he commanded to be conducted to Rumegies.

The desertion of the corps of artillery was the signal for general revolt. General Lamorliere, on whom Dumouriez had placed some dependence, immediately took his departure for Valenciennes. The general was himself at Rumegies, when he heard of the defection of the troops in camp. Nothing was now left, but to provide for his personal safety. He mounted his horse, attended by a few friends. He was followed in the course of the day by about 700 horse, and 800 infantry; these were the whole that could be prevailed on by the utmost solicitations of their officers to desert to the enemy, and of these several afterwards returned.* The military chest which Dumouriez had removed was re-

* The officers who accompanied Dumouriez in his flight, were the Duke de Chartres, General and Colonel Thouvenot, Colonel Montjoye, Lieutenant-colonel Barrois, &c. General Valence, who as well as himself entertained an idea of placing a new dynasty on the throne, had been sent by him to attend the congress of the ministers of foreign powers assembled at Antwerp; but Generals Vouille and Marasse, Major-general Neuilly, de Baunes Second, Dumas, Ruzat, Berneon, with Colonel Armaudin, and a small body of infantry and cavalry, joined him soon afterwards in the Austrian territories. But as the Prince de Cobourg thought proper to annul the proclamation, in which he had disavowed the intention of making conquests, all these officers deemed themselves bound in honour to quit the dominions of the house of Austria; and most of the soldiers returned to France.

covered by a party of French chasseurs, and brought to Valenciennes.

Unfortunately for the cause of the royalists, the Austrian commanders neglected this critical opportunity of marching against the camps of Maulde and Bruelle, while confusion and dismay prevailed there. Instead of meditating how to strike a decisive blow, they were occupied with making preparations for the blockade of Conde, which was to have been summoned in the name of Dumouriez.

During this period, the English arms were triumphant both in the East and West Indies. Major-general Cuyler, with the assistance of Vice-admiral Sir John Laforey, was enabled to proceed with a small body of men against the island of Tobago. Having effected a landing in Great Courland bay, and marched against the fort, Montiel the commandant was summoned to surrender, but refused. On this, the English general, finding that his numbers were unequal to the operations of a siege, carried the place by assault in the course of that very night.

Soon after this, the little islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, near the coast of Newfoundland, surrendered at discretion to Brigadier-general Ogilvie; but an attack made by Major-general Bruce, on the island of Martinico, proved less fortunate. The colonists being divided among themselves, the royalists had sent a deputation, in the name of a committee, inviting the commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces in the West Indies to proceed to their assistance, stating, at the same time, that they were already in possession of some important posts. A detachment of British troops, to the amount of eleven thousand men, was accordingly landed, and being joined by a body of the malcontents, the whole prepared to advance in two columns against a couple of batteries that defended the town of St. Pierre; but an alarm having taken place among the allies, and their commanding officer being wounded, the expedition was relinquished, and the troops re-embarked.

Although the British troops did not then succeed in their attempt on the rich settlement of Martinico, possession was soon afterwards obtained of a portion of the still more important colony of St. Domingo.

This colony is not only the chief settlement in the West Indian archipelago, but in point of importance, may be perhaps considered as superior to the whole of the European colonies in that portion of America.* An intercourse between the white

free man and the black female, had produced a numerous race, varying in point of colour, from the dingy samboe to the pale mestize, whose complexion, without the bloom, possessed nearly all the fairness of the male ancestor. But while nature approximated these two distinct races, prejudice and oppressive laws kept them apart. The men of colour, many of whom had been educated in the universities of France, and possessed considerable plantations, were removed, in point of rank, only a single degree from slaves; and those who in Europe had been treated with respect, found, on their return to their native shores, that they could not exercise any public office, practise any respectable profession, or enjoy either civil or political rights.

The French revolution, productive of so many important changes, seemed destined to meliorate their fate; and by a decree of the national assembly,* it was accordingly declared, "that all the people of colour born of free parents became citizens, and were eligible to seats both in the parochial and colonial assemblies." This measure, which was dictated by the feelings of men unacquainted with the rooted prejudices of the creoles,† who seem to estimate merit by the tint of complexion, produced a civil war; in the course of which, the negroes and mulattoes appear to have at first entered into an alliance for their mutual security. To heal these divisions, three persons were sent out to St. Domingo with the title of civil commissioners,‡ but they lost the confidence of the white inhabitants, by having proclaimed a general amnesty on their arrival in favour of the men of colour and the revolted slaves. Three others, Santhonax, Polverel, and Ailhaud, were appointed to succeed them. These immediately dissolved the colonial assembly, sent home Blanchilande, the governor nominated by the king, and called in the negroes to their assistance against the planters. In the course of this contest, the most terrible enormities were perpetrated on all sides. Oge and Chevane, two men of colour, were put to death amidst the most cruel torments; Mauduit, the commandant at Port-au-Prince, was murdered by his

who possessed better means of information on this subject, estimates the population previously to the civil war at 600,000, of all colours, exclusive of the Spanish portion of the island, which contains about 60,000, reckoning the whites at 2000, and the negroes, at 30,000, and the remainder, including twelve or fourteen different mixtures, from "the mongrel to the marebou," at 28,000.

* May 15, 1791.

† A creole is the offspring of white European parents, born in the West India, or on the continent of South America, or in Mexico.—W. G.

‡ Mirbeck, Roome, and St. Leger.

* Mr. Bryan Edwards, in his "Historical Survey," p. 1, states the number of enslaved negroes, in 1789, at 480,000; free people of colour at 24,000. These, together with the white inhabitants, constituted a total of 534,831. Colonel Charnilly,

own soldiers; the town of Cape François was destroyed, and a multitude of the inhabitants massacred.

In this unhappy situation of affairs, a number of different parties were formed among the white colonists, all of which appear to have been determined rather to renounce their mother country than the prejudices so long and so carefully fostered by them. Some, contemplating the internal resources of the island, and dazzled with the recent success of the British colonies in America, were desirous of establishing an independent state; others wished for the protection of England; and not a few were eager to profess a temporary allegiance to Spain, and surrender St. Domingo to the court of Madrid, as a deposit for the French princes.

But those who were attached to Great Britain finally prevailed, for the governor of Jamaica having received instructions to attempt an invasion, measures were at length taken for that purpose, and a French nobleman, well acquainted with the colony, accompanied the expedition. All the necessary preparations having been made, Commodore Ford sailed from Port Royal with the 13th regiment, two flank companies of the 49th, and a small detachment of artillery, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Whitelocke. These having landed at Jeremie, the two forts immediately hoisted English colours, and saluted with twenty-one guns.

After leaving some troops, and remaining only a few hours there, the squadron sailed for the Mole, and some persons were sent on shore to treat about the surrender. Major O'Ferral, who commanded the garrison, consisting of one hundred and eighty-three men of the regiment of Dillon, and M. Deneux, the commandant of the place, immediately agreed to the terms proposed. Twenty-two deputies were accordingly sent on board the Europa; the forts at Presque-isle and Orleans fired a royal salute, and the troops exclaimed *Vive le Roi!* Thus an important position of the island of St. Domingo was delivered up to five hundred and sixty British troops; and the English cross, assuming the place of the three-coloured flag, not only waved along a coast of fifty leagues in extent, but was displayed from the bastions of the Gibraltar of the Antilles.

In the East Indies, the arms of England were uniformly successful. A company of merchant-adventurers, incited by the thirst of wealth, coasted along the southern extremity of Africa, and with some difficulty obtained leave to establish a little factory on the shores of Asia. Combining policy with trade, and war with a spirit of

gain, by taking part in the disputes between contending princes, and engrafting European skill on Indian cunning, it at length became formidable. One of its servants, imbued with the spirit of the institution, in which he had acted a subordinate part, from a clerk became a general, and by a memorable victory over Surajah Dowla, converted tributaries into sovereigns. Since the memorable battle of Plassey, the factors of the company have presided over settlements equally populous and extensive as the greatest kingdoms in our quarter of the globe, with all the pomp and parade of eastern magnificence; all the neighbouring rajahs and nabobs now acknowledge their dominion, and from the dark recesses of a counting-house in Leadenhall-street, orders are issued to regulate the destiny of nations, and raise or depose sultans. Never was this company more powerful than at the period at which we now treat; its army was in excellent condition, and none of the military establishments of the other European powers were able to cope with it, either in point of numbers or of discipline.

In consequence of the extraordinary exertions of Mr. Baldwin, the British consul in Egypt, advice of the war with France arrived in India with a degree of celerity hitherto unexampled. On receiving this important intelligence, Chandernagore, Carical, Yanam, and all the small factories appertaining to that power, were instantly laid hold of, and many of their ships seized. Preparations were also made to obtain possession of the important fortress of Pondicherry; and Admiral Cornwallis blockaded the place by sea, while Colonel Floyd appeared before it on the land side with a detachment of troops. Colonel Braithwaite, who formerly acted as governor, and had become acquainted with all the approaches, was intrusted with the direction of the siege. After transmitting a summons to Colonel Prosper de Chermont, a plan of attack upon the north face of the fort was determined upon. A battery of eight twelve-pounders and two eight-inch mortars, was accordingly erected within eight hundred yards of the place, and another of fourteen twenty-four pounders was completed in a short time; on the opening of which, the fire of the enemy became irregular and confused; gun after gun was withdrawn, and their embrasures filled with sand bags, while an incessant fire of shot and shells was kept up by the English. In the afternoon of that day, flags of truce were exhibited on all the salient angles of the fort, and in the course of the next, Pondicherry surrendered. This place might have held out some time

longer, had not the ships stationed in the road prevented the entrance of a frigate with supplies from the Isle of France, and had not disputes of a serious nature existed between the governor and the garrison.

CHAPTER IX.

Congress at Antwerp—Renewal of Hostilities—Dampierre appointed General—Action at Famars—Death of Dampierre—Surrender of Valenciennes, Conde, and Mentz—Custine arrested—The French driven from Cæsar's Camp.

A CONGRESS* of the representatives of the combined powers, assembled at Antwerp early in April, to take into consideration the measures necessary to be adopted, in consequence of the unexpected failure of the plan laid down by the Prince of Cobourg and Dumouriez: and subsequent events clearly evinced that the result of these deliberations was a determination to carry on the war against France with renewed vigour. The cessation of hostilities was declared at an end, and on the following day, the commander-in-chief of the Austrian army published a revocation of the pacific manifesto issued by him at the suggestion of Dumouriez. The situation of France at this moment was singularly critical and dangerous. By the defection of Dumouriez, the whole army of the north was dissolved, and in a state of complete disorganization; while the armies of the allies lay upon the frontiers, numerous, well disciplined, and victorious. The allied sovereigns appeared to be on the eve of realizing all their projects. Frederick William II. looked to Poland for the reward of his services, in engaging in a war in which he had no immediate interest; while the youthful emperor, French Flanders appeared to be an easy conquest on the one side, Alsace presented the most alluring bait on the other, and little doubt was entertained of its speedy re-annexation to the head of the German empire.

The convention, on receiving information of the defection of Dumouriez, declared itself permanent, but its alarm was considerably diminished on receiving from the commissioners the agreeable intelligence that the army still remained faithful to the republic, and that the fugitives consisted only of a few officers and a troop of horse.

Effective measures were immediately

taken to collect the battalions that had retreated, to bring the artillery again into the field, and to inspire the soldiery with confidence. A new chief was found in the person of General Dampierre, whose courage was unbounded, and who had distinguished himself by his military talents on many important occasions. In addition to this, he possessed the confidence of all the patriots, both in the legislature and the army; nor were the expectations which had been formed of him disappointed, for in less than a week, this general had restored order and discipline to the disorganized troops, and was enabled to lead them to action, if not to victory. The convention at this time passed two decrees, by one of which the severest punishment was enacted against those commanders who entered into any secret negotiations with the enemy; while by the other, which would have come with a better grace at an earlier period, the obnoxious law of fraternity was rescinded.

The Prince de Cobourg, finding his army greatly strengthened by the accession of a body of Prussians, as well as by the arrival of a considerable reinforcement of English and Hanoverian troops, under the Duke of York, immediately declared that the armistice was at an end. He accordingly advanced against Maulde, now rendered defenceless in consequence of the retreat, desertion, and dismay, that had so recently intervened. Having secured this strong camp, he formed the blockade of Conde, and prepared to invest another of the principal fortresses in that neighbourhood.

Dampierre, well acquainted with the genius of his countrymen, who are always dispirited after misfortunes, determined not to hazard a battle; he therefore remained on the defensive at Famars, where his outposts were assailed by the Austrians on the 13th April, in six different points; but the assailants were repulsed with considerable loss. These attacks were renewed on the 14th and 15th, but with no decisive result. On the 23d, the Austrians attacked the French near Maubeuge, but after a conflict of ten hours, they were repulsed.

* This congress was composed of his serene Highness the Prince of Orange, and his two sons; his royal Highness the Duke of York; their Excellencies Lord Auckland, as Ambassador from England, Vander Spiegel from Holland, the Prussian, Spanish, and Neapolitan envoys; the Prince of Saxe Cobourg; the Counts Metternich, Stahrenberg, Mercy, d'Argenteau; and the generals Knobeldorff, and Kelter.

On the 1st of May, General Dampierre attempted to dislodge the enemy from several villages of which they were in possession, but in this attack the French experienced a repulse. An action of a more serious nature took place on the 8th May: General Dampierre advanced with a view of dislodging the allies, who were posted in the wood of Rheme, and Vicoigne: this movement was chiefly directed against the posts occupied by General Clairfait and the Prussians, and continued until 8 o'clock in the evening; even then, although the French were defeated in that quarter, they assumed a position in the neighbouring wood, kept the Prince de Cobourg in check, and cannonaded the Prussian camp at St. Amand. On this, the Duke of York, who had arrived early in the morning at the camp of Maulde, with the brigade of English guards, and a battalion of Hanoverian infantry, marched to their assistance. The Coldstream arrived at a critical moment, when the French were advancing towards the great road, commanding it in some degree by the fire of their cannon; but the battalion guns having succeeded in checking the battery opposed to this corps, it moved forward into the wood, and made a charge with fixed bayonets; while another battery being opened on the part of the French, it became necessary for the British troops to retreat to their former position. Notwithstanding this, the British troops, commanded by Major-general Lake, contributed not a little to the ultimate success of the day. In the course of this action Dampierre*

* DAMPIERRE.—This general was originally bred in the French guards; he then became second major of a regiment of infantry, and at length a general in the army of the republic. He served under Dumouriez during the incursion into the Austrian Netherlands, and distinguished himself greatly on two memorable occasions; the first was at the battle of Gemappe, where he displayed uncommon courage; and the second during the retreat after the action of Nerwinden, on which occasion he exhibited a fine specimen of the military art. He was less fortunate however at Aix-la-Chapelle, during the month of February, 1793, when he was forced by the Austrians to evacuate that place; but this circumstance, perhaps, is solely to be attributed to the total deficiency of arrangement on the part of the commander-in-chief.

Here follows the translation of a letter from the commissioners to the national convention, notifying his death:—

"The whole army regret in him a brave soldier, an able general, and a sincere friend to the republic. The confidence which he inspired into the troops by his noble proclamation at the time when the treachery of Dumouriez was discovered; his military career, always glorious and unalloyed; and above all, his death, ought to be recalled to the remembrance of those who may endeavour to tarnish the splendour of his justly acquired reputation.

was mortally wounded, his thigh being carried away by a cannon shot. While bleeding to death, and conscious of his approaching dissolution, he conducted himself with heroic fortitude, and well sustained in death the reputation he had acquired during his life. He was respected by the enemy as a brave man, and was bedewed by the tears of his country. The convention conferred upon his remains the empty honours of the Pantheon.

The moment the general-in-chief was wounded, the command devolved on Lamarche, in right of seniority; and this officer appears to have followed the plan of his predecessor; for although the French had been so recently beaten, yet they still continued to menace and harass the allies. On the morning after the action, they were still in sight, and even began to erect batteries along the front of the Austrian and Prussian lines, commanded by the generals Clairfait and Knobledorff. On this, it was determined to carry their works by assault; and the Duke of York, who was about to return to Tournay with his troops, once more occupied the positions at Maulde and St. Amand, to enable as many of the combined forces as possible to take the field. Next morning, at break of day, the two generals accordingly advanced at the head of their respective columns, and carried the batteries, which were not defended with any degree of obstinacy, as the enemy had withdrawn their cannon during the night.

From this period to the 23d, little of importance occurred. On that day, it was determined by the allies to attempt to dislodge the French from their fortified camp on the heights of Famars, which covered and protected the town of Valenciennes. At daybreak, the British and Hanoverians assembled under the Duke of York, and the Austrians and German auxiliaries under that of the Prince de Cobourg and General Clairfait. A thick fog prevented for some time the advance of the troops, and they soon experienced a tremendous fire from the intrenchments of the French. The contest, Sir James Murray states, was of the severest kind, and in the field the French were defeated. (18) The Duke

"To-morrow, we shall accompany all the good citizens to moisten with our tears the laurels and cypress destined to cover his grave."

(18) The American reader will bear in mind, that, these details are founded altogether on the British official accounts; to which the English editor appears to have given full credit. The recent war between America and England has taught us in this country, that little reliance is to be placed on those narratives; inasmuch that the expression "official letters" became but another

of York then advanced within a short distance of the works: but observing from the disposition of the French, that they could not be carried without considerable loss, he determined to defer the attack till day-break on the following day. In the course of the night, however, the French, apprehensive of the consequences, and probably much weakened by the action, abandoned their camp, and withdrew partly into Valenciennes, while another division retired by Denain, towards Bouchain and Cambray. No official returns were made of the loss of the allies; but on both sides it must have been considerable. This success on the part of the allied sovereigns enabled them to lay siege to the important fortress of Valenciennes. That of Condé had been invested from the beginning of April, and after enduring all the rigours of famine, it surrendered by capitulation of the 10th of July, the garrison remaining prisoners of war.

While these transactions were occurring in the north, but little of importance happened in other parts. General Custine commanded a French army on the Rhine, and frequent skirmishes took place between these troops and the Prussians under the command of Prince Hohenlohe, which upon the whole terminated in favour of the latter. After the death of Dampierre, General Custine was appointed to the command of the army of the north, but he does not appear to have been a man of much ability, nor was he able to afford any effectual assistance either to Valenciennes or Mentz; but there exists no proof that he betrayed his trust. This unfortunate general afterwards perished among innumerable other victims, during the sanguinary reign of Robespierre.

The Duke of York, to whom the conduct of the siege of Valenciennes was intrusted, summoned the commandant in the name of the "emperor," a circumstance which, considering the recent profession of the allies, excited no small surprise, and contributed to excite in the French people a more determined resistance to the arms of the allied sovereigns, whose views now appeared to them to be directed to the dismemberment of their country. Some difference is said to have occurred relative to the mode of conducting the siege, and an English engineer* of acknowledged abilities is reported to have proposed that the body of the place should be attacked at once. But the

opinion of Feld-Zeugmeister Farraris, who had distinguished himself at the capture of the camp of Famars, and possessed the confidence of the Austrian general, prevailed: and the fortifications, erected under the direction of the great Vauban, were approached according to the established forms. This decision, although it at length insured the capture of the place, tended not a little to procrastinate the siege; and no less than forty-one days had elapsed after opening the trenches, before the attack became serious. At length (on the 25th of July), notwithstanding some vigorous sallies on the part of the enemy, the covered way, the hornwork, and the advanced *fleche*, were carried and taken possession of during the night. Three separate attacks, by nine hundred men each, commanded by Major-general Abercromby, under the superintendence of Lieutenant-general Erbach, took place upon this occasion; and after a lodgment had been effected, the necessary measures were adopted for battering the counter-guard between the hornwork and the body of the place.

The most singular fact in the history of this siege is, that a considerable part of the war was carried on under ground; mines and counter-mines innumerable having been formed both by the besiegers and the besieged. The principal of these on the side of the former were one under the glacis, and one under the horn-work of the fortress; these mines were completed and discharged on the 25th of July, and in the night, between nine and ten o'clock, were sprung, with the most complete success. The English and Austrians immediately embraced the opportunity, to throw themselves into the covered way, of which they had made themselves masters.

Next day, his royal highness summoned both the commander and the municipality, declaring at the same time that their answer would irrevocably decide the fate of the city, and that no capitulation would be afterwards granted. General Ferrand, the governor, and Landu, president of the sections, having demanded a truce of twenty-four hours, a negotiation took place, and Valenciennes surrendered to the emperor, the garrison being allowed the honours of war.

In the despatch transmitted to England upon this occasion, and immediately inserted in the London Gazette Extraordinary of August, 1793, his Royal Highness the Duke of York was pleased to express himself highly satisfied with "the gallantry and good conduct of Major-general Abercromby, Colonel Lehigh, and Lieutenant-colonel Doyle." In a second despatch, announcing the surrender of the place, it is

term for a misstatement. Wherever, therefore, we can obtain access to French accounts, we shall endeavour to correct those of the English by them. Where these cannot be obtained, we can only, as in this instance, caution the reader against placing implicit confidence in the text, when British exploits are narrated.

* Colonel Moncrieff.

also stated that "batteries were allotted at different times to be worked by the royal artillery; and every commendation is due to Major Congreve, and to the officers and men of that corps, who have on this occasion fully supported the reputation they have so long enjoyed."

In the course of a few days more, the French army, after a sharp engagement, was obliged to abandon the strong position behind the Scheldt, called Cæsar's camp, on which Cambray* was immediately summoned; and, to complete the misfortunes of France, Mentz was obliged to capitulate about the same time. The trenches against this city were opened on the 19th June, and on the 22d July it was surrendered to the King of Prussia. The garrison was allowed to march out with all the honours of war, and also to carry away their arms and baggage; it was stipulated "that they should not serve against the allied powers until the expiration of a year." These troops were, however, employed in the reduction of the insurgent departments.

The loss of Mentz was immediately an-

nounced to the convention by Barrere; who, in his report on that occasion, attributed the misfortune solely to the treachery and intrigues of Custine, and obtained a decree that proved fatal to that general. Merlin, who had acted as one of the commissioners during the siege, after praising the gallantry of the soldiers, stated the scarcity of provisions to have been such "that a pound of horse-flesh had been sold at two, and a dead cat at six livres." He added, "that one thousand nine hundred men were sick in the two hospitals, that five thousand had fallen in the defence of the place, which could not possibly hold out three days longer; and that although the capitulation was infamous, it was the tenth that had been proposed, and the first accepted."

With these achievements, the successes of the allies may be said to have terminated; the protracted siege of the fortresses had given time to the French people to recover from the consternation into which they had been thrown by the defection of Dumouriez, and that energy which afterwards produced such great changes was on the eve of being developed.

CHAPTER X.

Insurrection in Vendee—Convention overawed by the Mountain Party—Gironde Members proscribed—New Constitution of France—Departments arm against the Jacobins—Revolt of Marseilles and Lyons—Assassination of Marat.

WHILE France appeared in such imminent danger from foreign enemies, she was also exposed to all the horrors of intestine war. To effect the complete subversion of the republican government in France, it was proposed to excite, by a bold and simultaneous effort, the royalist party, who lay concealed in different parts of the country, but chiefly in the ancient provinces of Brittany and Poitou, now distinguished by the names of the department of La Vendee, and La Loire. Notwithstanding the severe decrees of the convention, immense numbers of the emigrants had secretly repaired thither in the winter of 1792, and the vicinity of these departments to the sea afforded every facility for receiving supplies of men and military stores, as well as ad-

mitted of the co-operation of the naval powers. The first disturbances in these departments were considered, by the convention, as a mere momentary effervescence, from the dislike of the populace to the new mode which had been adopted for filling the ranks of the army; but before the latter end of March the insurgents had assumed a more formidable appearance, as to numbers, and their proceedings appeared to be the result of previous arrangement. They professed to act by the authority of Monsieur, the brother of the late king, who had assumed the title of regent: on the 23d of March, the convention was informed, that the insurgents had made themselves masters of the districts of Cholet, Montaigne, and Clisson, and had defeated General Marce, who had been sent to quell them. The city of Nantz was besieged by them, and the number of royalists encamped before that city were estimated at not less than 40,000. In the beginning of April, General Berruyere was appointed to command against the insurgents, but notwithstanding all the exertions which the

* NATIONAL CONVENTION.—August 16. It was announced that Cambray had been invested and summoned to surrender on the 8th by the Imperial General de Boros, but that the commandant had returned the following reply: "I have received your letter, general, and have no other answer to return, than that I know not how to surrender, but I do know how to fight."

French revolutionary government could make, the insurgents, before the end of April, had possessed themselves of more than fifty leagues of the country, had defeated the republicans in two engagements, and taken a great number of prisoners, and what was more important to them, an immense quantity of artillery and military stores.

It is now time to revert to the state of the government of France, and to review the principal events which occurred at Paris from the death of the king to the establishment of the Mountain party. Ever since the deposition of the king, two powerful parties, the Gironde and the Mountain, divided the convention. Brissot, Petion, Vergniaux, and their associates, almost all distinguished by their talents, formed the party of the Gironde. Republicans in principle, they had contributed to weaken the constitutional throne, but they had taken no active part in the conspiracy by which it was overturned. The revolutionists of the 10th August, Danton, Robespierre, Chabot, Barbaroux, Fabre d'Eglantine, Couthon, and Collet d'Herbois, assumed the name of the Mountain. These aspired to reap the fruits of their treason, and to govern the republic which they had founded on the ruins of the throne. The Gironde party were unwilling to concede to them this preponderance; they were at first supported by the public favour, and by the majority of the convention: but the party of the Mountain made up by audacity and intrigue for its deficiency in numbers, and by degrees secured the suffrages and support of the Parisian populace. Thus from the first sittings the convention was divided into two parties, whose violent struggles announced new convulsions. In the month of March, that infamous blood-stained court, afterwards so well known by the name of the "*revolutionary tribunal*," was established. The office of this tribunal was to take cognizance of all offences against the safety of the state; it was to be fixed at Paris. The judges were to be chosen by the convention, and the jury from the commune of Paris; from its decision there was no appeal, and on the 7th of April a committee of Public Safety was instituted by the convention, invested almost with unlimited power, a power which was soon abused to the worst of purposes, and laid the foundation of a tyranny the most sanguinary and atrocious that the world had ever witnessed. The trial of the king was the first contest between the two parties, and his death the first triumph of the Mountain party; the Girondists approved the abolition of monarchy, but in general wished to save the life of the monarch.

The defection of Dumouriez contributed in no small degree to the overthrow of the Gironde party, and the destruction of the members of the Bourbon family, remaining in the power of the republicans; on the 7th of April, it was decreed by the convention, that all the members of the Bourbon family should be detained as hostages for the safety of the arrested deputies, and that all the members of that family not already in the temple should be removed to Marseilles; the *ci-devant* duke of Orleans, though a member of the convention, was included in this decree. A considerable part of the month of April was spent in discussing and digesting the declaration of rights which was to serve as a preface to the new constitution. On the 10th of May, the convention took possession of their new hall in the Tuilleries, and on that day decreed the first article of the new constitution; viz. "The French republic is one and indivisible." In the mean time, the divisions which had so long subsisted between these two parties, approached rapidly to open and avowed hostility. The Mountain party had secured the attachment of the populace of Paris, and the jacobin club had become devoted to this faction. Even the virtues of the Girondists tended to accelerate their ruin; their humane attempt to save the life of the devoted Louis was urged against them as an unpardonable crime, and as manifesting a culpable indifference to the cause of freedom. To these causes may be added the manifest incapacity they evinced in the conduct of public affairs; the neglect of the army, and their tardiness in presenting the nation with a constitution. On the 15th of April, a petition was presented by the communes of the 48 sections of Paris, at the bar of the convention, demanding that twenty-two of the deputies of the Gironde party should be impeached. This party, however, continued to have a preponderance in the convention, and Marat, a furious and fanatic leader of the Mountain party, was accused by the convention, and committed to the abbey prison, but in a few days he was acquitted by a jury, and returned to the hall of the convention in triumph.

An explosion at length took place. The Mountain party, alarmed at a proposal which has been made to remove the convention to Bourges, and surround it with a guard from the departments, roused the populace of Paris to a state of open insurrection. At four o'clock in the morning of the 31st of May, the *tocsin* was sounded, and the alarm gun was fired; the barriers were shut, and the commotion every where visible throughout the capital, denoted an approaching crisis. Henriot, the command-

er of the national guard, a man entirely devoted to Robespierre, instead of taking the proper measures for the protection of the convention, was a party in the plot against it. Surrounded without by an outrageous multitude, and assailed within by the party of the Mountain, many of the representatives were alarmed for their own safety. At length, after the tumult had continued a considerable time, a deputation from the revolutionary committees appeared at the bar, demanded the immediate suppression of the commission of twelve, which had been nominated on purpose to restrain anarchy; a revolutionary army of *vans culottes*; a decree of accusation against twenty-two legislators; and a diminution in the price of bread. They also insisted that certain deputies should be despatched to the south, on purpose to put a stop to the counter-revolution that prevailed there; and they at the same time suggested the arrest of Claviere, the minister of public contributions, and Le Brun, the minister for foreign affairs. Their enmity, however, was directed chiefly against the principal members of the Gironde, whom they termed the accomplices of Dumouriez and the coalesced powers; they attributed to them the intention of dividing the nation into federate republics; and, with an incongruity of malice that would have appeared contemptible at any other period, they at the same time denounced them as having entered into a plot to place the Duke of Orleans on the throne. But notwithstanding the entreaties and even the threats of factious committees, supported by the municipality, the administrators of the department, the populace of the suburbs, the seditious vociferations of the spectators, and the tumultuous cries of the Mountain, the convention still refused to sacrifice the victims demanded by the conspirators. This, however, was the last effort: two days afterwards, the legislature, finding itself besieged and imprisoned in its own hall, was at length intimidated into compliance, and not only decreed the arrest of all the obnoxious deputies,* but proscribed those who endeavoured to avoid death by flight.

The vanquished party had wished for a republican form of government, founded on

the immutable basis of virtue. The triumphant faction, on the contrary, conceding to popular opinions, still maintained indeed all the forms of a commonwealth, but, under the veil of liberty, introduced the most terrible and the most odious despotism; and although they immediately drew up a new and seductive constitution, yet they contrived to suspend all its benefits until the return of peace.

The following is a brief account of this constitution. It consisted of 134 articles, arranged under appropriate heads. "The rights of a citizen are acquired, as to natives, by birth; foreigners acquire them by marrying a French woman, by being domiciliated in France for one year, by maintaining an aged person, or adopting a child." The sovereignty of the people is asserted next. "The primary assemblies are composed of two hundred citizens at the least, and six hundred at the most, of those who have been inhabitants for six months in each canton. The elections are made by ballot, or open vote, at the option of each voter. The suffrages upon laws are given by *yes* or *no*. Of the national representation, the population is the sole basis. There is one deputy for every forty thousand individuals. Each re-union of primary assemblies resulting from a population of from thirty-nine thousand to forty-one thousand souls, nominates directly one deputy. The French nation assemble every year, on the first of May, for the election. The primary assemblies are formed upon extraordinary occasions, on the demand of a fifth, from the citizens who have a right to vote in them; but the extraordinary assemblies only deliberate when more than the half of the citizens are present. Electoral assemblies are formed by the citizens united in primary assemblies, who name one elector for every two hundred citizens, and in proportion. The legislative body holds its session for a year, and its first meeting is the first of July. Its members cannot be called in question for the opinions they have delivered in the national assembly. The functions of the legislative body are to propose laws and pass decrees, superintend public instruction, the national domain, and make the declaration of war; to provide for the defence of the territory, and ratify treaties. The formation of the law is as follows: The plan of a law is preceded by a report; and the discussion of it cannot take place till fifteen days after the report is made. The plan is printed, and sent to all the communes of the republic, under this title, 'Law proposed.' Forty days after, the law proposed is sent to the departments; if in more than half of the departments the tenth of the primary assemblies of each have not

* Brissot, Vergniaud, Gensonné, Ducos, Lacazé, Duperret, Carra, Gardien, Valazé, Duprat, Sillery, Fauchet, La Source, Beauvais, Duchastel, Mainville, Gaudet, Le Hardy, Boileau, Anébaul, Vigée, Gornas, Petion, Salles, Cambron, Barbaroux, Buzot, Biratteau, Rabaut St. Etienne, Lanjuinais, Grangeneuve, Le Sage, Louvet, Ducos, Lanthenas, and Dumas.

Ducos, Dumas, and Lanthenas, were afterwards excepted from this decree, which involved all the members of the committee of twelve, but Fonfrede and St. Martin.

objected to it, the plan is accepted, and becomes a law. The executive council is composed of twenty-four members, for which the electoral assembly of each department nominates one candidate. The legislative body choose the members of the council from the general list. One half of it is renewed by each legislature, in the last month of the session. It nominates, not from its own body, the agents in chief of the general administration of the republic. The legislative body determines the number and the functions of these agents. Civil justice is administered by justices of the peace, elected by the citizens, in circuits determined by the law; to conciliate and judge without expense. Their number, and their competence, are determinable by the legislature. The justices of the peace are elected every year. In criminal cases, no individual can be tried, but on an examination received by a jury, or decreed by the legislative body. The fact and the intention are declared by a jury of judgment. The punishment is applied by a criminal tribunal. The criminal judges are elected yearly, by the electoral assemblies. The general force of the republic is composed of the whole people. All the French are soldiers; they are all exercised in the use of arms. No armed body can deliberate. The public force, employed against enemies from without, acts under the orders of the executive council. National conventions may be appointed on extraordinary occasions. If, in a majority of the departments, the tenth of the primary assemblies of each, regularly formed, demands the revision of the constitutional act, the legislative body is bound to convoke all the primary assemblies of the republic, to know if there be ground for a national convention. The national convention is formed in the same manner as the legislatures, and unites in itself their power. Under the title of the correspondence of the French republic with foreign nations, we find the French people is the friend and natural ally of every free people. It does not interfere in the government of other nations. It does not suffer other nations to interfere in the government of its own. It gives an asylum to foreigners banished from their country for the cause of liberty. It does not make peace with an enemy that occupies its territory."

In the mean time, several of the departments took the alarm, and determined to avenge the outrages committed against their deputies. The city of Caen resolved not to acknowledge the convention, or receive any of its decrees, until the imprisoned members were restored to their functions. This body at the same time received notice,

that no sooner had an account of their late proceedings reached Bourdeaux, than cries of indignation resounded from every quarter; and the president of the administration of Isle and Vilaine transmitted a letter, in the name of the constituted authorities, to announce their resolution "to send an armed force to Paris, on purpose to rescue the legislature from the state of oppression in which it languished, under the dominion of a handful of anarchists." The departments of Calvados, the Rhone, and the Loire, also publicly avowed their determination to disown the convention; and the first of these actually imprisoned three of the jacobin deputies, who had been sent thither with a view of propagating their tenets, and supporting their cause. At this critical moment too, a complete counter-revolution took place at Lyons; Marseilles was threatened with commotions; Toulon exhibited manifest symptoms of disaffection; and the cause of the Mountain for a moment appeared desperate.

Several of the proscribed deputies, having escaped from their confinement, now sought an asylum at Nantes, Rennes, Bourdeaux, Caen, and Evreux. Others, abandoning an assembly in which cruelty and injustice preponderated, fled from Paris and joined them. Considered as the martyrs of liberty, they were every where received with the most lively transports of joy; and a general insurrection of the provinces against the capital was immediately agreed upon. Many of the cities nominated commissioners for the purpose of concerting with the deputies from the districts, relative to the measures which the present critical state of affairs seemed to render necessary. Succours of men and of money were promised by all; and the archives of the capital of the Gironde, in which the most zealous of their partisans resided, are said to have contained decrees of adhesion and support on the part of no fewer than seventy-two departments.

But this plan, alike destitute of uniformity and foresight, exposed the cause of liberty to new dangers; and while it added to, and even seemed to countenance, the ferocity of the jacobins, distracted and nearly proved fatal to the republic. After the passions of the people were permitted to subside, few could be prevailed upon to embark in so desperate a cause, and a civil war soon began to appear odious to all, and peculiarly impolitic at such a critical period.

But notwithstanding that many of the departments declined to declare openly, yet commissioners from the Gironde, Isle, Vilaine, and Finisterre assembled, and resolved to march to Paris with their fellow-citizens, to restore the proscribed members,

ensure the liberty of the convention, and obtain the punishment of the guilty.

No sooner did the indignant provinces begin to think of avenging the common cause, than a number of the accused deputies assembled together, for the purpose of directing their movements. Buzot and Gorsas, who had not been seized, and Barbaroux and Petion, who had escaped from arrest, were already at Caen, and headed the insurrection of the west. Louvet, who had distinguished himself by the energy of his writings and his speeches, flying from Paris, rejoined his friends, and found that eight coalesced departments had already nominated their commissioners; that Wimpffen, the gallant defender of Thionville, had been chosen as the leader, while De Puisaye was appointed by him to act as adjutant-general. Conscious that the success of their plan depended chiefly on the celerity of their motions, the Girondists wished the troops to begin their march immediately, and even proposed to advance to the capital, where they knew that their friends were both numerous and formidable, at the head of the Bretons and Normans alone. But the general insisted on organizing his army, and pointed out the advantages likely to ensue from a delay that would enable him to increase the number of their partisans, by the junction of the troops expected from the south, and thus render success inevitable. He accordingly contented himself with dispersing proclamations; and on being summoned to give an account of his conduct by the faction that had assumed the reins of government, he replied, that "he would disclose his motives and intentions at the head of sixty thousand men."

At length, the proscribed deputies began to suspect that Wimpffen and De Puisaye were not only royalists, but secretly attached to the interests of a neighbouring nation, by means of which they wished to place one of the Bourbons on the throne of their ancestors. The former of these at last disclosed his mind freely, and proposed a junction with the army of La Vendee. He represented to the committee, that in the present situation of affairs this union could not be imputed to treason, but to the force of circumstances; he added, that republics, both ancient and modern, had flourished with kings at their head; and that France might safely follow their example. It was true the convention had abolished royalty; but this law was not yet formally sanctioned by the people, and could be contemplated only as an event produced by the pressure of the occasion. He insisted on the benefits to be derived from a coalition with the insurgents; and

concluded by promising the assistance of England, with which he kept up a secret communication and correspondence. But the Girondists, who were sincerely attached to a republican form of government, refused to accede to any plan in opposition to their avowed principles; and, notwithstanding his former exploits against the emigrants, they from this moment clearly perceived that the commander whom they had selected to support the cause of the commonwealth was devoted to the cause of the monarchy.

On being pressed to advance directly to Paris without waiting for the arrival of the departmental forces, Wimpffen at length marched towards Vernon, at the head of a small body of troops. The jacobins, who had assembled some forces in that town, immediately sallied forth and received them with a discharge of artillery. On this, either actuated by treason, or struck with a sudden panic, the whole of the insurgents betook themselves to flight, except a single battalion of four hundred men from Finistère; which, on seeing itself abandoned, retired in good order to Evreux, where the fugitives at length rallied.

After this, they were all re-conducted to Caen, which the general now proposed to fortify, that they might there wait for the quotas of troops promised by the neighbouring departments. But the exiled deputies, disgusted with his conduct, and seeing no prospect of success, refused their assent. The armed citizens, actuated by the same motives, marched towards their respective districts; Wimpffen and De Puisaye concealed themselves; the forlorn representatives betook themselves to flight; some perished by the guillotine; others by fatigue and famine; while the victorious party stained their triumph by a series of cruelty, injustice, and bloodshed.

In the beginning of July, an insurrection broke out at Lyons. A congress of the department was convoked at that city, in which it was resolved to march a considerable force for the reduction of Paris; the Mountain party was declared to be outlawed; and the provisions destined for the armies were intercepted. The cities of Marseilles and Toulon followed the example of Lyons, and entered into that famous confederacy for dissolving the convention, which has since been distinguished by the name of Federalism. On the 12th July, the Marseillois issued a manifesto to the French nation, in which they declared, that the situation of Paris was equivalent to a declaration of war against the whole republic, and they urged the people to join their standard, and assist in reducing the faction which had usurped the powers of the

republic. It belongs to a later period of this history to detail the transactions conclusive of these generous efforts to subvert the power of the ferocious faction which now ruled France with a rod of iron. On the eighth of July, the committee of public safety produced its report concerning the imprisoned deputies of the convention. It charged Brissot, Petion, and some others, with being the constant favourers of royalty. It alleged that they had conspired to place a new monarch on the throne, some of them in the person of Louis Capet, and others in that of the Duke of York. Petion was accused of having signed the order on the 10th of August, to fire on the people from the Tuilleries; and Roland was accused in general terms of persecuting the republicans. *On these charges*, the convention declared those who had fled from the decree of arrest, traitors to their country, and they were put out of the protection of the law.

These outrageous proceedings on the part of the Mountain party necessarily produced a considerable reaction, which, in one memorable instance, was fatal to one of the most violent of these incendiaries. A female, of the name of Charlotte Corday, enthusiastically attached to the Gironde party, in the beginning of July, proceeded from Caen, in Normandy, to devote her life to what she considered as the cause of liberty and her country. The following account of this singular event is from the lively pen of Helen Maria Williams, who was at Paris at the time this transaction took place.

"Charlotte Anne Marie Corday was a native of St. Saturnin in the department of the Orne. She appears to have lived in a state of literary retirement with her father, and by the study of ancient and modern historians to have imbibed a strong attachment to liberty. She had been accustomed to assimilate certain periods of ancient history with the events that were passing before her, and was probably excited by the examples of antiquity to the commission of a deed, which she believed, with fond enthusiasm, would deliver and save her country.

"Being at Caen when the citizens of the department were enrolling themselves to march to the relief of the convention, the animation with which she saw them devoting their lives to their country led her to execute without delay the project she had formed. Under pretence of going home, she came to Paris, and the third day after her arrival obtained admission to Marat. She had invented a story to deceive him; and when he promised her that all the promoters of the insurrection

in the departments should be sent to the guillotine, she drew out a knife which she had purchased for the occasion, and plunged it into his breast. She was immediately apprehended, and conducted to the abbey prison, from which she was transferred to the conciergerie, and brought before the revolutionary tribunal.

"This intrepid female acknowledged the deed, and justified it by asserting that it was a duty she owed her country to rid the world of a monster, whose sanguinary doctrines were framed to involve the country in anarchy and civil war, and asserted her right to put Marat to death as a convict already condemned by the public opinion. She trusted that her example would inspire the people with that energy which had been at all times the distinguished characteristic of republicans; and which she defined to be that devotedness to our country which renders life of little comparative estimation.

"Her deportment during the trial was modest and dignified. There was so engaging a softness in her countenance, that it was difficult to conceive how she could have armed herself with sufficient intrepidity to execute the deed. Her answers to the interrogatories of the court were full of point and energy. She sometimes surprised the audience by her wit, and excited their admiration by her eloquence. Her face sometimes beamed with sublimity, and was sometimes covered with smiles. At the close of her trial, she took three letters from her bosom, presented them to the judges, and requested they might be forwarded to the persons to whom they were addressed. Two were written to Barbaroux, in which, with great ease and spirit, she relates her adventures, from her leaving Caen to the morning of her trial. The other was an affectionate and solemn adieu to her father. She retired while the jury deliberated on their verdict; and when she again entered the tribunal, there was a majestic solemnity in her demeanour which perfectly became her situation. She heard her sentence with attention and composure; and after conversing for a few minutes with her counsel and a friend of mine, who had sat near her during the trial, and whom she requested to discharge some trifling debts she had incurred in the prison, she left the court with the same serenity, and prepared herself for the last scene.

"She had concluded her letter to her father with this verse of Corneille,

"C'est le crime qui fait la honte, et non pas l'échafaud."

* Disgrace proceeds from the crime, not from the scaffold. W. G.

It is difficult to conceive the kind of heroism which she displayed in the way to execution. The women, who were called furies of the guillotine, and who had assembled to insult her on leaving the prison, were awed into silence by her demeanour, while some of the spectators uncovered their heads before her, and others gave loud tokens of applause. There was such an air of chastened exultation thrown over her countenance, that she inspired sentiments of love, rather than sensations of pity. She ascended the scaffold with undaunted firmness, and, knowing that she had only to die, was resolved to die with dignity. She had learned from her jailer the mode of punishment, but was not instructed in the detail; and when the executioner attempted to tie her feet to the plank, she resisted from an apprehension that he had been ordered to insult her; but on his explaining himself, she submitted with a smile. When he took off her handkerchief, the moment she bent under the fatal stroke, she blushed deeply; and her head, which was held up to the multitude the moment after, exhibited this last impression of offended modesty.*

The leaders of the faction, who thought

every measure good that could be made subservient to their purpose, found this event too replete with favourable circumstances to be neglected. Marat, whom they had thrown aside to die at leisure, unless perchance he should have lived to share the fate to which they afterwards condemned their other agents, was now restored to more than his ancient honours, was proclaimed a martyr, and his death ordered to be lamented as an irreparable loss to the republic. The conspirators declared that no farther doubt of the federalism of the departments remained. The death of Marat was the point of conviction. Every member of the Mountain was to be assassinated in his turn, and the traitors of the departments had their accomplices in Paris, who had whetted their poniards to involve the city in destruction. Though the Parisians were not sufficiently credulous to believe these calumnies, the faction made them the pretence to proceed to the commission of further crimes; and while they endeavoured to amuse the people with what they called the inauguration of Marat and of Châlier, they were meditating the murder of the deputies whom they had driven from the legislature.

CHAPTER XI.

The allied Courts agree to divide their Forces—The Duke of York makes an unsuccessful Attempt upon Dunkirk—Is obliged to retreat—Action at Maauberge—Capture of Quesnoy—Campaign on the Rhine—Victories of Pichegru and Hoche—War in La Vendee, and on the Frontiers of Spain and Italy—Siege and Evacuation of Toulon—Cruel Treatment of the Inhabitants of Toulon.

WHILE the French republic was thus a prey to intestine disorders, and the theatre of unprecedented crimes, the capture of

Valenciennes and the forced retreat of the wreck of the French army from under the protection of Cambray, seemed to present a fair opportunity to the combined forces of marching to the capital and deciding the fate of Europe. But the allied courts were dazzled with their success, and cherished sentiments of individual aggrandizement, inconsistent with their professed object.

* To the above particulars, it may be proper to add the following, which may be relied on as correct:—

—Charlotte Corday was then in her twenty-fifth year, and was brought up at Caen, where her beauty and accomplishments were seen and admired by Belsunce, the major of a regiment then quartered in the town. The death of this worthy favourite, who was murdered by some assassin, excited the vengeance of this youthful heroine; and when she saw her lover branded with the name of conspirator in the journal published by Marat, she hastened to Paris; determined to sacrifice to her resentment the man who had so shamefully abused the object of her affections, and proscribed all the deputies of merit and virtue in the convention. She was at first refused admittance at the house of Marat; but she obtained access to him by writing a letter, in which she informed him that she wished to disclose to him some secret of importance; and on the 14th of July, while the tyrant was engaged in conversation with her, she stabbed him to the heart, and he fell lifeless at her feet.—W. G

Two of the chief fortresses in the French Netherlands were already in possession of the emperor; and it was now determined by the English cabinet to re-annex part of maritime Flanders to the crown of Great Britain. Accordingly, while the Austrians undertook the siege of Quesnoy, with a view to increase their acquisitions in that quarter, the Duke of York, at the head of the English troops, and a body of Dutch and Hanoverians, advanced and occupied a camp in the neighbourhood of Menin. No sooner did the French become acquainted with this intended separation of the allied armies, than they resolved once

more to resume offensive operations. Advantage was taken of the inactivity of the Prussians, after the conquest of Mentz; and drafts were accordingly made from the armies of the Rhine and the Moselle, while the new levies could be clothed, embodied, and disciplined. Houchard, already celebrated by his exploits in Germany, was placed at the head of the army of the north.

The French having attacked Lincelles, a post lately taken and occupied by command of the hereditary Prince of Orange, Major-general Lake, with three battalions, consisting of the first, Coldstream, and third regiment of guards, was sent on the 18th August to the assistance of the Dutch troops, who had unfortunately retreated by a different road. But notwithstanding this discouraging circumstance, and the manifest superiority of the enemy, an immediate attack was determined on. The English were accordingly formed, and advanced under a heavy fire against a redoubt of uncommon size and strength, erected upon a height in front of the village. After firing three or four rounds, they charged with bayonets, stormed the works, drove out the enemy, dispersed them after they had rallied, and took eleven pieces of cannon, and about fifty prisoners.*

In the mean time, Field-marshal Freytag, at the head of the Hanoverians, defeated the French at Oost Capelle, Rexpede, and Hoenchoote, and took eleven pieces of cannon, and two hundred prisoners, while the Duke of York advanced with the besieging army in three columns from Furnes, on purpose to attack the camp of Ghivet. On this, the enemy abandoned their position during the night, and a redoubt in the course of the next day. Field-

* The London Gazette Extraordinary states, "from the concurring testimony of the prisoners, that the enemy had twelve battalions at the post, and must have been upwards of five thousand men." Lieutenant-colonel Boswell of the Coldstream, and Lieutenant de Peyster of the royal artillery, were killed upon this occasion; and the conduct of Colonels Gifford, Hulse, and Pennington, according to the despatch, "reflected honour upon themselves, and merited his royal highness's warmest approbation. Equal praise," it is added, "is due to Major Wright, and the officers and men of the royal artillery attached to the battalions."

The Duke of York also expressed himself "particularly sensible of the exertions of Major-general Abercrombie, Major-general Varneck, and Lieutenant-general Wurmb," in the action of the 24th of August, on which occasion Lieutenant-general Dalton and Lieutenant-colonel Eld, of the first regiment of foot guards, were unfortunately killed.

On the evening of the 6th of September, Major Ross distinguished himself at the head of the 14th regiment of infantry, and Colonel Moncrieff received a dangerous wound.

marshal Freytag at the same time seized on the posts of Warmarsh and Eckelsbeck, and the bridge of Lefferink's Hocke; the English also, after repulsing a sally, and experiencing some loss in consequence of approaching the place during the ardour of pursuit, obtained possession of the ground near Dunkirk, which it became necessary to occupy previously to the siege, and summoned the place in the name of the King of Great Britain.

But after the operations of this day, the success of the English ceased; and it soon became evident, either that the plan of the campaign was faulty, or that the vigour and resources of the enemy had not been sufficiently appreciated. No sooner did the committee of public safety receive intimation of the separation of the grand army, and the march of the Duke of York against Dunkirk, than the most effectual measures were taken for the defence of that place. Trusting no longer to noble birth, it was determined to employ plebeians alone. General Souham, who had risen from the ranks, was accordingly ordered to march with a chosen body of troops to the assistance of the garrison; these soon afterwards entered the town under the command of Hoche, now an adjutant-general, and formerly a private in the French guards. The presence of the two representatives, Hentz and du Quesnoy, also animated the soldiery, and inspired the townsmen with confidence; while O'Moran, who commanded at Cassel, being suspected of treachery, was seized, conducted to Paris, and perished soon afterwards in consequence of a sentence of the revolutionary tribunal. Houchard having now arrived with an immense body of troops, it was determined to relieve the place by general and frequent attacks. The French accordingly marched out from the camp of Cassel, as well as from the towns of Bergues and Dunkirk, for the purpose of assaulting the whole of Field-marshal Freytag's posts; and although his troops displayed great bravery, yet the enemy not only obtained possession of Rambecke, Rousbrughe, and Poperinghe, but obliged part of the army to retreat to Hondschoote. Next day, the field-marshal was attacked again; on the succeeding morning the centre of the line was forced, and General Waldmoden driven behind a canal, with the loss of three pieces of cannon, and about three hundred men.

This action, in the course of which Field-marshal Freytag and Prince Adolphus were both wounded, and for some time prisoners, proved decisive of the fate of Dunkirk, and of the campaign; for his royal highness the commander-in-chief was obliged to abandon his position, resign the idea of a

siege, and leave thirty-two heavy cannon, much baggage, and many of the military stores behind him. The retreat, however, was conducted with equal ability and success by General Sir William Erskine. (19)

Thus ended the fatal attempt upon Dunkirk, in the course of which the English army assuredly did not receive that assistance and co-operation by sea which it was in the power of a great maritime nation to have afforded; while the enemy by their numbers, their audacity, and their zeal, demonstrated that the ruling party knew how to inspire enthusiasm, and ensure victory. Houchard, notwithstanding his success, was immediately arrested, and soon afterwards put to death, because he had not completed his triumph by the capture of the army destined to besiege Dunkirk.* Whether this commander was guilty or not of the charges brought against him, cannot be well ascertained, for before the revolutionary tribunal suspicion was equivalent to proof, and impeachment implied condemnation. Care was however taken to reward such officers as had particularly distinguished themselves; and Jourdan, who had attacked the right and centre of the camp at Hondschote, as well as Hoche, who had charged the left wing, were both promoted; a decree passed at the same time, declaring, "that the army of the north had deserved well of the country;" and the representatives on mission were enjoined to transmit a detailed account of the heroic exploits of the defenders of the republic.

But although victory had deserted the British standard, she seemed faithful for a time to that of Austria; Quesnoy was now taken, and the garrison made prisoners of war: the French were also defeated at Villers en Couchee; and the Prince de Cobourg, having passed the Sambre, drove all the detached bodies of the enemy into the intrenched camp of Maubeuge, and actually invested both it and the fortress; while Cambrai and Bouchain were suc-

(19) The strength of the two armies at the siege of Dunkirk has been variously represented. The French accounts state the number of the combined forces at fifty thousand men, while their own is said not to have exceeded one half of that amount.

* Houchard suffered by the guillotine at Paris, November 15, 1793. The following are the charges drawn up by Barrere, and preferred to the convention:

"1. That after defeating the English, he did not drive them into the sea;

"2. That when he had surrounded the Dutch, he did not cut them in pieces.

"3. That he sent no succours to the troops butchered near Cambrai; and

"4. That he abandoned Menin, and in his retreat exposed his army to considerable danger."

cessively threatened by Field-marshal Clairfait.

But these successes proved short-lived, in consequence of the increased ardour of the enemy. A formidable train of heavy artillery was now brought into the field, numerous bodies of troops were assembled, the representatives of the people not only harangued the army, but placed themselves at the head of the columns, while another plebeian leader was found in the person of Jourdan. No sooner was that general invested with the chief command, than he determined to have recourse to the same system that had proved successful at Hondschote. An attack was accordingly made on the troops posted near the village of Wattignies, and although this at first was unsuccessful, yet being renewed with increased vigour on the succeeding morning, it proved at length decisive. Accordingly, the communication with the army of observation before Maubeuge being now cut off, and the Prince de Cobourg beaten in an action that lasted two days, he deemed it prudent to repass the Sambre;* but his retreat was conducted with such firmness, that two detached bodies of troops, under Lieutenant-general Benzowsky and Count Haddick, took fourteen pieces of cannon, and some hundred prisoners.

The French being now the assailants, the war assumed a new appearance; and the armies which had so lately been summoning French towns and provinces in the names of the King of Great Britain and the Emperor of Germany, found it difficult to defend Austrian Flanders. The enemy had by this time seized on Werwick and Furnes; they also obtained possession of Menin, and were prevented from occupying Nieuport only by the gallant defence of Colonel de Wurmb; in consequence of which, time was given for the arrival of Generals Grey and Dundas, who secured the possession of that place by means of the same troops with which they afterwards achieved so many conquests in the West Indies. The remainder of the campaign in this quarter was spent in actions of little note, with the exception of an attack upon Marchiennes, by Major-general Kray, under the direction of the Duke of

* NATIONAL CONVENTION—October 19.—"A letter from the commissioners with the army of the north, announced that Maubeuge was relieved, and that the battle had lasted two days successively, from morning until night. They at the same time stated, that Jourdan had distinguished himself not only by his courage, but by the excellence of his plans, he being the only French general who had defeated Cobourg in a pitched battle since the commencement of the campaign."

York; in consequence of which, the enemy lost twelve pieces of cannon, and about two thousand troops, including killed and wounded.

The fortune of the campaign of 1793, on the banks of the Rhine, was various. The same causes that had contributed to the successive defeats of the northern army and the loss of Belgium, operated there also with nearly an equal degree of force; and it was not until the jacobin party had displayed an unexampled degree of energy, that a change propitious to the cause of France took place.

After the capture of Mentz, which contributed in some measure to restore the lustre of the Prussian arms, Frederick William II. remained inactive until re-animating by the prospect of a subsidy from England. At length, however, when the army of the Moselle had been forced to withdraw behind the Sarre, the Duke of Brunswick once more took the field, and defeated the French, who had marched to attack him. On this occasion, he exhibited an instance of generalship that did honour to the old school; for by turning the flanks of the assailants, he obliged three thousand of them to surrender prisoners of war, and obtained possession of twenty-seven pieces of cannon and two howitzers. After this, he made some movements in support of the Austrians, who had hitherto contended on unequal terms with the army of the Rhine, surprised a corps of French encamped near Bitche, and destroyed all the camp equipage belonging to it, while Kalkreuth defeated another body that had marched against him, and cut to pieces the regiment of sans culottes.

General Wurmser took advantage of this career of success, to invest Landau: after this, he advanced against the lines of Lauter and Weissembourg, which he attacked with his troops divided into six columns; carried the different redoubts constructed in front of the French camps by assault; seized on all the tents, nine standards, and twenty-six pieces of artillery; and would have destroyed the greater part of the enemy, had not their retreat been favoured by a fog.*

The disasters of the French did not end here, for Haguenau surrendered to General Mezarus; the enemy were beaten next day at Brumpt, the important position at Wauzenau, with all the camp equipage, was seized upon nearly at the same time by

the Austrians, while Fort Louis, with a garrison of four thousand men, surrendered after a siege of only four days. But here the tide of victory ceased to flow in its former direction, for the committee of public safety, being now determined to obtain a decided superiority, reinforced the army of the Rhine with that of the Moselle, and augmented both by means of new levies. The successes that ensued are to be attributed however chiefly to the two generals employed upon this occasion. Pichegru,* but lately a sergeant of artillery, conceived an admirable plan for reconquering Alsace, and he was ably seconded on this occasion by Hoche,† who, like himself, had wielded a halbert before he was permitted to grasp a truncheon. From this moment, a new spirit was infused into the troops, and it was determined, both on the part of the leaders and the soldiery, either to conquer or perish. The Prussians were now attacked and defeated at Sarbrück. In the course of the next morning their camp at Bliescastel was stormed, and in three days more, Deux-Ponts was captured; but the enemy were repulsed with great loss by the Duke of Brunswick, in two attacks near Lautern.

These partial defeats, however, seemed only to redouble their exertions, for the redoubts of Haguenau being carried by the bayonet, the allies were driven from the town with great slaughter, and the heights of Riefhaffen, Jaudershaffen, and Wrotte, deemed more impregnable than those of Gemappe, were stormed in succession. At length, after a series of battles hitherto unexampled in modern warfare, the republican army regained possession of Weissembourg, the siege of Landau was raised, Fort Louis was evacuated, and Kaiserslautern, Germersheim, and Spires, submitted to the French.

* Charles Pichegru was born at Arbois, in Franche Comte, in 1761. Though of obscure birth, he received a good education amongst the monks of his native place; and then entering into the army, he rose from the ranks, by gradual steps, to command, and at the revolution obtained the office of general. His abilities were well known to his superiors, and were therefore usefully employed; and by the victory at Haguenau over the combined forces, he procured promotion, and was named commander-in-chief of the army of the north.—W. G.

† Lazarus Hoche, born in the year 1767, was a native of Vauvillies, and son of an hostler; and his father dying while he was yet a boy, he was made a chorister in the church of St. Germain-en-laye, by the kindness of the rector. He was afterwards a helper in the royal stables, and at the age of sixteen, he enlisted in the army, and became a corporal. The revolution at length raised him from obscurity: by his courage and coolness he was distinguished in several engagements, and soon rose to the highest rank in the army.—W. G.

* The French assert that they were betrayed upon this occasion; and Isambert, a general of brigade, was condemned to death at Strasburgh, for having abandoned one of the principal redoubts at the attack of the lines of Weissembourg.

Such was the spirit of enthusiasm with which the republicans on this frontier were actuated, that General Wurmser, who had so lately attempted to obtain Strasburgh by a secret negotiation, and Landau by force, was now obliged to retreat across the Rhine, while the Duke of Brunswick, astonished at the zeal and activity of the enemy, and uncertain of the ultimate intentions of the two young generals who now sustained the glory of their country, made a hasty retreat to cover Mentz, and soon withdrew from the command in disgust.

But although fortune, in almost every portion of the seat of war, seemed disposed to second the energetic efforts of the French government, she still appeared unpropitious in La Vendee, a country, hitherto unsubdued, either by the gallantry of the republican battalions, or the savage ferocity of the triumphant faction. In the course of the summer, the towns of Saumur and Machicoul were seized upon by the royalists, and although they were afterwards defeated before Nantz, and repeatedly routed by the garrison of Mentz, yet it was found impossible to quell them entirely. At length, Barrere obtained a decree for putting an end to the war in the course of "a single month;"* and such was his presumption, that he soon afterwards announced "the total extinction of the rebellion," in consequence of the successes obtained at Mortagne, Chollot, Chatillon, and Beaupreux, while Merlin of Thionville, on his arrival from the western army, announced with a savage joy, "that the insurgent territories were reduced to a heap of ashes, and soaking in blood."

Notwithstanding this, the inhabitants of the disaffected departments appeared frequently in arms, fought several actions, and actually besieged some of the neighbouring towns. The chiefs, too, who had relied before entirely on their own strength, now thought proper to enter into correspondence with foreign powers; and to obtain succour from England, they made an attack on Granville, with a view of keeping open a communication, and facilitating the reception of supplies; but having failed in their attempt, and La Roche Jacquelin, one of the bravest of their leaders, being killed upon this occasion, a body of troops which had sailed to their assistance at the close of the year, under, the command of Lord

Moira, returned to England, and the expedition was abandoned.

But such was the nature of this contest, that out of the ashes of La Vendee new armies seemed to arise; and although fresh victories were announced daily in the convention, yet it became manifest that this domestic conflict was far more terrible than all the united disasters of the many foreign wars in which France was now involved.

Hostilities on the frontiers of Spain and Italy participated of the general fortune of the campaign, being carried on in a languid manner at the commencement, and increasing in vigour and animation towards the conclusion. Early in the spring, Don Ventura Caro drove the French from the fort of Andaya, and destroyed the encampments of Biritau; while Don Ricardos, at the head of the army of Catalonia, about the same time, defeated the republicans at Givet, and Bellegarde was taken after a bombardment of thirty-three days. General Dagobert attacked and carried a camp belonging to the enemy at the bottom of Mount Libre; but on the other hand Don Ricardos defeated the French near Perpignan. Soon after this, however, an entrenched camp belonging to the Spaniards at Pirescham was forced, and twenty pieces of cannon, together with the tents and baggage, were taken. At length, in the month of November, the republican forces entered Catalonia, and it soon became evident that Spain was unable to contend with this warlike people.

The French, having determined to humble the court of Turin, fitted out a formidable fleet at the beginning of the year, under Truguet, with a view of obtaining possession of the island of Sardinia. After seizing on the isles St. Peter and Antioch, the expedition, consisting of nineteen sail, many of which were line-of-battle ships, appeared in the gulf of Cagliari, whither the commandant of the former had retired with his garrison, consisting of eight hundred men. The French admiral immediately sent a deputation of twenty-one men on shore with a flag, and an officer, who demanded the surrender of the capital; but the Sardinians having killed seventeen of these, the remainder retreated to their boat. The fleet having at length entered the harbour, commenced an attack upon Cagliari, and the bombardment continued during three days, in the course of which period the assailants were much annoyed by the red-hot balls fired from the shore. Several of the ships were also damaged in their masts and rigging, and one was set on fire; while, on the other hand, the shells thrown from the bomb-vessels produced but little effect. In short, this expedition appears to

* The following is a copy of the proclamation issued upon this occasion to the army of the west:

"SOLDIERS of liberty! the rebels of La Vendee ought to be exterminated before the end of the month of October; the safety of the country requires, the impatience of the French commands, your courage ought to accomplish it. The national gratitude awaits all those who fight to secure liberty and equality!"

have been conducted in such a manner as to reflect but little glory on the naval power of France; and nearly all the troops landed at different times, and in different places, were cut off by the inhabitants, who precipitated themselves from the mountains, and fought with the greatest bravery and resolution.

The civil war that took place in the southern departments for a time appeared to give a decided preponderance to the feeble efforts of the King of Sardinia. The greater part of the republican troops being recalled for the purpose of reducing Toulon and Marseilles, the remainder were completely defeated in the county of Nice, and the whole of Savoy appeared on the point of returning under the dominion of its ancient masters. But towards the latter end of October, the Sardinians were completely beaten at Saorgio. Genoa, notwithstanding the threats of the allied powers, could not be intimidated into a declaration of war against France. The court of Florence, however, yielded to threats, in consequence of which the French minister was dismissed, and such measures adopted, as afterwards bereaved the sovereign of Tuscany of his ducal crown; notwithstanding the intervention of a short and precarious peace.

In the last chapter, we referred to the formidable union which had taken place under the name of the federative republicanism between the cities of Marseilles, Lyons, and Toulon. This confederation still subsisted, and threatened the speedy overthrow of the ruling tyranny. This expectation unfortunately proved fallacious. A considerable force was despatched against those insurgents, under General Carteaux, in the latter end of July; and in the beginning of August, the Marseillois were driven from the department of Vaucluse, which they had previously occupied. On the 24th of August, the republicans attacked and took the town of Aix; and immediately upon this success, the Marseillois opened their gates and submitted. But the people of Toulon, and the French Vice-admiral Trugoff, entered into a negotiation with the English Admiral Hood, who was then cruising in the Mediterranean for the delivery of the port and fleet into the hands of the English, in trust for Louis XVII.; a negotiation which, after some difficulties, was completed and carried into effect; and on the 28th of August, fifteen hundred men were landed from the English fleet, who immediately took possession of Fort Malguo, by means of a detachment under Captain Elphinstone, as well as of the batteries at the mouth of the harbour. On this, the French ships were warped into the inner

road according to agreement, and the Spanish admiral having joined next day, the combined squadrons anchored in the outer road; after which, one thousand Spaniards were sent on shore to augment the English garrison; Rear-admiral Goodall was declared governor, and Rear-admiral Gravina commandant of the troops.

The condition on which this valuable arsenal was put into the hands of a British admiral was, that it was to be considered only as a deposit to be preserved for the use of the French King, Louis XVII.; the inhabitants of Toulon declaring their intention of rejecting the constitution recently completed by the convention, and of adhering to that decreed by the constituent assembly of 1789. It was further stipulated, that when peace should be re-established in France, "The ships and forts which should be put into the hands of the English should be restored to the French nation in the same state they were in when the inventory was delivered." The English immediately adopted the most efficient means for placing Toulon in a state of complete defence.

Finding that the forts Faron, Balaguier, La Malgue, and L'Equillete were overlooked and commanded by the adjacent hills, these heights were crowned with redoubts, the cross-fire from which seemed to interdict all approach. A new fort was also constructed at Malbousquet; encampments were formed at St. Roch, at Equillete, and at Balaguier; the last of which was termed the grand camp by the English, and Little Gibraltar by the French. The redoubts were all defended by heavy artillery, taken from the lower decks of the French line of battle ships; a body of infantry from the Spanish army in the Rousillon entered the place at this period, while two thousand of his Sicilian majesty's best troops, under the command of Brigadier-general Pignatelli, arrived on board a small squadron, and more were expected daily; a considerable detachment from the army of the King of Sardinia, consisting entirely of grenadiers and chasseurs, was also sent to the succour of the garrison at the same time.

The surrender of this important sea-port induced the national commissioners to press the siege of Lyons with redoubled vigour, and unfortunately with too much success, for after a most obstinate and gallant resistance, this city was obliged to surrender after a siege of fifty-four days, having suffered almost as much from famine as the sword.

The new deputies, Collot d'Herbols, Couthon Maignet, and Chateaufort-Randon, having refused to grant any terms until the

leaders of the insurrection had been delivered up, the chiefs, both civil and military, several of the principal inhabitants, and all those who considered themselves as proscribed by the Jacobins, to the amount of about two thousand, sallied forth from the city, to seek an asylum in a foreign land. A few wagons, containing the remnant of their scanty fortunes, and some four-pounders, followed this little army of fugitives, in the midst of which was to be seen a great number of females, determined not to abandon their husbands, and who, with their children in their arms, resolved to share their fate. Scarcely, however, had they entered the defiles of St. Cyr and St. Germain, when they found themselves surrounded by nearly fifty thousand men; and although they exhibited prodigies of valour upon this occasion, yet all resistance became vain on account of the disparity of numbers. The greater part perished with arms in their hands; about five hundred men and women, chiefly covered with wounds, experienced a worse fate by falling alive into the hands of their enemies; for they were transferred from dungeon to dungeon, and ended their days by different kinds of punishment; about sixty only escaped, and found an asylum among the neighbouring peasants.

Nor was the fate of a great number of the inhabitants, who trusted to the mercy of the conquerors, more tolerable. One fourth of the buildings had been already destroyed by the besiegers. The still more ferocious commissioners, not content with this, ordered the demolition of all the principal edifices; measures were actually taken to transport a large portion of the population to another place, and a decree enjoined that the miserable remnant of this ancient city, hitherto so famous throughout all Europe on account of its rich manufactures, was no longer to be recognised by its former name.* In addition to this, orders were given to erect a column with an appropriate inscription, on purpose to perpetuate the resistance and disgrace of Lyons, as well as the vengeance of its enemies.†

But the rage of the victors was not confined to the destruction of houses and temples. The sufferings of the miserable inhabitants have never been surpassed; and if we are to search for a parallel in history, we must recur to the times of Attila, and the merciless invaders who laid Europe

waste during the barbarous ages. The deputy Freron, on entering this devoted town, ordered a number of guillotines to be erected, and announced that "terror was the order of the day." But he was surpassed in cruelty and ferocity by Collot d'Herbois. His proconsulship in the south was one continued series of bloodshed. A chosen band of Parisian Jacobins, and a column of the revolutionary army, marched into Lyons as the precursors of his fury. The process of the axe was deemed too slow for his insatiable vengeance: sometimes the bayonets of the infantry, and sometimes the sabres of the cavalry, were employed as more conformable to the celerity of his vengeance; but at length grape-shot and artillery were resorted to, and the principal square, the theatre of his sanguinary exploits, was strewed with the dying and the dead, and became deluged with the blood of his victims.

The siege of Toulon was carried on after the reduction of Lyons with increased vigour. On the 14th of October, an action took place between the garrison, who had marched out to the defence of the redoubt of Malbousquet, and the army of General Carteaux, in which the English and their allies lost about forty men, and the French about thirty. No return was made of the Toulonese who fell in the action.

In the beginning of November, General Carteaux was ordered to the command of the army in Italy, and General Dugommier was appointed commander-in-chief, and as the speedy capture of this great naval arsenal greatly depended on the judicious management of the immense artillery employed against it, great pains were taken by the commander to find an engineer of ability, and unfortunately for Europe and the world, he fixed on Napoleon Bonaparte, a native of Corsica, then a subaltern in the artillery, who by his able conduct in the siege, laid the foundation of that military fame, which afterwards enabled him to trample on the liberties of his country, and to give the law to continental Europe. About this period, General O'Hara arrived from Gibraltar at Toulon, having been appointed governor and commander-in-chief.

Bonaparte, aware that the possession of Malbousquet, one of the principal outposts of Toulon, would enable him to bombard the town and arsenal, immediately opened a strong battery of heavy cannon and mortars on the heights of Arenes, which annoyed that position exceedingly, by means of an incessant fire of shot and shells. As it became necessary to take immediate and effectual measures for the security of so important a post, Governor O'Hara determined to destroy the new works, termed

* Commune-Affranchie was the new appellation given to Lyons.

† "LYON FIT LA GUERRE A LA REPUBLIQUE:

"LYONS N'EST PLUS."

"LYONS MADE WAR UPON THE REPUBLIC:

"LYONS IS NO MORE."

the convention-battery, and bring off the artillery.

Having accordingly obtained a reinforcement of seamen from the fleet, to defend some redoubts whencé he proposed to withdraw the soldiers, at five o'clock in the morning of the 30th of November he sent a detachment, consisting of four hundred British, three hundred Sardinians, six hundred Neapolitans, six hundred Spaniards, and four hundred French, under the command of Major-general David Dundas. (20) Notwithstanding that these different bodies were all obliged to cross a river on a single bridge, to divide afterwards into four columns, to march across olive grounds, and to ascend a very considerable height cut into vine terraces, they were fortunate enough to surprise the redoubt. Not content with this success, by which they had fully effected all the objects of the expedition, the troops, flushed with victory, and trusting to their good fortune, rushed forward, and descended the hill after a flying enemy.

This unlucky incident was not overlooked by the French generals, who immediately advanced with a considerable body of troops, attacked the assailants, now in disorder by the rapidity of their pursuit and the unevenness of the country, and obliged them in their return to retire with precipitation. The gallant Lieutenant-general O'Hara, on this occasion, received a wound in the arm, and being rendered faint by the loss of blood, was obliged to sit down under a wall, where he was taken prisoner; * several other officers also fell into the hands of the French.

(20) The French accounts state the force of the English and their allies, on this occasion, at six thousand men, and their defeat to have been much more decisive than is here represented.

* Lord Hood, in his despatch to government, dated on the day when this unfortunate event took place, was pleased to observe that, "the governor promised not to go out himself; but unfortunately did not keep his word." This remark, which seems to implicate something like reproach, was undoubtedly produced by the bitterness of his lordship's grief at the event of this unfortunate expedition. The letter of Sir Gilbert Elliot, on the other hand, contains a complete justification of his excellency: "It is much to be lamented that General O'Hara was, on every occasion, so prodigal of his person; but the misfortune which has befallen him, and the severe loss which the service sustains by his capture, cannot be ascribed even to this honourable fault; for he did not himself ascend the battery till it was possessed by our troops, and there was reason to suppose the object of the day had been obtained. The reverse was so sudden, and his presence must have appeared so material towards restoring order, and retrieving the error which had been committed by the troops, that it is not to be wondered at if, with his spirit, he became exposed to personal hazard. His wound, though not dangerous or serious, had bled much;

The events of this day, added to the capture of the brave officer, who had acted both in the capacity of governor and military commander, contributed not a little to raise the expectations of the besiegers; they now began to make nearer approaches to the place, and, by means of their batteries, not only attacked the posts of Malbousquet, Le Brun, and Fort Mulgrave, on the heights of Balaguier, at the same time, but threatened a general assault.

Nor were these events to be despised. The garrison at this period was reduced to the most alarming situation: and the enemy, whose force was constantly increasing, amounted to nearly forty thousand men, commanded by an able general, while the batteries were managed under the direction of one of the best engineers of his age. On the other hand, the allied troops, composed of five different nations and languages, never exceeded twelve thousand rank and file.* (21) With these, now greatly diminished by death and disease, a circumference of fifteen miles, for the defence of the town and harbour, was to be occupied and defended, by means of eight principal and several intermediate posts, which alone required nearly nine thousand men.

The French, being determined to push on the siege with increased vigour, relieved such of their troops as were fatigued by fresh bodies, and at two o'clock in the morning opened two new batteries on Fort Mulgrave, and from these and three batteries before erected, continued a very heavy cannonade and bombardment, which killed many of the troops, and destroyed the works. As the weather proved rainy, they afterwards found means to assemble a large body of forces secretly, with which they stormed the fortification, and entered with screwed bayonets by that side defended by the Spaniards. On this, the British, and such of the other troops as had not been killed during the assault, were obliged to retire towards the shore of Balaguier.

At daybreak, another attack was made on all the posts occupied by the garrison on the mountain of Faron. The assailants were repulsed however on the east side by about seven hundred men, commanded by Colonel

and, added to the exertion he had before made, weakened him so much, that he could not retire many paces with the troops, but insisted on being left by two soldiers who were conducting him, and whom he ordered to proceed and save themselves."

—Extract of a letter to the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, dated Toulon, December 1, 1793.

* See Major-general Dundas's letter, dated "Hieres Bay, December 21, 1793."

(21) That is, according to the British official statements. A very respectable French writer estimates them at fifteen thousand men.—*Lacretelle's History of the French Revolution.*

Le Jermagnan, a Piedmontese officer, who perished upon this occasion; but they found means to penetrate by the back of the mountain, although eighteen hundred feet high, and deemed inaccessible, so as to occupy the side which overlooks Toulon. In the course of this day's fight, all the English troops conducted themselves with great bravery; while the French, invigorated by zeal, and trusting to their numbers, charged with unusual intrepidity and success. The deputy Arena headed one of their columns; Cervoni and Bonaparte particularly distinguished themselves.*

A council of flag and general officers now assembled; and as it was deemed impracticable to regain the posts that had been taken, and the town was not tenable while they remained in the possession of the enemy, it was determined to evacuate Toulon. The troops were accordingly withdrawn, and in the course of that evening the combined fleet occupied a new station in the outer road. Early next morning, the sick, wounded, and British field-artillery were sent off; the Neapolitans, after abandoning the port of Micessey without orders, embarked at noon, and measures were taken to withdraw the British, Piedmontese, and Spaniards, amounting to about seven thousand men, during the night.

As the enemy now commanded the town, as well as some of the ships, by their shot and shells, it became necessary that the retreat should take place as speedily as possible. Lord Hood accordingly gave orders for the boats of the fleet to assemble by eleven o'clock near Fort Malgue for that purpose. He had also settled a plan for destroying all the French men-of-war and the arsenal, but was prevented by the sudden and unexpected evacuation that took place from carrying his intentions fully into execution. Having intrusted that service to Sir Sidney Smith, the latter, on entering the dock-yard, found that the artificers had already substituted the tri-coloured cockade for the white, while about six hundred galley-slaves, who had broken their fetters, were jealous of his operations, and would have exhibited a determined resistance, had he not pointed the guns of two vessels, on purpose to keep them in awe. After this, he set fire to ten ships of the line and the arsenal, as well as the mast-house, the great storehouse, and other buildings; but the calmness of the evening prevented much of the effect expected from the conflagration.

In the mean time, the Spaniards, instead

of scuttling and sinking, set fire to the powder-ships, and they, as well as the English, were foiled in the attempt to cut the boom, and destroy the men-of-war in the basin, in consequence of repeated volleys of musketry from the flag-ship, and the wall of the royal battery. The *Hero* and *Themistocles* were however set on fire, and the party left for this purpose, after a most desperate service, effected their retreat; by daylight next morning, all the British, Spanish, and Sicilian ships, crowded with the unfortunate inhabitants, were out of the reach of the enemy's vengeance. Rear-admiral Trugoff, on board the *Commerce de Marseilles*, with the *Puissant* and *Pompee*, two other ships of the line, and the *Pearl*, *Arethusa*, and *Topaz* frigates, with several corvettes, formed part of the English fleet, with which Lord Hood proceeded to Hieres Bay, and soon afterwards landed the men, women, and children with which his decks were encumbered.

Of thirty-one ships of the line which the English found at Toulon, thirteen were left behind, nine were burnt at Toulon, and one at Leghorn; and four Lord Hood had previously sent away to the French ports, Brest and Rochfort, with 5000 republican seamen, whom he was afraid to trust. Great Britain, therefore obtained only three ships of the line and five frigates, which were all that the British admiral was able to carry away.

Thus, after a siege of about three months, and an incessant assault of five successive days and nights, Toulon was restored to France; the besieging army, which had provided four thousand ladders for an assault, having entered it at seven o'clock in the morning subsequent to the evacuation. Of the inhabitants who had borne arms against their country, or favoured the cause of the allies, some still remained, and these either put an end to their existence by a voluntary death, or perished by the guillotine or the musket. Here, as well as at Marseilles and Lyons, the most cruel punishments were inflicted on the royalists; and the conquerors not only sullied their victory, but disgraced themselves by a terrible and indiscriminate carnage; workmen were actually invited from all the neighbouring departments to destroy the principal houses; the population became visibly decreased by the daily butchery that took place; the name of Port de la Montagne was substituted for that of Toulon, and a grand festival decreed in honour of the French army. The following extract of a note written by the deputies on mission will convey to the reader some idea of the unbridled vengeance of the victors:

"The national vengeance is roused

* It is not a little remarkable, that all these were foreigners. Cervoni was a subject of the King of Sardinia; while Arena and Bonaparte were both Corsicans, born anterior to the period when their country was subjugated by the French.

Already all the '*Officers of the marine*' are put to the sword. The republic, shall be revenged in a manner worthy of herself; the *manes* of the patriots shall be appeased."

It is now time to return to the proceedings of the revolutionary government at Paris; but this must form the subject of another chapter

CHAPTER XII.

Horrible Despotism of the Mountain Party—Decree against public Worship—French Ecclesiastics abjure the Christian Religion—Execution of Custine—Trial and Execution of the Queen—Of the Gironde Members—Madame Roland—New Calendar—Energetic Measures adopted by the Committees for carrying on the War.

THE period of which we have now to take a brief review is one unequalled in the history of the world for the atrocious crimes which it witnessed. The assassination of Marat, so far from inspiring the ruling faction with any moderation arising from the fear of sharing the same fate, instigated them to the commission of new crimes, and prompted them to still greater excesses. The Mountain party, the sanguinary revolutionists of the 10th August, were now become the sole rulers of France. This dreadful despotism was composed of two councils, one of which was denominated the "committee of public safety," the other the "committee of general safety:" the members ought to have been renewed every month; but the convention, intimidated by an armed mob, had intrusted these committees with the fatal power of imprisoning and judging its members: any deputy therefore who should have been hardy enough to have proposed a change in these committees would have been denounced as a traitor, sent to the revolutionary tribunal, which was the antichamber of death and the very threshold of the grave. That assembly which still styled itself the national convention of France, and which, but a few months preceding, sat in judgment upon a monarch, was now the tool and the abject trembling slave of a junto, equally wicked and contemptible.

The Mountain faction, whose tyranny disdained all bounds, proceeded to atrocities of which no former despotism afforded an example. It was cruel without a motive, and sacrificed on the same scaffold the royalist and the republican. Its object appeared to be the extermination of all that was great and valuable in society. It attempted to reduce the community to one level; to degrade, that it might the more securely tyrannize over its victims. Even moderation itself became a crime to be expiated only by death, and virtue received the reward due to atrocious crimes. If the father afforded any support to his exiled son, if the daughter wrote to her mother in her dungeon, the revolutionary tri-

bunal doomed them to the scaffold. The external profession of the Christian religion was abolished by public decree, and an attempt was made to substitute for Christianity a sort of metaphysical paganism. The reason which they had so grossly abused, and the liberty which they had so dreadfully outraged, were exalted as ideal deities for the maddened populace to worship.

Those ecclesiastics who had seats in the convention publicly abjured their creed, and were not ashamed to declare that they had hitherto deceived the world. The archbishop and clergy of Paris renounced the Christian religion, declaring that they owned no temple but the sanctuary of the laws, no God but liberty, no gospel but the constitution. Had these infatuated legislators of France been really friendly to the liberty and happiness of mankind, they would have venerated the religion of Jesus Christ, which, while it is friendly to order, is adverse to despotism, and which in every page asserts the real rights of the human race, and the original equality of mankind. They would have recollected that Christianity had abolished slavery in Europe, and was contending against it in America; and that it had given to the poor a degree of consequence they never possessed amidst the boasted freedom of Greece and Rome. But it was not liberty these men sought, but the establishment of a degrading and ferocious despotism.

The revolutionary tribunal condemned, without distinction and without inquiry, all the victims whom the tyrants marked out for destruction. Proscriptions daily increased, and France was filled with accusers, prisons, and executioners. Bastiles, under a new name, contained the citizens liable to suspicion; and a multitude of spies and informers carried fear into every house and into every bosom. No one was too obscure for suspicion, or above the reach of punishment; an obnoxious deputy suffered as a federalist; the noble was accused of emigration; the lawyer perished as a traitor; the banker as a counter-revolutionist; and the merchant

as a forestaller: safety from proscription was to be found nowhere but in the armies, and immense multitudes repaired thither for protection.

The number of persons who perished during this (which has been most emphatically styled) "reign of terror," cannot be ascertained by any authentic documents, but the prisons were filled and emptied with a horrible rapidity, and the scaffolds flowed daily with blood: a detailed history of these horrid events would exceed the limits of this work; it would also shock and disgust the reader. Out of this immense mass of guilt and suffering, we can select only a few instances. The victim first in rank, if not in time, was the ill-fated consort of Louis the XVI., Queen Marie Antoinette: her trial had been immediately preceded by that of General Custine, who was charged with maintaining a secret correspondence with the enemy, and with leaving the garrison of Mentz unprovided with necessaries; with having disobeyed the orders of the convention, and not having exerted himself to prevent Valenciennes from falling into the hands of the allies. On these charges, he was found guilty, and received sentence of death, which was carried into effect within twenty-four hours.

The trial and condemnation of the queen immediately followed that of this ill-fated general. This unfortunate victim of the revolution was removed, on the night of the 1st of August, from the temple to a small and miserable apartment in the conciergerie, where she remained until she was brought before the revolutionary tribunal. In this gloomy dungeon, a *gen-d'arme* watched her night and day; and she was sheltered only by a screen from the eye of the jailer, when she undressed herself to pass the night on a decayed flock bed. On the 3d of October, Billoud Varennes sent orders to the revolutionary tribunal to take charge of the trial of the queen; about ten days afterwards, Fouquier Thionville desired her to prepare for her trial, and on the 15th she appeared before the tribunal to take her trial, or to speak more correctly, to hear her doom pronounced. The act of the accusation consisted of several charges, the substance of which was—that she had contributed to the derangement of the national finances, by remitting from time to time considerable sums to her brother, the Emperor Joseph: that since the revolution, she had continued to hold a criminal correspondence with foreign powers: that in every instance she had directed her views to a counter-revolution, particularly in exciting the body-guards and others of the military, at Versailles, on the 1st October, 1789: that in concert with Louis Capet, she had

distributed counter-revolutionary papers and writings: that in the beginning of October, 1789, by the agency of certain monopolists, she had created an artificial famine: that she was a principal agent and promoter of the flight of the royal family, in June, 1791: that she instituted private councils in the palace, at which the massacres, as they were termed, in the Champ de Mars, at Nancy, &c. were planned: that in consequence of these councils, she had persuaded her husband to interpose his veto against the decrees concerning the emigrants and the refractory priests: that she influenced him to form a body-guard, composed of disaffected persons, and induced him to give employments to the refractory priests.

One of the most singular charges was, that in conjunction with the Gironde faction, she induced the king and the assembly to declare war against Austria, contrary to every principle of sound policy and the public welfare. The act proceeds to state: that she communicated to the enemy plans of the campaign, and other intelligence: that the affair of the 10th of August was the consequence of a horrible conspiracy against the nation, formed by her intrigues: that she was also a principal agent in the internal war with which France had been distressed. The last charge was the most infamous and the most incredible, viz. that, like Agrippina, she had held an incestuous commerce with her own son.

The unfortunate Maria Antoinette heard the accusation with calmness, and the facts alleged against her by the several witnesses, particularly Lecoutre de Versailles and Herbert, who accused her of having lavished incestuous caresses on her son. As she continued silent, the president called upon her for a reply; with great dignity she answered, "I held my peace, because nature forbids a mother to reply to such a charge: but since I am compelled to it, I appeal to all the mothers who hear me, whether it be probable."

Had the conduct of this princess been as unexceptionable as it was unfortunately indiscreet, there is no probability that she could have escaped condemnation from this sanguinary tribunal. After consulting for about an hour, the jury found her guilty of the charges. With an unchanged countenance, she heard the sentence of death pronounced, and left the hall without uttering a single word, without addressing herself either to her judges or the audience.

On the 16th of October, at about 11 o'clock, the queen was taken to execution in the same manner as the other victims of this dreadful tribunal, on a cart with her hands bound, accompanied by a constitutional priest in a lay habit, and escorted

by numerous detachments of military. She had on an undress of white quilting. When the procession reached the Place de la Revolution, the spot where the unfortunate Louis had so recently suffered, her eyes were directed towards the Tuilleries, and for a moment she appeared strongly agitated; but she soon regained her composure, and ascended the scaffold with a firm and unhesitating step, and her behaviour at the awful moment of dissolution was decent and composed. The executioner, seizing the head by the hair, exhibited it to the multitude, exclaiming, "Long live the republic," and the cry was echoed by the furies who surrounded the scaffold. Thus perished, by the hands of the executioner, Marie Antoinette, the sister of an emperor and the wife of a king. Her death made a strong impression on the different courts of Europe, particularly on that of Vienna.

The Mountain party having brought the queen to the scaffold, pursued their bloody work, and on the 24th October the accused deputies of the Gironde party were brought before the revolutionary tribunal, and after a trial in which both the principles and the forms of law were equally violated, were declared guilty of a conspiracy against the unity and indivisibility of the republic, and condemned to the guillotine. One of the deputies, Valaze, after hearing his sentence, stabbed himself at the bar of the tribunal. On the 30th of October, twenty-one of these deputies, viz. Brissot, Vergniaud, Gensonne, Duprat, Lehardi, Ducos, Fonfrede, Boileau, Gardien, Duchatel, Sillery, Fauchet, Dufliche, Duperel, La Source, Carraf, Beauvais, Mainville, Antiboul, Vige, and Lacaze, were conveyed to the Place de la Revolution, and executed. The reader will recognise among these names several of those who were most active in dethroning the king, and establishing a republic. Valaze, who stabbed himself at the bar of the tribunal, was the member who prepared the charges against the unfortunate Louis. Manuel, who had been so active in the dethroning of the king on the 10th of August, and afterwards evinced so much solicitude to preserve his life, was soon afterwards brought to trial, and executed. The trial of General Houchard immediately succeeded to that of Manuel: he was accused of not cutting off the retreat of the British forces from West Flanders. With the revolutionary tribunal, accusation was synonymous with condemnation, and he also suffered by the guillotine. The veteran General Luckner Bailly, the first mayor of Paris after the revolution, the accomplished Barnave, and Rabaut St. Etienne, also perished in the same manner.

The condemnation of the Duke of Orleans, who had assumed the fantastical name of Philip *Egalite*, appears to have produced no sensations either of horror or of commiseration in any party; so completely does a profligate life extinguish the respect and excite the indignation of mankind. This wretched and unworthy member of the Bourbon family was executed on the evening of the 6th of November, and bore with a magnanimity which would have done honour to a better character, the insults and reproaches of the populace. The celebrated Madame Roland was brought to the scaffold two days after the execution of the Duke of Orleans. Her great talents have been confessed by all, and the integrity of her character has been disputed only by the virulence of faction. Her attachment to the party of the Gironde was the only crime alleged against her. This celebrated female suffered death with a heroism which extorted the admiration even of her ferocious and unmanly enemies. On her way to the scaffold, she was not only composed, but occasionally assumed an air of gayety, in order to encourage a person who was condemned to die at the same time, but who was not armed with the same fortitude. To be the first victim on these melancholy occasions was considered as a privilege, and had been allowed to Madame Roland as a female, but when she observed the dismay of her companion, she said to him, "Go first; let me at least spare you the pain of seeing my blood shed." She then turned to the executioner, and begged that this sad indulgence might be granted to her fellow-sufferer. The executioner told her that he had received orders that she should perish first. "But you cannot, I am sure," said she, with a smile, "refuse the last request of a lady." The officer of death complied with her demand. When she mounted the scaffold, and was tied to the fatal plank, she lifted up her eyes to the statue of liberty, near which the guillotine was placed, and exclaimed, "Oh Liberty! what crimes are committed in thy name!" Her husband, the late minister of the interior, was shortly afterwards found lifeless in a wood near the high-road between Paris and Rouen; unable to bear the sad reflections which crowded upon him, he had put a period to his existence: the papers which were in his pocket-book were sent to the committee of public safety, and have never seen the light.

Amidst the extraordinary changes which were passing in France, the convention now changed time itself, and decreed a new calendar, which was afterwards abolished by Napoleon Bonaparte. The year, ac-

cording to this calendar, was divided into twelve months, of thirty days each, with five intercalary days, which are dedicated to national festivities. Each month was divided into decades, and the day of rest was appointed for every tenth day, instead of the seventh. These decades were, however, never observed by the people, who lost the inestimable advantage of the Christian Sabbath, without receiving even the benefit of this miserable substitute.

But even amidst the follies and the sanguinary excesses of the triumphant party, it is impossible not to admire the energetic measures adopted against the foreign enemy. In consequence of a report from the committee of public safety, all Frenchmen were declared, by a solemn decree of the convention, to be at the service of their country until its enemies should be chased from the territories of the republic. "The young men shall march to the combat; the married shall forge arms and transport the provisions; the women shall fabricate tents and clothes, and attend the military hospitals; the children shall make lint to serve as dressings for the wounds of the patriots; while the old men shall cause themselves to be carried to the public squares to excite the courage of the warriors, to preach the unity of the republic, and inspire hatred against kings."

To supply the wants of the immense armies now about to be collected from all quarters, measures of a new and extraordinary kind were adopted. Assignats were not only fabricated and expended in immense quantities, but their value was maintained for some time at a rate nearly equivalent to that of gold; and when this resource began to fail, revolutionary taxes

were imposed. The doctrine of requisition was at length resorted to, and all the necessities of life appertaining to citizens in easy circumstances were seized upon in the name of the republic, and for the support of its troops; while the great cities were crowded with manufactories of saltpetre, the towns converted into foundries, and the ancient palaces metamorphosed into arsenals to supply the elements of destruction.

At the very moment that the idea of a nation's rising *en masse* was ridiculed throughout Europe, the convention, on the proposition of the committee of public safety, had either augmented or created eleven distinct armies, which seemed to form a chain round the frontiers of France. All the unmarried males from eighteen to forty years of age were put in permanent requisition, and a draught of three hundred thousand made at one time. These immense resources enabled them to strengthen and remodel the army of the north, extending from Dunkirk to Maubeuge; that of the Ardennes reaching from Maubeuge to Longwy; that of the Moselle, from Longwy to Bitche; that of the Rhine, from Bitche to Porentrui; that of the Alps, from the Aisne to the borders of the Var; that of Italy, from the Maritime Alps to the mouth of the Rhone; the army of the Oriental Pyrenees, from the mouth of the Rhone to the Garonne; the army of the Western Pyrenees, from the department of the Upper Pyrenees to the mouth of the Gironde; the army of the coast of Rochelle, from the mouth of the Gironde to that of the Loire; the army of the coasts of Brest, from the mouth of the Loire to St. Maloes; and, lastly, that of the coasts of Cherbourg, from St. Maloes to the northern department.

CHAPTER XIII.

Preparations for the Campaign of 1794—The King of Prussia subsidized—Surrender of Landrecies—Decree of the Convention that no quarters should be given—Battle of Fleurus—Actions at Mons and Soignes—French enter Brussels.

THE campaign of 1793, notwithstanding its prosperous commencement, closed in a manner most inauspicious for the allies. To retrieve the reverses of this campaign, and redeem the reputation of their arms, the courts of London and Vienna adopted the most efficacious measures to bring a powerful body of men into the field, and Colonel Mack was sent by the emperor to concert a plan of operations with the British ministry. It was evident, however, that the King of Prussia did not feel any extraordi-

nary zeal in the common cause; on the contrary, he notified to the diet of Ratisbon that unless his troops received subsistence, at the public expense, he would withdraw his army from the Rhine, and contribute no more than his own contingent. His Prussian majesty also opposed the general armament of the inhabitants of the empire, which had been proposed by its head; and intimated to the Prince de Saxe Cobourg that the whole of his forces, with the exception of twenty thousand men, were about

to leave the neighbourhood of Mentz, and retire to Cologne. At length, his majesty, by a public declaration, in which he described the present contest as a war "with a delirious and never diminishing swarm of foes," openly proclaimed his secession from the continental confederacy. All this, however, turned out to be a piece of political management, intended to procure subsidies from the maritime states, and particularly England. Nor was the court of Berlin mistaken in the effect intended to be produced by the finesse; for England and Holland immediately entered into a subsidiary treaty for the maintenance of sixty-two thousand four hundred men. In this treaty, the pecuniary interests of the house of Brandenburg were regulated with all the nicety of a mercantile contract.

The emperor, who manifested more zeal in the contest, endeavoured to rouse the tardy zeal of the Germanic body, and to induce them to vote a triple contingent: at the same time, he increased his troops in the Low Countries to nearly a hundred and fifty thousand men; and to obviate jealousies similar to those that had occurred in the course of the preceding autumn, it was determined that Francis II. should command the allied armies in person. In pursuance of this arrangement, after the solemnity of his inauguration as Duke of Brabant, his imperial majesty took the field at the head of the combined armies, which were stated to amount at this period to two hundred thousand men. It was also expected that by procuring a unity of council and action, in addition to so immense a military force, the object of the confederacy would be speedily obtained.

On the other hand, the preparations on the part of the French were such as no age or country had ever before witnessed. The decree for the levy-in-mass had already placed all the youth of the most populous nation in Europe at the disposal of a government which boasted of having one million two hundred thousand men in arms. The war with the maritime powers having interdicted the importation of gunpowder and military stores, these were now supplied by the talents of the chymists and the industry of the artisans of France. Paris alone, from its three hundred forges and fifteen foundries, furnished eleven thousand five hundred and twenty stand of arms, and one thousand one hundred pieces of brass cannon, every month. The insurgent cities were ordered to transmit a certain portion of saltpetre, by way of fine; the feudal castles of the nobility, still supposed to frown on the liberties of the republic, as well as the forests that sheltered the rebels of *La Vendée*, also provided their quota of an in-

gredient so necessary in the modern art of war. In addition to the almost inexhaustible fund arising from assignats, the credit of which was supported by the law of the *maximum*, the indiscreet piety of their ancestors presented them with other resources, which were at this period called into action; for the estates of the clergy, and the precious metals hoarded up in the cathedrals and churches, were freely recurred to, while the supernumerary bells furnished cannon for armies amounting to considerably more than half a million of fighting men. That nothing might be wanting to give efficacy to these immense preparations, the archives of the war department were searched for the schemes and memorials drawn up during the reign of Louis XIV.; and a chosen body, consisting of the ablest military men in France, formed plans for the campaign, and laid down instructions for the generals, under the inspection of Carnot, a member of the committee of public safety, and one of the best engineers and statesmen of the age. While thus recurring, with indefatigable industry, to all the resources and all the instruments of modern warfare, the benefits to be derived from new discoveries were not forgotten. The balloon (hitherto considered as a philosophical toy, incapable of affording any solid advantage to mankind) was converted into an elevated observatory, by means of which the position, evolutions, and numbers of the enemy could be readily ascertained; at the same time that the telegraph, with a few simple motions, served to communicate the result of a siege or of a battle with the accuracy, if not the minuteness of a despatch, and a celerity that in some measure rivalled the progress of sound.

At length the combined armies, consisting of Austrians, British, Dutch, Hanoverians, and Hessians, and amounting to 187,000 men, assembled on the heights above Cateau, and were reviewed by the emperor on the 16th of April. In pursuance of the plan previously agreed upon, they advanced during the succeeding day in eight columns, three of which were intended as corps of observation. The first, composed of Austrian and Dutch troops, under the command of Prince Christian of Hesse Darmstadt, seized on the village of Castillon, where they obtained four pieces of cannon, and having crossed the Sambre, immediately occupied a position between that river and the little Helpe, so as to invest Landrecies on that side. The second, led by Lieutenant-general Alvinczy, took post in the forest of Nouvion. The third, headed by the emperor and the Prince de Cobourg, after forcing the enemy's intrenchments, advanced to the heights called

the Grand and Petit Blocus. The fourth and fifth columns were formed from the army under the Duke of York, that of which his royal highness took the direction being intended to attack the village of Vanx. Major-general Abercromby commenced the assault with the van, supported by the two grenadier companies of the first regiment of guards, under the command of Colonel Stanhope, and stormed and took the star redoubt, while three battalions of Austrian grenadiers, commanded by Major Petrash, attacked the wood, and made themselves masters of the works which the French had constructed for its defence.

Sir William Erskine was equally successful with the other column; for, finding the enemy posted at Premont, a brigade of British infantry with four squadrons of light dragoons, was detached under Lieutenant-general Harcourt to turn their position, while he himself attacked in front with three battalions of the regiment of Kaunitz, supported by a well-directed fire of British and Austrian artillery, under the orders of Lieutenant-colonel Congreve, and not only obtained possession of the redoubts, but of two pieces of cannon and a pair of colours.

Nine cannon were taken in the course of this day by the column under the immediate command of his royal highness the Duke of York; who, in the despatch transmitted on this occasion, regrets the loss of the honourable Captain Carleton, of the royals; and expresses his obligations to Lieutenant-generals Sir William Erskine and Otto, Major-general Abercromby, and Lieutenant Fage of the British artillery.

The success of this extensive and complicated attack, in consequence of which the French lost thirty pieces of artillery, being now complete, it was immediately determined to lay siege to Landrecies. The direction of this important affair was intrusted to the hereditary Prince of Orange; while his imperial majesty, with the grand army, estimated at 60,000, covered the operations on the side of Guise; and the troops under the Duke of York, amounting to nearly 30,000, were employed in a similar service towards Cambray. A body of Hessians and Austrians, to the number of 12,000, under General Worms, were at the same time stationed near Douay and Bouchain; Count Kaunitz, with 15,000, defended the passage of the Sambre; and General Clairfait, with 40,000 more, protected Flanders from Tournay to the sea. Such was the strength and position of the allies, even without the assistance of the Prussians, who made no movement in their favour, that all the generals of the old school imagined success to be inevitable.

and appearances, for a time, seemed to confirm these conjectures: for the hereditary Prince of Orange made a general attack upon and carried all the posts still occupied by the enemy in front of Landrecies; he also took their intrenched camp by storm, and obtained possession of a strong redoubt within six hundred yards of the body of the place. In addition to this, the French were driven from Caesar's camp, near Cambray, and repulsed a few days afterwards, with great slaughter, in an attack on the heights of Cateau, where the Duke of York was posted; on which occasion, Lieutenant-general Chapuy, with three hundred and thirty officers and privates, was taken prisoner, while thirty-five pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the English.*

But although the enemy were not only worsted in this quarter, but also in an attack commanded by the emperor in person, yet they proved successful in another point of this general assault, which took place along the whole extent of the frontiers; for Pichegru, having advanced on the same day from Lisle, defeated General Clairfait at Mouscron, from whom he took thirty-two pieces of cannon, and in a short time afterwards obtained possession of Werwick, Courtray, and Menin, the last of which held out during four days, when, finding no probability of succour, the garrison, consisting chiefly of emigrants, forced their way through the enemy. These successes, however, were supposed to be fully counterbalanced by the fall of Landrecies and the defeat of a body of 30,000 troops, who had attacked the army of the Duke of York, at Tournay; on which occasion they lost thirteen pieces of cannon and above four hundred men taken prisoners:† but General Clairfait was less fortunate, for Pichegru once more attacked him, and that, too, with such irresistible impetuosity, that he was obliged to retreat in confusion; his flying troops were at length, with some difficulty, prevailed upon to halt; and this gallant but unfortunate commander immediately occupied a position so as to cover Ghent, Bruges, and Ostend.

The army of the allies, in consequence of the offensive operations of the enemy, who, whether vanquished or victorious, proved incessant in their attacks, being

* The British commander-in-chief, in his official letter, praises the conduct of the troops on this day, and returns thanks to Colonel Vyse, who commanded the two brigades of British cavalry after Major-general Mansell's death. Captain Pigot and Captain Fellows, of the third dragoon guards, fell upon this occasion.

† Lieutenant-general Harcourt, Major-general Dundas, and Sir Robert Laurie distinguished themselves upon this occasion.

thus broken into many separate masses, and destitute of unity in its operations, was evidently liable to be overcome. Accordingly, while Pichegru was pursuing his victorious career in the west, Jourdan, already celebrated for his victories at Maubeuge and Hoondschoote, entered West Flanders, and, after crossing the Sambre, forced General Kaunitz to retreat: but in the course of a few days the Austrians rallied, and obliged the French in their turn to give way, with the loss of near 5000 men and three pieces of cannon.

His imperial majesty was now induced to make a general attack with his scattered forces, on purpose to compel the enemy to evacuate the Low Countries. The attempt, however, proved unsuccessful, for two of the five columns employed upon this occasion were unable, from fatigue, to execute the plan; and a third found the enemy in such force at Moucron, that it retreated to Turcoing. In the mean time seven battalions of British, five of Austrians, and two of Hessians, with six squadrons of light dragoons, and four of hussars, led by the Duke of York, forced the French to evacuate Lannoy and Roubaix, and advanced, in consequence of orders from headquarters, against Mouveaux. General Abercromby then attacked with four battalions of guards, seconded by the seventh and fifteenth light dragoons under Lieutenant-colonel Churchill, and compelled the enemy to retire with the loss of three pieces of cannon.

The French having attacked Turcoing early next morning, the English commander-in-chief despatched two battalions of Austrians towards that place; but an opening being left on the right, the enemy took advantage of this unfortunate incident, and his royal highness was so briskly assailed both in front and rear, that his troops gave way, and he himself found it impossible either to join the brigade of guards or that commanded by Major-general Fox; but he was at length enabled to escape to a body of Austrians, commanded by General Otto, accompanied only by a few dragoons of the sixteenth regiment, while Major-general Abercromby, with some difficulty, effected his retreat to Templeuve; and Major-general Fox fortunately succeeded in gaining the village of Leers.*

Notwithstanding some occasional advantages obtained by the allies, it was by this time evident to all enlightened men, that the immense numbers and systematical exertions of the republican armies would in the end preponderate. His imperial ma-

* According to the French account, they took no less than sixty pieces of cannon and 2000 prisoners, in the course of this general attack.

jesty, who had been taught to believe that his appearance in the Low Countries was alone sufficient for the resumption of the ancient dominions of the house of Austria, and the complete overthrow of its enemies, now learned, from sad experience, that the Belgians were averse to his government, and the French too mighty for his vengeance. This young prince, disgusted at the past, uncertain of the future, equally alarmed at the progress of an inveterate foe, and the suspicious conduct of a king, at once his rival and his ally, thought proper to abandon the field in the middle of the campaign; and after having exposed the person of the first monarch in Europe to the ignominy of being taken prisoner by the troops of the new republic, he suddenly retired to his own capital, and left the allies to meditate on the approaching catastrophe.

Pichegru now prepared in his turn a general assault on the lines of the allies, which he accordingly commenced with a heavy fire of artillery; and a succession of attacks, or rather battles, ensued, which lasted from the break of day till late in the evening, when the French retired without being able to make any effectual impression, notwithstanding their immense numbers, which have been estimated at two hundred thousand. On this occasion, the combined forces conducted themselves with signal bravery; and the second brigade of British, under Major-general Fox, distinguished itself in a particular manner by the spirit and gallantry with which it stormed and carried the village of Pontechin, by means of the bayonet.

But the French, instead of being dispirited by their ill success upon this occasion, actually crossed the Sambre two days afterwards, and occupied a position between Rouveroy and *Fontain-L'Evêque*: they however suffered themselves to be again surprised by General Count Kaunitz, and lost fifty pieces of cannon, and nearly five thousand men, about three thousand of whom were made prisoners. As if undismayed by events, they soon afterwards actually broke ground before Charleroi; but, being attacked by the combined army under the hereditary Prince of Orange, they were compelled once more to retreat. Such however, was their amazing superiority in point of numbers, that another army of forty thousand men, about this time, entered the dutchy of Luxembourg, a movement which obliged General Beaulieu to retire from the dutchy of Bouillon, the chief town of which had been pillaged by the Austrians, under pretence that some of the inhabitants had fired upon them.

Notwithstanding their reiterated miscarriages in that quarter, the enemy soon

afterwards recrossed the Sambre, and assumed a position near Josselies, on purpose to cover the siege of Charleroi, before which they had already begun to open trenches; but the same general who had defeated them a few days before, arrived again, and obliged them to retreat with the loss of nearly six thousand men, twenty-two pieces of cannon, thirty-five ammunition wagons, and a considerable number of horses and baggage. But General Jourdan having received considerable reinforcements from the army of the Moselle, crossed the Sambre a third time, stormed the Austrian camp at Betignies, and prepared again to besiege a city which had so long eluded his attacks.

About this period, some of the most ferocious members of the ruling party in France exhibited a degree of savage revenge respecting England, well calculated to render them the objects of general detestation. Not content with solemnly proclaiming the premier "the enemy of the human race" in the convention, a decree was also obtained, declaring "that henceforth no English or Hanoverians should be made prisoners;" and an address was soon afterwards transmitted to the armies of the republic, in which, after accusing the British government of all the crimes perpetrated against France, they assert that "no one of the slaves of George ought to return to the traitorous territory of England." The conduct of the Duke of York upon this occasion was at once dignified and humane. Instead of issuing orders for immediate retaliation, and thus producing all the horrors of mutual assassination, his royal highness, in an address to his army, requested the troops to suspend their indignation, and reminded them "that mercy to the vanquished is the brightest gem in a soldier's character." To the honour of the enemy, too, neither the officers nor soldiers would enforce these barbarous mandates; and several of the generals actually refused obedience to them, at the risk of their lives.

In the mean time, the French proved victorious in maritime Flanders; for Pichegru, after defeating Clairfait, who had marched to the relief of Ypres, which contained a garrison of seven thousand men, commenced the siege of that place, which surrendered on the 17th of June, to Moreau, a young man of great promise, who in early life served as a private soldier, and had but lately exchanged the lawyer's robe for the truncheon of a general.

Nor was Jourdan less fortunate in another quarter, for he pressed the siege of Charleroi so closely, that the garrison, amounting to three thousand men, surrendered at

discretion on the 26th of June. The Prince de Cobourg, assisted by the Prince of Orange and General Beaulieu, not being acquainted with this event, marched in the course of that very evening with the combined army, divided into five columns, and early on the succeeding morning made preparations to relieve the place. Having attacked the enemy's intrenchments in the direction of Lambrisart, Espinies, and Gossillies, he obliged a few detached bodies to retreat, notwithstanding the protection of several strong redoubts; but such was the opposition experienced on this occasion by the allies, that it was evening before the left wing had arrived at the principal heights, which were fortified by an extensive range of field works, lined with an immense number of heavy artillery. Although a variety of unforeseen obstacles had interposed, an attempt was now made to force this strong position with the bayonet; while Jourdan, on the other hand, having obtained the assistance of the besieging army, in consequence of the fall of Charleroi, determined to decide the fate of Flanders in a pitched battle. He accordingly advanced with a numerous army, and made so excellent a disposition as to enable the greater part of his force to contend only with the left wing of the allies. Nevertheless, such was the impetuous valour of the assailants, that they repeatedly penetrated the French lines, and formed several times under the fire of their cannon; but towards seven o'clock in the evening the advantage obtained by Jourdan became conspicuous; for having drawn his troops out of their intrenchments, and made three distinct charges upon the enemy, after an action which commenced at dawn of day, and did not entirely conclude until near sunset, victory, which had been hovering by turns over each of the rival armies, declared finally in favour of the republicans. The combined troops, taking advantage of the night, immediately fell back, first on Marbois and next on Nivelles, with an intent, if possible, to cover Namur.

Thus ended the battle of Fleurus, fought on the same ground as that on which the French had discomfited the allies a century before; in consequence of which General Jourdan was now considered for a time as the rival of Marshal Luxembourg.

Some circumstances worthy of record deserve to be enumerated here. The loss of this action, on which so much depended, appears to have arisen partly from the ignorance of the imperial general relative to the fate of Charleroi, and partly from the determination of the French soldiers, who, dreading the ignominy of being again driven across the Sambre, exclaimed from one end

of the line to another, "No retreat to-day!" The reserve in particular, which turned the fortune of the battle, displayed an extraordinary degree of enthusiasm, and repeatedly charged the enemy amidst unceasing shouts of "Long live the republic!" Nor ought mention of a novel incident, connected with the fate of this engagement, and consequently of Austrian Flanders, to be omitted. The committee of public safety, ambitious of boasting that it had enlisted science under the banners of liberty, had sent a company of *arostats* to the headquarters of the army, in consequence of which a balloon was constructed, and frequently elevated during the action, with a confidential officer attached to it, who conveyed the most important intelligence relative to the designs, the numbers, and the evolutions of the enemy.

The loss of the combined forces in this engagement has never been precisely ascertained: it was undoubtedly diminished greatly on one hand by the Prince de Cobourg, who stated it at fifteen hundred, and grossly exaggerated on the other by the French, who estimated it at ten thousand men. The effects however were prodigious, for the combined forces now retreated in all quarters, and Bruges, Tournay, Mons, Oudenarde, Brussels, and even Namur, were left without protection.

The body of English and allies, under the Duke of York, participated, of course, in the disasters of the campaign; for his royal highness, after attempting in vain to form a junction with General Clairfait, was obliged to retreat from Tournay to Renaix; and General Walmoden having been forced at the same time to abandon Bruges, all communication with Ostend was thus cut off. The ministry, greatly alarmed at this event, immediately requested the Earl of Moira, who had been nominated to the command of a separate body of troops, now encamped in the vicinity of Southampton, and destined, in conjunction with several regiments of emigrants, for a secret expedition against France, to repair to the Low Countries. Notwithstanding this nobleman had before intimated that any orders for serving in that quarter must occasion his immediate resignation, he yet waived his former resolutions at so critical a period; and after landing a body of troops in maritime Flanders, proposed a junction to the Generals Clairfait and Walmoden, so as to enable them to act from Bruges to Thielet, upon the left wing of the French, with a view of covering Ostend on one hand, and producing a diversion in favour of the Duke of York on

the other. While on his march to effect this, the situation of the Prince de Saxe Cobourg rendered the plan impracticable; his lordship however determined to comply with a pressing invitation on the part of the English commander-in-chief, then in a difficult position: and accordingly, by means of a rapid movement, completed the object of the expedition; after which, he was consigned to obscurity, but not until he had repulsed the French at Alost,* and also at Malines, whence he forced the enemy to retire, notwithstanding they had made a successful attack on all the duke's outposts, in front of the canal leading from Brussels to Antwerp.

However, the French returned to the charge, and again assaulted the line of defence occupied by his royal highness, who deemed it prudent to retreat across the Meuse, and withdraw into Holland.

Nor was the enemy less successful in other quarters. Notwithstanding that the battle of Fleurus appeared decisive of the fate of the Netherlands, the Prince of Saxe Cobourg contended against fortune with the most indefatigable perseverance, being determined not to relinquish the ancient dominions of the house of Austria without a long and violent struggle. Having assembled the remains of his army at Halle, he advanced and assumed a formidable position, but was immediately attacked by a victorious army, and forced to evacuate Mons: on which occasion, his rear-guard left that town by one gate, at the very moment the van of the French entered it at another. Having retreated to Soignies, and thus placed himself between the republicans and the capital of Brabant, he threw up intrenchments and fortified this post, which was not inferior to that of Jemappe in point of natural strength, so as to render it nearly impregnable; but nothing could now withstand the fury of the assailants, who, braving the fire of a numerous artillery, and undaunted at the slaughter that ensued, rushed in with fixed bayonets, and by having recourse to that weapon, completed the victory.

The flying Austrians retreated through Brussels, the inhabitants of which could not disguise their satisfaction upon this occasion; on the contrary, no sooner did the French legions advance, than they opened their gates, and received them with the most lively demonstrations of joy. It was now evident that the house of Austria had lost the hearts of the people of the Netherlands.

* Lieutenant-colonels Doyle and Vandelour distinguished themselves upon this occasion.

CHAPTER XIV.

Recapture of Landrecies, Valenciennes, and Condé—Defeat of Clairfait—Coblentz taken—Austrians driven beyond the Rhine—Campaign in Holland—Campaign on the Rhine—In Spain and Italy—Progress of the war in La Vendée.

As Jourdan had routed the enemy on the banks of the Sambre, while Pichegru overcame them on the borders of the Scheldt, it was now determined to regain those fortresses which had fallen into the hands of the allies. The troops left in garrison were few in number, and not in possession of a sufficient quantity of provisions to withstand a long siege; they were besides intimidated, not only by the retreat of the combined armies, but also by a barbarous law that menaced their lives. Robespierre and his associates, not content with staining the scaffold daily with the blood of the best and most illustrious of their fellow-citizens, had wrested a decree from the timid convention, threatening extermination against all those who, twenty-four hours after being summoned, should defend the frontier towns lately appertaining to France.

General Scherer, having appeared before Landrecies, immediately summoned that place. But although the governor at first declined to capitulate, yet he did not permit any of the fortifications to be injured; for no sooner had the French broken ground and erected batteries, than he proposed terms; these were refused; and the garrison, consisting of nearly two thousand men, surrendered at discretion on the 15th of July, a few days after being summoned.

The same general and the same army next appeared before Quesnoy, which opened its gates, an event notified to the convention by the telegraph, first used upon this occasion. In a few days more, Valenciennes, which had been taken with such difficulty, followed the example of the two former places, and submitted to its ancient masters; nor did *Condé*, the name of which was now exchanged for that of *Lord Libre*, exhibit the least inclination to resist, but yielded also, without being able to obtain a capitulation. Under the walls of one of these places, were obtained one hundred and ninety wagons laden with stores and ammunition; and in another was found a rich booty of three millions of florins in specie. But although all the garrisons had infringed the terms of the sanguinary decree already alluded to, neither officers nor soldiers were treated with cruelty; the unhappy emigrants, however, were delivered up to the military tribunals, and most of them punished with death.

In the mean time, the armies, little influenced by the convulsions that had taken place in the capital, were put in motion, and resumed the operations of the campaign, after a suspension of nearly two months, during which interval the four frontier garrisons had been subdued. Accordingly, while Pichegru prepared with one body of troops to attack Holland, another assembled in the neighbourhood of Brussels under Jourdan, and proceeded in pursuit of Clairfait, who had succeeded the Prince de Cobourg as commander-in-chief, and was the only general who now kept the field; for the Duke of York, after a long and ineffectual struggle, had by this time withdrawn into Dutch Brabant, and the hereditary Prince of Orange was obliged to cross the Dyle to prevent his army from being surrounded.

The field-marshal, now at the head of the Austrian troops, after being obliged by General Kleber to evacuate Louvain, and abandon Namur and Antwerp, in each of which an immense booty was found, assumed a new position; but he was attacked on the 13th of September and the two following days in succession, and notwithstanding a momentary success on the part of General Kray, the number and enthusiasm of the enemy finally triumphed, so that the Austrians were obliged to take advantage of a fog to ensure a safe retreat.

Jourdan now pressed forward with his usual ardour, while the Austrian general retreated, still worsted but never wholly overcome, first to Hervé, and then to Aix-la-Chapelle. The French, having waited for the arrival of the main body of the army, assailed on the 1st of October all the enemy's posts from Ruremode to Juliers. Clairfait, who had by this time occupied a strong position upon the Roer, still hoped to be able to resist, and the victory for a long time proved doubtful; but the continual attacks and undiminished ardour of the French at length obliged him to retire into Germany, after having lost nearly ten thousand men in the course of three days. The republicans were in now possession of Hervé, Malmédy, and Spa; preparations were made to invest Maestricht and Venloo; the city of Cologne was in their possession; and a detachment of their army under General Moreau, on the 23d of October, seized upon Coblentz, where the emigrants had

originally appeared in arms; so that Ments was now the only place which the allies possessed on the banks of the Rhine.

While the armies of the Sambre and Meuse, under Jourdan, were chasing the Austrians across the Rhine, Pichegru, at the head of the army of the north, was making preparations for the invasion of Holland.

After this general had remained seventeen days in the neighbourhood of Antwerp, for the purpose of establishing magazines and ensuring a supply of provisions, his troops commenced their march, and assumed a position at Turnhout, near Hoogstraten. On this the Duke of York, knowing the superior force of the enemy, immediately retired towards Bois-le-duc, and relinquished the defence of Breda to its garrison.

In the mean time, Moreau had undertaken the siege of Sluys, and to complete the investment of that place, it became necessary to post a body of troops in the isle of Cadzand. This operation appeared at first to be attended by nearly insurmountable obstacles, for the passage was defended by a battery of fourteen cannon, and the troops were entirely destitute either of pontoons or vessels proper for their transport; but the courage of the soldiers supplied all deficiencies; for while some of them swam over, others crossed the arm of the sea in small boats, and the young and adventurous general entered the place as a victor, and thus added to the acquisitions of the republic, at the very moment when his aged father had fallen a sacrifice to the suspicions of the triumphant faction.

Pichegru, deeming it prudent to abandon the idea of the siege of Breda for the present, in order to oblige the English to cross the Maese, commenced his march for that purpose, and came up with the Duke of York's advanced guard, strongly posted on the banks of the Dommel; all the bridges over which, as well as those across a neighbouring stream, had been broken down. This obstacle retarded the action, which commenced at three o'clock, and continued until six in the evening; when the French, having effected a passage, partly by swimming and partly by rafts, the troops of Hesse Darmstadt, who occupied an advanced position, suffered considerably, and a considerable number of them laid down their arms. As the loss of Bostel would compel his royal highness to abandon the whole of his line of defence, it was determined to send Lieutenant-general Abercromby at the head of the reserve, during the ensuing night, with orders if possible to retake it; but the enemy being found

too strong, the troops returned; and the commander-in-chief having learned by this time that numerous columns, to the amount of eighty thousand men, were advancing against him, it was deemed prudent to withdraw, more especially as an attack appeared to be meditated against his left, which was the most vulnerable point. This portion of the allied troops accordingly retreated across the Maese in good order, after having lost, according to the French accounts, two thousand men who were made prisoners, seven cannon, and a number of horses; while Bois-le-duc and Bergen-op-zoom, as well as Breda, being no longer protected by a covering army, were obliged to depend on their own internal strength and resources.

As it now became necessary to obtain possession of some strong place, whence the invading army might draw its subsistence, the siege of the first of these towns was resolved upon, and it was accordingly invested, notwithstanding the difficulty of the undertaking, in consequence of the inundations. At length the fort of Orten having been abandoned by the enemy, and that of Greveceur bombarded and taken, the governor of Bois-le-duc, notwithstanding the floods were increased by the incessant rains, agreed to a capitulation, and, to the great surprise even of the victors, resigned the place. On this, General Pichegru immediately crossed the Maese in pursuit of the enemy, regulating all his movements in exact conformity with the operations of Jourdan; while, in direct opposition to received opinions, he left the strong towns of Sas-de-Ghent, Hult, and Axel in Dutch Flanders, as well as Bergen-op-zoom and Breda in Dutch Brabant, in his rear.

The duke of York waited for the invaders in a strong position in the neighbourhood of Puffelech, having his two wings supported by two rivers. The French, notwithstanding this, moved forward in four columns, and attacked the whole of the advanced posts on his right, particularly those of Drutin and Applethorn, the former of which was defended by the 37th regiment, and the latter by the Prince of Rohan's light battalion. These troops conducted themselves with great gallantry; but a post on the left having been forced, Major Hope, after distinguishing himself greatly, was obliged to retreat along the dyke of the Waal, where his regiment, being charged furiously by the enemy's horse, suffered considerably; Major-general Fox is said to have been nearly at the same time taken prisoner, and detained for a few minutes by a French hussar, while encouraging the troops to a strenuous op-

position. (29) After this engagement, the Duke of York immediately retired behind the Waal, while the invading army, notwithstanding the advanced season of the year, and the obstacles arising out of the nature of the country, prepared to besiege the neighbouring garrisons. Venloo was accordingly invested by General Laurent, who is

(32) This action, which in the British narratives of the war is passed over with a slight notice, was one of the most splendid of a campaign fruitful of glory to the French arms. The American reader may not be displeased with an opportunity of comparing the French account with the one in the text. "After the surrender of Bois-le-duc, the army of the north directed its march towards the lower Meuse, with the intention, after passing that river, of forcing the enemy to retire behind the Waal. The divisions of Generals Bonneau and Sonham, accordingly, crossed the Meuse on the 18th October, near to Taffier, and a few leagues below Grave. The passage was effected without much opposition from the English, who awaited their approach at Puffelech, between the Meuse and the Waal. Here they were intrenched, on the banks of the two rivers; their right being posted at Drutin, on the Waal, and their left at Apelter, on the Meuse. The country comprised between the two rivers is an immense plain, intersected by wide and deep ditches, filled with water. The front of the enemy in this place was protected by the canal of Onde Vetering, bordered by a dyke which commands the whole plain. From this point to Drutin extended another dyke equally elevated. Intrenchments and batteries, supported by several English regiments, and a body of emigrants, were thrown up on the dyke, and in the rear was a considerable force of cavalry. As the country was covered with ditches, bridges marked by poles were constructed over them, by the English, in order to facilitate a retreat in case of necessity, and they had besides taken care to increase the number of obstacles by rendering the roads impassable by means of abatis. Although this position might have been considered impregnable, General Pichegru ordered an attack in four columns. The two strongest were to be directed against the centre in the plain; the other columns, each three thousand in number, were ordered to attack the dykes of the Waal and the Meuse. The battle commenced at daybreak of the 19th of October, and continued with spirit and obstinacy until four in the evening. The two columns which had marched over the plain, were obliged to pass the canal. The enemy attempted to dispute the passage with obstinacy; after some discharges of artillery, the French began to be impatient; nothing could restrain their ardour; they passed the ditches, although the water was up to their shoulders; the cavalry following to protect them, while the English, intimidated by this display of valour, thought only of retreating and saving their artillery. The few troops which had crossed were insufficient to oppose the removal of the cannon. The columns which had gained the dykes had still more brilliant success. A division of the gendarmes, a battalion of infantry, and the 9th regiment of hussars, surrounded and entirely captured the English 37th regiment of infantry. At the dyke of the Meuse, the 3d regiment of hussars fell upon a legion composed almost entirely of emigrants, and cut them to pieces, with the exception of about sixty, who were made prisoners."—*Relation des sieges et batailles, &c.*

said upon this occasion to have had no more than four thousand men under his command, and to have been destitute of heavy artillery. He, however, commenced his operations within one hundred fathoms of the covered way, and a capitulation having been assented to, the troops were permitted to march out with the honours of war and ten pieces of cannon.

In the mean time, Pichegru, who had sat down before Nimeguen with the main body of the forces, was obliged to abandon the command to Moreau, in consequence of having contracted an inveterate cutaneous disease, which forced him to repair to Brussels.

During his absence, General Kleber greatly facilitated the operations of the two grand armies, by the celerity with which he reduced Maestricht, which surrendered on the 5th of November. That city was besieged and taken by Louis XIV. in thirteen, and by Louis XV. in twenty-one days; on both of which occasions, medals were struck, while the best poets and painters of the time celebrated the conquest by the exertion of their respective talents: but amidst this wonderful campaign, the capture of so important a fortress, although the trenches had been opened during no more than eleven days, excited but little attention.

The French, however, appeared for a while to be less fortunate in their attack upon Nimeguen, which was not only defended by a numerous garrison, but covered by the Duke of York, who from his camp at Arnheim was enabled at any time to throw in supplies. The enemy, after forcing the British outposts in front of the place, immediately attacked Fort St. André, and Lieutenant-general Abercromby and Lieutenant-colonel Clark were slightly wounded in the skirmish that ensued, as was also Captain Picton in a sally from the place. At length the French broke ground under the direction of General Sonham, and began to construct their batteries; on which Count Walmoden marched out suddenly with a body of British infantry and cavalry,* two battalions of Dutch, the legion of Damas, and some Hanoverian horse under Major-general de Burgh, who was wounded while leading on his men with great gallantry. On this occasion, the infantry advanced under a severe fire, and jumping into the trenches without returning a shot, charged with the bayonet, and by this check greatly retarded the enemy's works.

*This detachment consisted of the 8th, 27th, 28th, 55th, 63d, and 78th regiments of infantry, and the 7th and 15th of light-horse.

As it now appeared evident that the place could not be taken until all intercourse with the English army was cut off, two strong batteries were immediately erected, on the right and left of the lines of defence; and these were so effectually served, that they at length destroyed one of the boats which supported the bridge of communication. The damage sustained upon this occasion was immediately repaired by an officer* of the navy; but the Duke of York, being aware of the superiority of the enemy's fire, determined to withdraw every thing from the town beyond what was barely necessary for its defence. All the artillery of the reserve, with the British, Hanoverian, and Hessian battalions, accordingly retired; but pickets, to the amount of twenty-five hundred men, were left under the command of Major-general de Burgh. The Dutch, on seeing themselves abandoned, became dispirited, and determined also to evacuate the place; but an unfortunate shot having carried away the top of the mast of the flying bridge, it swung round, and about four hundred of the garrison were immediately taken prisoners, on which those that remained in the fortifications opened the gates to the besiegers.

In the mean time, the Duke of York, desirous of avoiding an engagement which might have been attended with the most fatal effects in respect to Holland, retired immediately, while Moreau and the other generals presented the state of the French army to be such as required repose. But the government was inexorable on the subject, and notwithstanding the rigours of the climate and the season, determined to prosecute military operations during the whole winter. The passage of the Waal was accordingly resolved upon, and General Daendels, a Dutch emigrant, who had of late exhibited those talents in the field which he had before displayed in the forum, was intrusted with the enterprise; but though he effected his immediate object, he failed in his attack upon the posts occupied by the allies, in consequence of which failure the project was relinquished. Preparations, however, were made to facilitate the operations of the approaching campaign, and the Generals Bonneau and Lemaire received orders to invest Breda, by means of winter cantonments; Grave also was surrounded in a similar manner, and all the necessary dispositions were taken to ensure the conquest of Holland in the course of the ensuing spring.

But this was no easy enterprise. The water on every side opposed obstacles nearly insurmountable to an invading army; and

lakes, marshes, and rivers seemed to have conspired to ensure the independence of the Batavians. Nothing less than an intense and vigorous frost, which, by converting the water into solid ice, might facilitate the transport of armies, cannon, and ammunition, could achieve the overthrow of the house of Nassau.

The operations of the French had been now suspended upwards of a month, and an awful pause had taken place in the career of victory; it was even uncertain whether on the return of fine weather it would be safe to venture farther into a country which might be so easily laid under water, and the genial winters that had occurred in Europe for some years past, prohibited the hope of that degree of congelation necessary for military enterprises.

The season, however, soon assumed a menacing appearance for the Dutch, as the frost set in towards the latter end of the year with an unexpected degree of rigour. On this, General Pichegru, for whom repose had no longer any charms, although his health was not as yet entirely re-established, immediately left Brussels, and proceeded to head-quarters. On his arrival there, finding that both the Maese and the Waal were already able to bear troops, he determined to take advantage of this opportunity to complete his projects. Two brigades, under the Generals Daendels and Osten, accordingly received orders to march across the ice to the isle of Bommel; a detachment was at the same time detached against Fort St. André; and the reduction of those places, which at any other time would have been attended with great slaughter, was now achieved almost without bloodshed, at a time when the mercury in the thermometer had fallen lower than at any former period during the last thirty years. Sixteen hundred prisoners, and an immense number of cannon, rewarded the toils of the invading army, while the allies, unable to withstand their numbers, retired to the intrenchments between Gorcum and Cuylenberg. A successful attack was made at the same time on the lines of Breda, Oudebosch, and Sevenbergen; but what was infinitely more important, the town of Grave, considered as a masterpiece of fortification, which had already suffered a blockade of two months, being destitute of provision and ammunition, was now forced to surrender, in consequence of which its garrison were made prisoners of war.

A few days after this, the weather continuing favourable to his enterprise, Pichegru determined to cross the Waal in the neighbourhood of Nimeguen, with his whole army; this was accordingly effected, and whole battalions of infantry, squadrons

* Lieutenant, now commodore, Popham.

of cavalry, detachments of artillery, and an immense number of wagons, passed over this branch of the Rhine, without the assistance of either bridges or boats. The whole of the troops had not, however, reached the place of destination, when a sudden thaw, by cutting off the communication, seemed to hazard the success of the whole expedition; but the frost, resuming its empire, enabled the French to form a junction, and Gorcum, the head-quarters of the Prince of Orange, was now threatened with an assault.

The Duke of York having, in the mean time, returned to England, the command devolved upon General Walmoden, who achieved every thing that was possible to be performed by an army destined to contend against an enemy superior in point of numbers, inured to hardships, and accustomed to victory. But, although Major-general David Dundas had succeeded in an expedition, in the course of which he carried Tayl, and drove a body of the enemy across the ice, with the loss of a number of men and four pieces of cannon, yet it was deemed necessary, in the course of a few days, to remove the head-quarters from Arnheim to Amerongen. An obstinate frost having converted the whole of the low country into one continued sheet of ice, the allies were obliged to fall back during the night, first upon Buren, and soon afterwards they took refuge behind the Leck. They, however, at times attacked the enemy, and proved successful in an affair of posts at Gelder Malsel, on which occasion Major-general Lord Cathcart, with three English regiments* and the British Hulus, distinguished himself greatly, and this too during a period when the troops, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, were frequently obliged to pass the night in the open air. At length, however, the enemy having crossed over the frozen Waal in five different columns, attacked the line of the allies, forced the Austrians to abandon Heusden, and the Hanoverians to retreat across the Lingën; but they were repulsed for a time at Rhenen by the spirited conduct of the British guards and Salm's infantry; the English, however, withdrew in the course of that very night to Voorthuizen, deeming themselves lucky to be able to remove all the wounded officers, and the whole of the

sick, except about three hundred, who were recommended by Lieutenant-general Harcourt to the humanity of the French, and treated with great kindness. All the vessels on the Leck, containing forage and stores, were now burnt, and the greater part of the ammunition contained in fifteen ordnance vessels at Rotterdam, was at the same time destroyed.

The British troops having been thus obliged to abandon the province of Utrecht, its capital was entered by General Salm, on the very day that General Vandamme took possession of Arnheim; while the fortress of Gertruydenburg, nearly at the same period, capitulated to General Bonneau.

The situation of the Prince of Orange was now truly deplorable. His serene highness had published many animated addresses to the people, entreating them to rise in arms, and defend their country; but he was unable, like his ancestors, to inspire the Dutch with a spirit of resistance; and many respectable citizens of Amsterdam not only opposed his plan to produce a grand inundation around that city by opening all the surrounding sluices, and breaking down the different sea-dikes, but actually deprecated the idea of admitting a foreign garrison for its defence.* The imprisonment of several of the petitioners added greatly to the unpopularity of his government; and no sooner did the invasion begin to assume a formidable attitude, than secret committees were formed within the principal cities of the republic, while the Batavian emigrants without, not only directed the efforts of the enemy towards the most vulnerable points, but aided them at the same time by means of their influence and even by their personal services.

Pichegru having advanced along the ice and menaced the capital with a visit, the stadtholder repaired to the assembly of the states-general, and requested that his two sons might be permitted to resign the commissions which they held in the army of the republic. On the succeeding day, he obtained permission to withdraw during a short period from the territories of the union; for General Daendels, from his headquarters at Deerdam, had by this time invited the province of Holland to rise in arms, and effect a change, while the revolutionary committee of Amsterdam, which now avowed itself for the first time, dismissed the magistrates of the capital, nominated, as mayor, Visscher, who had been formerly imprisoned and condemned to banishment, and elected a new body of representatives.

* The 14th, 37th, and 28th. At the attack of the fort of Meteren, the 14th, 33d, 42d, and 78th, also conducted themselves with great bravery. The gallantry of Lieutenant Elrlington, of the 14th, is recorded in Lord Cathcart's despatch; and mention is made, at the same time, of the services of Colonels Gillman and Paget, and Captain Kirkman, as well as of Lieutenant-colonel Buller and Lieutenant-colonel Alexander Hope, who were severely wounded upon this occasion.

* Petition of the citizens of Amsterdam, of the anti-stadtholderian party, dated October 14, 1794.

The day before this, the Prince of Orange, with his family, had set off for Scheveling, where the hereditary high-admiral of the united provinces deemed himself happy in being able to find an asylum on board a wretched little vessel, entirely destitute of accommodation, where he waited the event of a negotiation; but this proving ineffectual, his serene highness immediately sailed for England.

While the stadtholder was thus forced to fly from a country where his ancestors, by their intrepidity and patriotism, had rendered themselves adored, a French officer, with despatches from General Pichegru, entered Amsterdam on the 28th of January, and repaired to the house of the burgo-master. In the evening of the same day a multitude of the citizens placed the tri-coloured cockade in their hats, and made the streets resound with patriotic airs. Next morning, a detachment of hussars posted themselves before the town-house, where the tree of liberty was planted with great solemnity, and the command of the place conferred on a citizen attached to the Lovestien party, while De Winter, then a general of brigade in the French service, took possession of the fleet, which he was afterwards destined to command.

The states-general, yielding to imperious necessity, now negotiated with the invaders, and issued orders to all the governors, to deliver up the fortifications on the first summons to the French, who, instead of disarming the garrisons, only required them to take an oath not to carry arms against the republic.

On the 26th of the same month an assembly of deputies from many of the towns was held at the Hague; and citizen Peter Paulus being declared president of "the assembly of the provisional representatives of the free people of Holland," the sovereignty of the Dutch nation, and the declaration of the rights of man, were solemnly proclaimed; the abolition of the stadtholdership was decreed, and the rights of shooting, hunting, and fishing, on his own property, restored to every person.

After the lapse of a short period, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was concluded between the republic of France and that of the seven United Provinces; and Holland, equally unfortunate in respect to her allies and her enemies, after being overrun in consequence of impolitic counsels, was doomed to be deprived of a large portion of her commerce, and bereaved of most of her foreign possessions, in the progress of events which she could neither anticipate nor prevent.

In the mean time, the English army, now diminished to one third of its original num-

ber, after experiencing nearly equal distress from the severity of the season and the pursuit of the enemy, retired into Westphalia, leaving the wealth and resources of this opulent country in the power of a bold, needy, and enterprising enemy. By a wonderful change, a nation, whose liberties and independence had been so recently threatened, was now destined to give the law to neighbouring nations, while the possession of Belgium, the Palatinate, and Holland not only rescued its inhabitants from the dread of famine, but enabled them to obtain ample supplies from countries accustomed to furnish the rest of Europe with corn.

While the French armies were subduing Flanders, reannexing Liege to the republic, and menacing Holland, their forces on the banks of the Rhine, although few in point of numbers, became their rivals in glory.

The campaign of 1794 was opened in this quarter by the reduction of the strong fort of Kaiserslautern in the Palatinate; and the capture of Spire, Gummorsheim, and Leimersheim, extended the conquests of the republic; so great was the terror of the Austrians, that they soon afterwards abandoned Fort Louis, now called Fort Vauban, and destroyed the works, on hearing that the enemy were marching against it.

A variety of bloody and uninteresting skirmishes now ensued, but nothing of any moment occurred until Field-marshal Mollendorff, who had succeeded to the command of the Prussian troops on the resignation of the Duke of Brunswick, at length took the field. As he was desirous of achieving something worthy of his reputation, he determined to signalize his command by a brilliant exploit. The French, to the number of twelve thousand men, were forced, on the 27th of May, behind the defiles of Otterback, Hogglesback, and the Lauter. They had covered these positions by means of redoubts and intrenchments; the bridges were everywhere destroyed, and three strong posts had been occupied to facilitate their retreat in case of accident. It appears, however, that these formidable preparations only tended to impress them with a blind security; for so inattentive were they to the approach of the enemy, that the Prussian commander-in-chief, by a sudden movement, contrived to surround and surprise their camp. The loss on this occasion was considerable, for one thousand men were killed on the spot, and more than two thousand were made prisoners, while eighteen pieces of cannon and two howitzers fell into the hands of the victors. After this, the marshal established his headquarters at Winnweiler, while his advanced

posts extended as far as Deux-Ponts and Carlsberg: the Prince of Hohenlohe-Ingersingen, at the same time, took possession of Nieustadt.

But the French, attributing the recent disaster to accident alone, only waited the arrival of supplies to exact a severe retaliation. A large reinforcement having accordingly joined them, they recurred to a mode that had hitherto proved uniformly successful; this consisted of fighting a series of battles, day after day, until their object was fully obtained. Nor were they disappointed upon the present occasion, for, notwithstanding the troops opposed to them were posted in an advantageous situation, their attacks were so incessant, their artillery so well directed, and their numbers so superior, that neither the mechanical prowess of subsidized soldiers, nor that species of discipline obtained by the cane of the adjutant, could resist the native impetuosity of men who considered themselves as fighting to vindicate the glory of their country, and ascertain their own freedom as well as that of their posterity. All, however, that could be expected from the Prussians was obtained; for this body of troops held out during two whole days, and withstood seven different attacks before they were subdued. Another, strongly posted at Tripstadt, still resisted; but as the epoch on which they were assailed, proved to be the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille, the 14th of July, the French fearlessly advanced and stormed their works, amidst hymns addressed to liberty, and shouts announcing triumph. On this occasion, they took a great number of cannon, as well as many prisoners; and such was the unabating ardour of their courage, that on the succeeding morning they commenced a fresh attack along the whole of the line occupied by the Imperial and Prussian troops. Although the superiority of the French artillery was particularly conspicuous, yet the allies maintained their ground until night, when they happily effected a retreat. An extent of territory sixty miles in length was now abandoned to the conquerors, and the ancient jealousies among the vanquished immediately revived with increased rancour.

But these were not the only fruits reaped from this series of victories, for the army of the Moselle, having commenced its march, under the command of General Michaud, entered the electorate of Treves on the 3d of August, and on the 8th seized its capital, where the troops were welcomed by the magistrates and the people. The Palatinate too was overrun rather than conquered about the same period; and as this occurred at the commencement of the harvest, the corn destined for the supply of Germany

was applied to the maintenance of the French troops.

The possession of the duchy of Juliers, the bishopric of Cologne, and the city of Coblenz, tended not a little to render the French name terrible to the empire; while the retreat of the gallant but unfortunate Clairfait across the Rhine afforded a pretext to the Prussians to abandon offensive operations, and withdraw to the neighbourhood of Mentz.

Various disputes and altercations now occurred between two of the allied courts; and one of the Prussian generals deemed it incumbent on him, not only to vindicate his conduct relative to the charge of abandoning Treves to the enemy, but even to term it a wicked calumny. The king at the same time intimated his intentions, notwithstanding the subsidy received from England, to employ his troops solely for the defence of Germany;* and the diet of the empire began to listen about this period to propositions for peace. The Elector Palatinate, part of whose dominions were in possession of the enemy, testified his wishes on this subject in an official note. The Elector of Mentz proposed to invoke the mediation of Sweden, as a guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia; and the ministers of Treves, Cologne, and Bavaria readily acceded to the propriety of a negotiation. Frederic-William II. also, in his capacity of Elector of Brandenburg, testified his approbation of the measure; and even his imperial majesty, who at this period insisted on the necessity of levying the quintuple contingent, did not openly oppose it.

Thus, partly in consequence of the revival of ancient jealousies, and partly from the progress of the French arms, that formidable confederacy, which at one time threatened the liberties, and at another the independence of France, was on the point of being dissolved. The British cabinet, justly alarmed at the idea of a separate peace, immediately despatched an embassy to the emperor, with a view of inducing that prince to remain firm to his engagements; and a subsidy, under the name of a loan, was accordingly promised for the purpose.

* Extract from a "Note" transmitted to the circles of Franconia and Suabia, by the Prussian minister, at the end of September, 1794.

"Meanwhile his majesty the King of Prussia cannot but signify, that the imperial court has laid a false construction on the treaty for a subsidy between Prussia and England; who, though she pledged herself to pay the subsidy, has no right to dispose at her pleasure of the Prussian army, which is henceforth to remain to defend Germany, in whatever quarter his Prussian majesty may deem it most expedient, or where the allied powers have agreed, or will agree to let it act."

But by this time it became evident that all the forces of Germany, aided by all the treasures of England, were incapable of an efficacious resistance to the revolutionary torrent which now threatened to overspread Europe.

The same uniform career of victory that attended the French arms in Germany and in Belgium, accompanied their exertions in the eastern and western Pyrenees, and began at length to alarm the court of Madrid. The armies of Spain, once so dreaded both in Europe and America, were incapable of contending with the hardy republicans now opposed to them; the inhabitants of Fontarabia and St. Sebastian beheld the three-coloured flag floating from their battlements; the whole province of Guipuscoa offered to capitulate on conditions; and Charles III., who in vain attempted to raise a people bigoted by superstition, in a mass against their enemies, would have been taught to tremble upon his throne, had not the hatred against all crowned heads been modified after the fall of Robespierre, by the same maxims of policy which actuated one of the freest nations of antiquity, and taught it to control its rivals, and even its enemies, by means of kings.

The efforts of France on the side of Italy were at length prosperous there also; and although the attempt to possess any portion of that beautiful country had constantly proved abortive during the existence of the ancient monarchy, it soon became evident, that the inroads of a military democracy were likely to be attended by more permanent and more fatal effects. In the course of the former campaign, Savoy, indeed, had been annexed to the territories of the republic, yet but little impression could be made on Piedmont; and the insurrection in the southern departments, added to the unexpected possession of Toulon by the English, and the gallant resistance displayed by the inhabitants of Lyons, retarded the progress of the French arms in that quarter. Oneglia, which contained a couple of frigates and a few galleys belonging to the King of Sardinia, and had been in part destroyed by Vice-admiral Truguet during the preceding year, was now besieged and taken on the 6th of April, although encircled within the territories of a neutral power; which on account of its feebleness, had been repeatedly menaced and insulted in the course of the present war, both by the English and French. The capture of this place, insignificant in itself, was important when considered with relation to collateral circumstances, for it not only gave shelter to a number of privateers, which preyed upon the wreck of the French commerce in the Mediterranean,

but also served to keep up a direct communication with the British fleet.

While a body of troops penetrated into Piedmont on one side, and overcame the Sardinians and Austrians who attempted in vain to oppose their progress, another, after traversing valleys formerly unpeopled by a bigoted Duke of Savoy, at the request of an unprincipled King of France, because the inhabitants were Protestants, by piercing through defiles supposed to be impenetrable, and ascending mountains, the heads of which were covered with eternal snow, at last scaled Mount Cenis. A feeble effort was made to resist their progress by means of redoubts, batteries, and fortifications; but the dispositions made by General Dumas were so judicious, and his troops so replete with ardour, that he seized all the enemy's posts one after another, and not only took nine hundred prisoners, but obtained possession of a numerous train of artillery.

General Dumvillon, nearly at the same time, seized on the forts of Saorgio, Belvedere, Rocabilliere, and St. Martin, in consequence of which sixty pieces of cannon, an immense quantity of ammunition, and two thousand prisoners, were obtained by the invading army.

The Austro-Sardinians had now recourse to a new system, and endeavoured to prevent the further progress of the French, first by means of partial attacks upon their advanced posts, and next by a defensive system calculated to prolong the war. But in neither did they prove successful, for they were completely beaten towards the end of autumn, and forced to seek shelter under the walls of Alexandria.

Having thus wrested the key of Italy from the King of Sardinia, it will be seen in the sequel, that its fine provinces were destined to grace the triumph of an ambitious nation.

But the Vendean war still appeared to be interminable, notwithstanding the inflated accounts of the leaders who had fought, and the deputies on mission who had witnessed, and not unfrequently countenanced, the scenes of horror that took place in that unhappy country. Previously to the fall of Robespierre, General Westermann had stated at the bar of the convention, "that of the rebel army, which once amounted to ninety thousand in the district of Mons alone, not a single combatant had escaped;" and he added, with a disgusting particularity, that "chiefs, officers, soldiers, bishops, countesses, and marchionesses, had all perished by the sword, the flames, or the waves."

Carrier, on his return from the insurgent departments, on the twenty-second of February, 1794, asserted, "that the number of

the banditti, and the nature of the war, had hitherto been alike unknown." According to him, the whole population of a space of more than four hundred square leagues had appeared in arms. In August, 1793, the rebels, he said, amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand men; but the victories of Martagne and Cholet had proved fatal to them, as their leader had acknowledged that the former battle cost them twenty thousand combatants." He hoped, however, "it would not be supposed that the war was terminated, for the country abounded in forests, and was covered with brushwood, which afforded a secure retreat to the disaffected; as a proof of which, the republicans at one time had passed through forty thousand insurgents who were concealed there."

Soon after the fall of that faction which protected his enormities both in the committee of public safety and the convention,

this deputy, who had disgraced his public character by a series of the most atrocious cruelties recorded in history, suffered the punishment due to his crimes; and it was now intended to employ policy as well as force, against men whose prejudices and whose courage appeared to be equally inveterate.

But, although France at length began to reap the fruits of so many victories, and the continental powers were reduced to the mortifying alternative of either acceding to a disgraceful peace, or persevering in a war, now become hopeless, one nation still defied her vengeance. In consequence of the position, naval strength, and financial resources of Great Britain, her inhabitants were enabled to contemplate the triumphs of their fleets, and behold an island in the Mediterranean, and many in the Atlantic conquered by the bravery and perseverance of their armies.

CHAPTER XV.

Cruise of the Channel Fleet—French Fleet sails—The two adverse Fleets meet—Obstinate Conflict continues three Days—Victory decided in favour of the British Fleet, commanded by Lord Howe—Naval History—Conquest of Corsica—New Constitution formed by the Cornican House of Representatives—Crown offered to and accepted by his Britannic Majesty.

ALTHOUGH events had not been propitious to the armies of the allies during the present campaign, the navy of England was destined to be uniformly triumphant. The Channel fleet, which during the last summer had achieved nothing worthy the reputation of its veteran commander, put to sea in the spring in search of an enemy that had hitherto eluded pursuit. Lord Howe was particularly solicitous upon the present occasion to vindicate the honour of his country, as well as to rescue his own character from an unmerited reproach; and the powerful armament now under his command left no doubt relative to the result of a contest.

On reaching the Lizard, a signal was made for the East Indiamen to proceed in their voyage under convoy of six sail of the line and a frigate, which were not to separate from them until their arrival off Cape Finisterre.

While Lord Howe sailed directly in quest of the enemy, who were expected to put to sea for the protection of a fleet chiefly laden with provisions from America, Rear-admiral Montague, after obeying his instructions relative to the merchantmen, was ordered to cruise in such a latitude as to be enabled either to rejoin the Channel squadron, or to intercept the French store ships, now become an object of infinite

importance to a country menaced not only by a combination of foreign and domestic foes, but suffering at the same time under the pressure of famine.

In the mean time the commander-in-chief, having received information on the 19th of May, from two of his frigates detached for that purpose, that the Brest fleet was at sea, deemed it proper to effect a junction with the squadron lately detached under Rear-admiral Montague, as soon as possible; but on hearing, two days afterwards, from some of the Lisbon convoy which he recaptured, that the enemy had been seen a few leagues further to the westward, he immediately altered his course, and steered in that direction.

During the former campaign, great care had been taken to avoid any contest with the English, but on the present occasion orders were transmitted to Vice-admiral Villaret-Joyeuse to protect the supplies from America at the risk of a battle. Jean Bon St. Andre, who had been employed at Brest to infuse a spirit of democracy into the seamen, acted on this occasion as a national commissioner, having embarked on board the flag-ship, carrying one hundred and twenty guns, and designated *La Montagne*, after the ruling party in the convention.

On the 28th of May, at eight o'clock in the morning, in north latitude 47° 33' W.

long. 14° 10' the rival fleets descried each other exactly at the same time; the wind blew strong from the south-west, accompanied by a very rough sea, and the French possessed the weathergage. After the advanced frigates had given intimation of this event, Earl Howe continued his course, while Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse endeavoured as much as possible to assume a regular order of battle upon the starboard tack, a circumstance that greatly facilitated the approach of the English. As the conduct of the enemy, who had now hauled their wind, indicated an intention to avoid a close fight, the British commander, at fifty-five minutes past one o'clock, displayed the signal for a general chase, and to prevent their escape, he soon after detached Admiral Pasley* to make an impression on their rear; that officer accordingly, near the close of day, came up with and attacked the *Revolutionnaire*, a three-decked ship of 110 guns, which happened to be the sternmost in the line; but his topmast being disabled during the action, Lord Hugh Seymour Conway, in the *Leviathan*, gallantly advanced and received her fire, which was tremendous, and by the time it was dark, Captain Parker of the *Audacious*, having arrived close to the rear ship, fought her also within the distance of half a cable's length, but without any decisive success on either side.

The rival fleets, consisting of twenty-six sail of the line on one part, and twenty-five on the other, remained within sight of each other during the whole night on the starboard tack, and in a parallel direction, with the French still to windward: but next morning, the 29th of May, Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse, flushed with the hopes of victory, wore from van to rear, and instead of flinching from the action, edged down in a line ahead to engage the van of the British fleet.

Lord Howe, taking advantage of so favourable an opportunity, renewed the signal for passing the adversary's line, and succeeded with some difficulty in obtaining the weathergage, while the enemy were repulsed by the *Barfleur* and two other three-deckers, in an attempt to cut off the *Queen* and *Royal George*. At length, Villaret-Joyeuse tacked again by signal, and, after a distant cannonade, stood away in order of battle on the larboard tack, followed by the whole of the British fleet, which still retained the weathergage.

The second day's action proved equally indecisive as the former, and a thick fog that intervened during this night and the greater part of the succeeding day, pre-

vented the renewal of the engagement. In the mean time, Rear-admiral Neilly joined the French commander-in-chief with a reinforcement of three sail of the line and two frigates, comprehending *Le Sanspareil* of 80 guns, and *Le Trajan* and *Le Téméraire* of 74 guns each, and *La Semillante* and *La Tamise* of 36 guns each; this accession of strength enabled him to detach his crippled ships, and the dawn of the succeeding day exhibited the two fleets drawn up in the following order of battle, and prepared to renew the contest. (23)

(23) The deficiency of French official accounts of their naval operations, is a subject of great regret. From whatever cause this may have arisen, the consequences have been very injurious to the interests of truth as well as to the reputation of that country. The partial and exaggerated statements of the British historians have passed current in the world for authentic narrative, and the British character and importance have been thereby exalted in an undue degree. The events of the late war, however, between America and England, have had the effect, as we have observed in a preceding note, of undeceiving the minds of the people of this country in regard to the degree of credit that ought to be given to British official narratives. Previous to that period they had been received with implicit belief, and the extraordinary feats of valour and patriotism recorded in them, contributed to excite those feelings of respect and admiration for the British name which were at one time visible in so considerable a portion of the American people. While the bulletins of the French commanders became proverbial for their supposed destitution of truth, the great majority of American readers would as little have thought of discrediting an English official statement as the most admitted truth in history. Since that period the public opinion has undergone a sensible change. The exaggerations, the gross mistatements, and the want of candour that marked the official letters of almost all the British commanders, surprised and disgusted the people of this country. It became then generally known, for the first time, that the British vessels of war carried many more guns than they were nominally rated at, and that the number of seamen was considerably greater than was publicly stated. It was found also by comparing their letters with those of the American officers, that their loss in action was greatly diminished, and the force of the American vessels, as well as their loss, grossly exaggerated. Thus, in publishing the account of an action between a British and an American frigate, each rated at 38 guns, it was usual for the British commanders to describe it as an engagement between a British frigate of 38 guns and an American frigate of 49 guns. This ungenerous attempt to magnify the force of an enemy was not confined to the case of single vessels, and every American remembers how grossly devoid of truth were the accounts published in the British journals of the victories on Lakes Erie and Champlain. Where so much incorrectness has been discovered in their statements in regard to one country, it is natural to doubt their accuracy in respect to others; and if we subject their relations of victories over the French to as strict an examination as those in respect to America, we shall probably find reason to entertain a different opinion of the splendour of their achievements, from what is carefully promulgated in English histories. In the British ar-

*The Rear-admiral commanded a flying squadron, consisting of the *Bellerophon*, *Russel*, *Marlborough*, and *Thunderer*.

English Line of Battle, June 1, 1794.

		STARBOARD DIVISION.			
		<i>Names of Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>	
Van S.	1st Division.	1. Cæsar (the leading ship of the van division)	80 .	Capt. A. J. Molloy.	
		2. Bellerophon,	74 .	{ **R. Ad. Pasley.	
		3. Leviathan,	74 .	{ *W. Hope.	
		4. Russel,	74 .	{ *Lord H. Seymour.	
		5. Marlborough,	74 .	{ *J. W. Payne.	
	2d Division.	6. Royal Sovereign,	104 .	{ Hon. G. Berkley.	
		7. Defence,	74 .	{ **V. Ad. Graves.	
		8. Impregnable,	98 .	{ *H. Nicols.	
		9. Tremendous,	74 .	{ *J. Gambier.	
		The Audacious after the first day's action had been obliged to return to port.			
	1st Division	10. Invincible,	74 .	{ R. Ad. Caldwell.	
		11. Barfleur,	98 .	{ G. B. Wescott.	
		12. Culloden,	74 .	{ J. Pigott.	
		13. Gibraltar,	80 .	{ *Hon. T. Pakenham.	
14. Queen Charlotte,		100 .	{ **R. Ad. Bowyer.		
Centre S.	2d Div.	15. Brunswick,	74 .	{ C. Collingwood.	
		16. Valiant,	74 .	{ Is. Schomberg.	
		17. Orion,	74 .	{ T. Makenzie.	
		18. Queen,	90 .	{ **Ad. Earl Howe.	
		19. Ramilies,	74 .	{ **Sir R. Curtis.	
	1st Div.	20. Alfred,	74 .	{ **Sir A. Douglas.	
		21. Royal George,	100 .	{ J. Harvey.	
		22. Montagu,	74 .	{ *T. Pringle.	
		23. Majestic,	74 .	{ *J. F. Duckworth.	
		24. Glory,	98 .	{ **R. Ad. Gardner.	
	2d Div.	25. Thunderer,	74 .	{ J. Hutt.	
		LARBOARD DIVISION.			
		26. Royal George,	100 .	{ *H. Harvey.	
27. Montagu,		74 .	{ J. Bazeley.		
Rear S.	1st Div.	28. Royal George,	100 .	{ **V. A. Sir A. Hood.	
		29. Montagu,	74 .	{ *W. Domett.	
		30. Majestic,	74 .	{ J. Montagu.	
		31. Glory,	98 .	{ C. Cotton.	
		32. Thunderer,	74 .	{ J. Elphinstone.	
	2d Div.	33. Thunderer,	74 .	{ A. Bertie.	
		25 ships of the line.			
		2032 guns.			

count, for instance, of the victory of Lord Howe, in page 126, we find the number of British ships of the line stated at 25. Now, the French commissioner, Jean Bon St. Andre, in his report to the National Convention, states them at 36, and the number of French vessels at 26, which agrees with Lord Howe's account. There is no more reason why we should give greater credit to the latter than to the former. The statement too, in ext, of the comparative force of the two fleets is manifestly incorrect. The British ships of the line, it is well known, carry in general between 80 and 90 guns, although rated only at 74, and the larger vessels a proportionably greater number, whereas the French ships of the line carry only the number of guns they rate. In Lord Howe's list, however, we find the force of his own vessels computed according to their rates, and the French vessels according to the number of guns they actually carried. If, therefore (giving full credit to the

English statement of the number of their vessels), we add together the number of guns *actually* on board each English ship, we shall find that Lord Howe's fleet carried about 2300 guns, while their opponents mounted only 2144. In the list also of French vessels we find included the *Tyrannicide* of 74 guns, which took no part in the action, while the *Audacious*, an English vessel of the same force, and disabled under the same circumstances, is excluded by the English writer from the computation. Notwithstanding this great disparity of force, and the still greater inferiority of the French in discipline and experience, in consequence of the emigration of the ancient marine officers, the victory was long doubtful. The French fought with the utmost resolution, and the injury their antagonists received is proved by the fact that Lord Howe was compelled to return to port without effecting the object for which he sailed, namely, the capture of the French West India convoy.

The following *Frigates, Sloops, Cutters, &c.* also attended the British fleet.

1. Niger, . . . 32,	Repeating Frigate to the Van S. . .	Hon. H. K. Legge.
2. Pegasus, . . . 28,	Repeating Frigate to the Centre S. . .	Capt. R. Barlow.
3. Agillon, . . . 32,	Repeating Frigate to the Rear S. . .	H. R. Stopford.
4. Phæton, . . . 36,	Captain W. Bentinck.
5. Latona, . . . 36,	E. Thornborough.
6. Southampton, 32,	Hon. R. Forbes.
7. Venus, . . . 32,	W. Brown.
8. Charon, . . . 44,	(hospital-ship,)	G. Countess.
9. Comet, . . . 14,	(fire-ship,)	W. Bradley.
10. Incendiary, 14,	(fire-ship,)	J. Cooke.
11. King's-fisher, 18,	(sloop,)	M. Gosselin.
12. Ranger, . . . 14,	(cutter,)	Lieut. C. Cotgrave.
13. Rattler, . . . 14,	(cutter,)	J. Wayne.

✂ The flag officers marked thus ** were afterwards presented with a gold medal and chain and the captains marked thus * were presented with a gold medal.

French Line of Battle, June 1, 1794.

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>
1. La Convention,	74	
2. Le Gasparin,	74	
3. *L'Amerique,	74	
4. Le Terrible,	110	Rear-admiral Bouvet.
5. *L'Impetueux,	74	
6. L'Eole,	74	
7. Le Mucius,	74	
8. Le Tourville,	74	
9. Le Trajan,	74	
10. Le Trente un Mai,	74	
Le Tyrannicide,	74	(out of the line.)
11. L' Audacieux,	74	
12. *Le Juste,	80	
13. La Montagne,	120	{ Jean Bon St. Andre, (Nat. Com.) Vice Ad. Villaret. Joyeuse, Capt. Basile.
14. Le Jacobin,	80	
15. *Achille,	74	
16. Le Patriote,	74	
17. †Le Vengeur,	74	
18. *Le Northumberland,	74	
19. Le Gemappe,	80	
20. L'Entreprenant,	74	(Broad pendant.)
21. Neptune,	74	
22. Le Republican,	118	Rear-admiral Neilly.
23. *Le Sanspareil,	74	
24. Scipion,	80	
25. Le Mont-Blanc,	74	
26. Le Pelletier,	74	(Broad pendant.)
—	—	—
26 ships of the line.	2144 guns.	

Frigates.

La Proserpine.	La Précieuse.	La Félicité.	La Galathée.
La Résolue.	La Surprise.	La Tamise.	La Bellone.
La Gentile.	La Náyade.	L'Insurgente.	La Semillante.

Corvettes.

Le Maireguiton.	Le Papillon.	L'Atalante.	La Mutine.
Le Jean Bart.	Le Furet.	Le Courier.	La Muche.

✂ The six ships marked by an asterisk * were captured upon this occasion, and the ship denoted thus † sunk.

The British admiral, perceiving that there was time sufficient for the various ships' companies to take refreshment, made a signal for breakfast, an event which, by procrastinating the action, induced the enemy to believe that their antagonists wished to decline the engagement. But they were miserably disappointed, for in about half an hour, Lord Howe, relaxing the usual sternness of his countenance into a smile, with joy and hope at the same time beaming in his eye, gave orders for steering the Royal Charlotte, on board of which was flying the signal for close action, alongside the French admiral. This was accordingly effected at nine o'clock in the morning, and, by an extraordinary display of seamanship on the part of her master, Mr. Bowen, he was enabled to assume a most excellent position, so as to be able to contend with advantage against a vessel far superior in point of size; and while some of the English commanders penetrated the line of battle and engaged to leeward, others occupied such stations as allowed them to combat with their antagonists to windward.

So close and severe was the contest, that the fate of this day depended but little either on the exertion of nautical knowledge, or the exhibition of that scientific skill which subjects the management of artillery to the rules of tactics. All was hard fighting. Yet upon this occasion, when the drapery of the tri-coloured flag not unfrequently intermingled with that of the British cross, and the muzzles of the guns of many ships belonging to the hostile fleets almost touched each other, the superiority of the English seamen was eminently conspicuous. Disciplined into war, the undaunted eye, the steady arm, the animated countenance, denoted that they were not unacquainted with the element on which they fought; and while the shot of the enemy made little havoc on decks where there were no useless men, every broadside spread death and desolation through the crowded vessels of their antagonists.*

Such was the tremendous fire, and so decisive the advantage, on the part of the British, that in about fifty minutes after the action had commenced in the centre, Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse determined to relinquish the contest; for he now perceived several

of his ships dismasted, and one of seventy-four guns about to sink; he at the same time found that six were captured; a great slaughter had also taken place on board his own vessel, in which his captain, Basile, and a multitude of the crew were killed, while the national commissioner, with most of his officers, were wounded. He accordingly crowded off with all the canvass he could spread, and was immediately followed by most of the ships in his van, that were not completely crippled; two or three of these, although dismantled, also got away soon afterwards, under a temporary sail, hoisted on the occasion; for the enemy had, as usual, chiefly aimed at the rigging, and the victors were by this time disabled from pursuing the vanquished: the Queen Charlotte in particular, which, but for an unlucky broadside from Le Jacobin, would have captured her antagonist, was at this period nearly unmanageable, having lost her foretopmast in action; this was soon afterwards followed by the main-topmast, which fell over the side; while the Brunswick, which had lost her mizenmast, and the Queen, which was also disabled, drifted to leeward, and were exposed to considerable danger from the retreating fleet. Two eighty, and five seventy-four gun ships,* however, still remained in possession of the victors, but one of the latter went down soon after she was taken possession of.

The slaughter on the part of the English was not so great as might have been expected. Captain Montagu, of the Montagu, happened to be the only commander who fell during the engagement. Several officers of distinction, however, suffered in the course of the day: Vice-admiral Graves, the honourable G. Berkley, and Captain J. Harvy,† were among the wounded; and

* List of French ships captured, June 1, 1794:

Le Juste	80
Le Sanspareil	80
L'Amerique	74
L'Achille	74
Le Northumberland	74
L'Impetueux	74
Le Vengeur (sunk between five and six o'clock at night)	74

† Captain J. Harvy of the Brunswick, who had conducted himself with distinguished bravery during the action, died a few days after his return to Portsmouth, of a fever accompanied by a delirium; Captain Hutt, of the Queen, also perished in a similar manner. These two gallant officers were thus prevented from receiving the rewards so justly due to their valour; but the Rear-admirals Bowyer and Pauley were created baronets, and received a pension of £1000 each per annum. Admiral Graves and Sir Alexander Hood had the honours of the peerage conferred upon them. Earl Howe was presented with a diamond-hilted sword of great value, by the king in person, on board the Queen Charlotte at Spithead; and also

* Comparative estimate of killed and wounded:

	Killed	Wounded	Total
On board the six French ships taken	690	580	1270
On board six of the English ships that suffered most	125	335	460
Surplus killed and wounded on the part of the French	565	245	810

the Rear-admirals Pasley and Bowyer, and Captain Hutt of the *Queen*, lost a leg each.

Never did a British fleet exhibit greater eagerness to engage, or evince more ardour in battle, than was displayed upon this occasion. The commander-in-chief, whose vigour appeared unabated either by age, that usually emasculates the mind, or disease, that is always supposed to enervate the body, not only gave the signal, but also the example of close fight, and he was, in general, ably seconded by the admirals and captains under him. The crews of all the ships displayed a degree of steady valour, that could not fail to ensure victory; and so conspicuous was the spirit and discipline everywhere prevalent, that when a commander was either killed or severely wounded, the next officer in rank continued the fight with unyielding valour.

On the other hand, due praise ought to be given to the enemy, who, according to the British admiral, "waited for the action, and sustained the attack with their customary resolution."* Notwithstanding the reinforcement that had been received previously to the signal contest that followed two undecided engagements, their manifest inferiority in every point was conspicuous; and when it is recollected that nearly all the officers of the royal marine were precluded by their birth from serving upon this occasion, but a small portion of either skill or discipline could be expected. However, if the crews were deficient in respect to these qualifications, they must be allowed not to have been wanting in enthusiasm; and although their intrepidity has been perhaps exaggerated, certain it is, that the French navy never displayed a greater degree of bravery than on this occasion. One ship,† on a former day, appears to have engaged three of ours in succession; and, on the present occasion, another that had struck, was fired into by one of her con-

with a golden chain, to which was suspended a medal, with victory crowning Britannia on the obverse, and on the reverse a wreath of oak and laurel, encircling his lordship's name, and the date of the action.

In December, 1796, his majesty was also pleased to transmit gold chains and medals to the following flag officers and captains, who were reported by Lord Howe to have signalized themselves during the battle with the French fleet;

Vice-admirals Sir A. Hood, T. Graves, Rear-admirals A. Gardner, G. Bowyer, T. Pasley, Sir R. Curtis, Captains W. Hope, Elphinstone, Hon. T. Pakenham, J. T. Duckworth, Sir A. Douglas, H. Harvy, W. Domett, H. Nichols, J. W. Payne, T. Pringle.

* Letter from Earl Howe, dated "Queen Charlotte, at sea, June 2d, 1794," published June 10, in the *London Gazette Extraordinary*.

† *La Revolutionnaire*.

sorts, and forced once more to hoist her colours. On board a third,‡ after the lower deck guns were under water, and destruction inevitable, they continued to fire their upper tier; and at the moment the ship went to the bottom, the air resounded with the cry of "*Vive la Republique! Vive la liberte, et la France!*"

The skill of the admiral also ought not to be overlooked, for on the 29th it was thought by some of the British officers that his order of battle was admirable; and even after he broke the line on the 1st of June, instead of making directly for port, he collected such of his scattered ships as had experienced but little damage, and by affecting to renew the engagement, enabled two or three of the dismantled vessels to escape.

In the mean time, Admiral Montague, who had repaired to England, whence he was immediately despatched to join Earl Howe, sailed for Brest, partly with a view to fall in with the commander-in-chief, and partly on purpose to pick up any crippled ships which, in case of an action, might take shelter in that port: he accordingly encountered some of the retreating squadron, and chased them into the outer road. On the succeeding day, he espied the main body under Villaret-Joyeuse; but notwithstanding the late fatal conflict, that commander formed an admirable line of battle, and gave chase; while the fleet from America, consisting of one hundred and sixty sail of merchantmen, supposed to be worth several millions sterling, but invaluable on account of the distressed state of France, arrived in safety on the 12th of June.

Lord Howe now deemed it proper to conduct the six ships captured from the enemy into port, being unable to keep the sea, on account of the disabled state of his own squadron. He accordingly steered for England, arrived safe off Dunnoose, in the Isle of Wight, on the 13th of June, and in course of the same day, returned thanks for "the highly distinguished examples of resolution, spirit, and perseverance which had been testified by every description of officers, seamen, and military corps, in the ships of the fleet, during the several actions with the enemy, on the 28th and 29th of May, and 1st of June."

Thus ended a cruise, which, although one of the objects had not been attained, yet conferred not only the dominion of the narrow seas, but the sceptre of the ocean, on Great Britain: While the French convention, inflamed by the delusive eloquence of Barrere, and the exaggerated report of

‡ *Le Vengeur*

Jean Bon St. Andre, gave orders to hang up the model of the Vengeur, the crew of which had long contended hand to hand with an enemy's ship of the same rate,* in the Pantheon, the English nation exhibited unbounded joy at a victory in some measure necessary to its independence. The metropolis, and many of the provincial cities and towns, were illuminated during three nights in succession; the parliament passed a vote of thanks; large sums of money were subscribed for the benefit of the widows and children of those killed in action; and the king repaired to Spithead, on purpose to congratulate in person the gallant admiral, officers, and seamen, who had performed such brilliant achievements.

The British fleet, after it had been refitted, again put to sea, but the enemy was so completely humbled, that the Brest fleet never ventured out until Lord Howe had returned to port, and instead of making captures, they actually lost five sail of the line.

The success of the British navy, in the course of this year, was nearly uniform, both in respect to squadrons and single ships.

On the 23d of April, Sir John Borlase Warren had signalized himself by the defeat of a small French squadron in an engagement off Guernsey; in which, after two hours' fighting, and some hours of close pursuit, four sail were captured from the enemy. In the month of August, he pursued five other French ships of war off Sicily, and driving two of them under the batteries of Gamelle rocks, would have proceeded to burn them; but, with a generosity worthy of his courage, abstained from the last rigours of war against an unfortunate enemy, whose wounded must have perished had he set their vessels on fire. Several combats of single ships displayed, during the campaign, the superiority of our seamen in a most brilliant light. Of these, the action of Captain Nagle of the Artois with the Revolutionnaire, and others, might be mentioned. Nor did the loss of the Alexander of 74 guns, in the month of November, tarnish the reputation of the British arms, though the unusual spectacle of such a prize was resounded through France as an immortal achievement. (24) This vessel, which had parted from the division of Ad-

miral Bligh, and could not rejoin it, was attacked off Brest by three French seventy-fours, which she engaged, and resisted for two hours, and it was not till her lower masts were on the point of going by the board, that she reluctantly struck to this disparity of force.

The progress of the English arms in the Mediterranean, subsequent to the evacuation of Toulon, was also flattering. Early in the month of February, Lord Hood proceeded for Corsica, which was in a state of revolt against the convention, the inhabitants being excited to this resistance by the influence of their ancient and popular chief, Paschal Paoli, who had been some years since restored to his country with honour by the constituent assembly. Mortella, Tornelli, and St. Fiorenza being successively surrendered or evacuated, the Corsicans, who adhered to the French interest, retreated to Bastia, which held out till the 24th of May, when it capitulated on honourable terms; and the whole island, excepting Calvi, which held out till August, submitted to the English. Letters of convocation were forthwith issued for the assembly of the general consulta, to be held at Corte, the ancient capital of Corsica, on Sunday, the 8th of June, of which General Paoli was elected president. The representatives of the Corsican people immediately voted the union of Corsica with the British crown, and a constitutional act was framed similar to the French constitution, of 1791. Sir Gilbert Elliot, representative of his Britannic majesty, formally accepted this act in the name of his majesty, and immediately assumed the title of viceroy. The most remarkable features of this democratic form of monarchy were, the establishment of the right of universal suffrage; the dissolution of the legislative body at the end of two years; no senate or house of nobles; municipalities chosen by the people in every pier or district; and lastly, an unlimited toleration without tests or penal disabilities. The inherent sovereignty of the people is not only implied in the formation of this constitution, by a national convention "possessed," as the preamble of the act says, "of a specific authority for this purpose," but expressly recognised; for the viceroy declared his acceptance of it, "on the part of the sovereign King of Corsica, George III. King of Great Britain," says, "If his majesty therefore accepts the crown which you have agreed to offer him, it is because he is determined to protect and never to enslave those from whom he receives it, and above all, because it is given, and not seized upon by violence."

* The Brunswick, Captain J. Harvey.

(24) No French account of this engagement has, we believe, been published. When it is considered how well the French ships were fought in the action of the 1st of June, we are led to doubt the accuracy of a statement, in which one English 74 gun ship is represented to have maintained an engagement of two hours against three French vessels, carrying altogether 222 guns.

CHAPTER XVI.

Melancholy State of France under the Reign of Terror—Abolition of the Slave-trade—The Honour of the Pantheon voted to Rousseau—Hebert, Ronsin, Cloutz, and their Associates guillotined—Trial and Execution of Danton, Eglantine, and their Party—Execution of General Dillon and Madame Desmoulins—Of Malesherbes and Baron Trenck—Of the Princess Elizabeth and twenty-five other Persons—Decline of the Power of Robespierre—The Tyrant's Fall.

FROM the ensanguined plains of the theatre of war, we turn to the no less sanguinary, yet much more revolting scenes of the French capital. At this moment, the legislative body was only a scene of faction and depravity, and the convention was the great stage on which bad men contended for power. The progress of faction, from its first successful attempt at anarchy to its termination in the despotism of an individual, will form a curious and interesting topic for the historian, and will serve to illustrate the truth, that slight is the division between licentiousness and slavery. Scarcely had the republican party, in 1792, accomplished the overthrow of the constitution, than they became themselves divided into two opposite and inveterate factions, that of the *Gironde* and that of the *Mountain*. The latter had no sooner obtained a horrid and sanguinary ascendancy over their unfortunate opponents, than a second division took place, and a contest equally violent with the former now lay between the Jacobins and the Cordeliers. In the midst however of terror and of death, there are to be found some incidents that tend to soothe and solace the feelings of afflicted humanity.

On the third of February, three deputies from the island of St. Domingo were received into the convention, as representatives of that place; one of them was a negro, and the other two were of that description of persons called men of colour. On the succeeding day, the deputies gave an account of the troubles in that island; and they had no sooner concluded, than Lacroix rose to move the entire abolition of slavery within the dominions of France. The national convention rose spontaneously to decree the proposition of Lacroix; and the men of colour were all declared to be French citizens. A most affecting scene took place, and a female negro who attended the sitting fainted with joy at the passing of the decree. On the motion of Danton, on the 5th, the convention resolved to refer to the committee of public safety the decree of emancipation, in order that they might provide the most effectual and safe means of carrying it into effect, lest "the too sudden transition from slavery to liberty might prove fatal

to those for whose advantage the vote had been decreed." (25)

At this period, it was resolved by the convention, that the remains of the famous Jean Jacques Rousseau should be deposited in the beautiful church of St. Genevieve, now styled the Pantheon. The president upon that occasion said, "This illustrious patriot had left excellent lessons to mankind, to love liberty, morality, and the divinity. These lessons will for ever confound those false philosophers who profess to believe neither in a providence nor in a Supreme Being—the only consolation of mankind in their last moments." Religion was now again the order of the day in the national convention. The number of public executions, upon the most frivolous and wanton pretences, still continued, nevertheless, to be almost incredible. M. Palissot, a dramatic author, who had many years before written a comedy in ridicule of Rousseau, was now destined to expiate this offence with his life. He wrote to the municipality an acknowledgment of his error, and of the merits of Rousseau; "Yet," said he, "if Rousseau was a god, you ought not to sacrifice human victims to him." This striking expression produced its effect, and Palissot was released from his imprisonment.

In the course of some of the preceding sittings, a committee of subsistence had been appointed, and on the 17th of February, they brought up to the bar of the convention a table of the *maximum*, or highest prices at which the necessaries of life should be sold throughout the republic. The table comprehended provisions, clothing, grocery, fuel, and military stores; but so far was this measure from alleviating the evils of want with which the French nation was at that time visited, that it greatly increased their number, and aggravated their pressure.

(25) How much it is to be regretted, that a similar degree of caution was not used by the French themselves, in respect to their own emancipation. What blood and misery might have been spared, had they contented themselves with a gradual progress towards freedom, and made the people capable of governing themselves before they made them their own masters.

The prodigies of valour performed by the republican armies, and the successes achieved by them during the latter months of the preceding campaign, in some degree opened the eyes of the confederate princes, and, from the proceedings of the convention at this period, it appears that some secret advances had been made on the part of the allies to establish a truce for two years between the belligerent powers. In a report made by Barrere early in the month of February, from the committee of public safety, he declared, "that the coalesced kings were willing *provisionally* to acknowledge the French republic." This was followed by loud bursts of laughter. "Well," said the orator, "let us *provisionally* destroy all tyrannical governments." The bursts of laughter changed to acclamations of applause. A few days afterwards, the president of the convention, adverting to this proposition, exclaimed, "What singular generosity is this towards a nation of twenty-five millions of souls, which has 1,200,000 heroes in arms! Depend, citizens, on the incorruptible Mountain. It is against this rock that our enemies are wasting their strength!" Such was the unshaken and well-founded confidence, which, in the midst of internal discord and distraction, was placed by the existing government of France in the spirit and resources of the country.

At the head of the faction of the Cordeliers were Hebert, Ronsin, Anacharsis Clootz, styled the apostle of atheism, &c.—men who, to conciliate the populace, adopted the wildest theories, decried all religion, preached equality in the absurdest extent, and recommended publicly an agrarian law. In the beginning of March, the table of the Rights of Man, in the hall of the Cordeliers, was covered with black crape; and Hebert, from the tribune of the society, affirmed that tyranny existed in the republic. This was sufficient to arouse the jealousy of Robespierre. Virtue and ferocity were declared in the convention, by Couthon, to be the requisite order of the day; and on the 25th of March, Hebert, Ronsin, Clootz, and many others of the same association, were arrested, and brought before the revolutionary tribunal, and of course condemned to the guillotine.

But what excited still more amazement, was the arrest of Danton, Fabre d'Eglantine, Lacroix, Chabot, Phillipeaux, Camille Desmoulins, Delaunay, d'Angers, Hérault de Sechelles, the Abbe d'Espagnac, Gusman, the two Freys, Diendrichen, Lullier, and General Westermann. On the 2d of April, the accused were brought before the revolutionary tribunal, and after a kind of mock trial, Danton, Camille Desmoulins,

Lacroix, Phillipeaux, Sechelles, and Westermann, were found guilty of plotting to effect a counter-revolution for the re-establishment of monarchy! by the destruction of the national representation and the republican government; and all the other prisoners, with the exception of Lullier, who was acquitted, were convicted of corrupt practices. At two o'clock in the afternoon of the 5th of April, sentence of death was pronounced upon the prisoners, and within three hours they were conveyed in carts from the Conciergerie to the place where state prisoners were usually executed. Danton, who suffered the last, when he was tied to the plank, cast up his eyes to the fatal axe, and his countenance and figure assumed an air of magnanimity, with which the spectators were deeply penetrated.* It is a singular circumstance,

* DANTON.—J. G. Danton, an advocate to the council, was born at Arcis-sur-Aube, on the 26th of October, 1759. His height was colossal, his make athletic, his features strongly marked, coarse and displeasing; his voice shook the domes of the hall, his elocution was vehement, and his images gigantic. These qualities contributed to give him influence in the districts, at the beginning of the revolution. He was successively the friend of Mirabeau, of Marat, and of Robespierre, whose victim he became. In 1790 he called on the national assembly, in the name of the forty-eight sections of Paris, to require Louis XVI. to give up his ministers, who had lost the confidence of the nation. In February, 1791, he was elected member for the department of Paris. In November, he was appointed deputy-attorney for the commune of Paris. His power in the metropolis increased greatly. In 1792 he was one of those who organized the sanguinary scenes of August 10th, by appearing on the 8th at the bar of the assembly, to declare that if the king's deposition were not decreed, the section of Cordeliers would rise and trample on the government. Louis XVI. having been removed from the throne on the 10th, Danton became a member of the provisional executive council, obtained the appointment of administrator of justice, and accepted the nomination of agents to the army, and to the departments, which gave him opportunities of engaging many in his interests. No sooner was he admitted into the ministry, than he employed himself with great success in awakening that spirit of military enthusiasm which, by its influence, at first checked, and ultimately expelled the allied armies from the territories of the republic. On the third of September, the entrance of the Prussians into Champagne spread consternation through the metropolis, and disturbed the members of the government. All the ministers, the distinguished deputies, and Robespierre himself, who was then apprehensive of Brissot, assembled at the house of Danton, who alone retaining his courage, seized in a manner all power, dictated the measures of defence which were then taken, and prevented the assembly from removing to the other side of the Loire. At this time began that inveterate hatred which Robespierre nourished against him, who never forgave the ascendancy Danton had then exercised, and cunning at last triumphed over hardihood. The department of Paris having elected Danton to the convention, he proposed, at the very first meeting,

well worthy of remark in this place, that in the short space of two years, almost every individual of the principal actors of the 10th of August, was brought to a violent death; all property should be secured by a decree: he had a law passed declaring all citizens admissible to the office of judge, and he reproached the old magistracy with its servility and attachment to monarchy.

On the 25th of September, the Girondins gave warning that the department of Paris to which he belonged was brooding on a scheme for a dictatorship. This accusation took its rise from the papers of Marat; the charge was repelled with vehemence by Danton, who condemned Marat, representing him as the would-be king of the republican party, and by his means, the punishment of death was awarded against all who should attempt to scatter dissension, or establish tyranny in France.—About the end of October he became one of the revolutionary committee; was president of the Jacobins, when Dumouriez appeared before them, with a promise of delivering the people from tyranny, and told him, that he too desired to see the pike and the red cap triumph over crowns and sceptres. On his return from a mission to Holland, where he, with La Croix of Eure and Loire, had occasioned the most violent tumults, he voted for the king's death, brought on the war with Spain, and strove to appease the contentions of the Jacobins and Girondins.—On the 25th of July, 1793, he was chosen president, and on the first of August, proposed to erect the committee of public safety into a provisional government; and in that capacity he obtained a decree ordaining public education and national establishments, where the children should be gratuitously taught, fed and lodged. On the 26th of November, the festivals called those of Reason, at which the Hebertists presided, induced him to declaim once more against the unseasonable attacks made on the ministers of divine worship, and even proposed to consecrate a day to the Supreme Being; "for," said he, "we did not strive to annihilate superstition for the sake of establishing the reign of atheism." After the death of Hebert, the hatred which subsisted between Robespierre and Danton was converted into open war. Danton was desirous of overturning that despotism which Robespierre exercised over the committee, and Robespierre, with more address, sought to destroy Danton, in order to free himself from a dangerous rival. With this view, Saint Just, a creature of the tyrant Robespierre, lodged an information against him with the committee of public safety, and he was arrested in the night of March the 31st, 1794, with those who were called his accomplices. At his trial before the revolutionary tribunal, when asked the usual question respecting his name and residence, he replied, "My residence will soon be a nonentity, but my name will live for ever in the Pantheon of history!" To the president, who reproached him with his boldness, he said, "Individual boldness is, doubtless, reprehensible; but national boldness, of which I have given so many examples, is allowable and even necessary, and I glory in possessing it!"—Conviction of course followed his trial, and on his return to the Conciergerie he exclaimed, "It is the anniversary of the day on which I caused the institution of the revolutionary tribunal, for which I implore pardon of God and men! I leave every thing in dreadful confusion: there is not one among them that understands any thing of government. After all, they are such brethren as Cain; Brissot would have had me guillotined, even as Robes-

pierre has me guillotined." When somewhat recovered from his first paroxysms, he ascended the fatal cart with resolution, and without resistance. One thought, one feeling, turned towards his family, and affected him for a moment. "Oh, my wife, my best beloved," cried he, "I shall see thee no more!" Suddenly breaking short, however, he exclaimed, "Danton, no weakness!" and immediately ascended the scaffold, and met his fate.

The execution of Danton and his fellow sufferers was followed by that of General Arthur Dillon, who had formerly commanded that division of the French army which, in the campaign of 1792, had so gallantly repulsed the Prussians: the general had been accused, along with Madame Desmoulins, of a plot to overturn the government, and fell a sacrifice to those bloodthirsty counsels by which the government of France was now directed. The prisons of Paris were, during this reign of terror, crowded with victims from all parts of the country, and at one period their number is said to have amounted to between seven and eight thousand! In contemplating this black and dismal catalogue, the eye of humanity will be arrested by the fate of the venerable and intrepid defender of the unfortunate Louis XVI., Lamoignon Malesherbes; and they who have read the interesting memoirs of the eccentric, but persecuted Baron Trenck, will lament, that one whose life had been embittered by the ignominious cruelty of despotism, should at length be deprived of existence by a new kind of tyranny, and that in a country whither he had fled, in the hope of enjoying perfect liberty.

To enter on a particular detail of the multitudes who at this period were sacrificed by the unrelenting revolutionary tribunal, would be to enumerate a long catalogue of crimes. One illustrious victim it is, however, necessary to notice, one not less eminent for her purity and virtues, than for her rank and family. On the 10th of May, Fouquier Thiville, the public accuser, made a formal demand to the commune of Paris, that the sister of Louis XVI. the Princess Elizabeth, should be immediately delivered up to the revolutionary tribunal. On the same day, the unfortunate princess was conveyed to the Conciergerie, and on the 19th was brought before the inflexible judges. The trial was conducted in their usual summary way, and consisted only of a series of interrogatories, which were put to the prisoner. No witnesses were called; and the brutal conduct of the judges reminds us of the mock trials which were instituted in this

pierre has me guillotined." When somewhat recovered from his first paroxysms, he ascended the fatal cart with resolution, and without resistance. One thought, one feeling, turned towards his family, and affected him for a moment. "Oh, my wife, my best beloved," cried he, "I shall see thee no more!" Suddenly breaking short, however, he exclaimed, "Danton, no weakness!" and immediately ascended the scaffold, and met his fate.

country in the corrupt and tyrannical reign of James II.—When questioned, as to what the judges termed the conspiracy of July, 1789, she simply answered, that she had no knowledge of any such conspiracy, and the events which then took place, she was incapable either of foreseeing or seconding. She admitted that she accompanied her brother in his flight to Varennes; but when questioned with respect to the “orgies of the body-guard,” she declared, that she was totally uninformed of their having happened, and had no concern in them. With equal firmness and dignity, she repelled some ridiculous charges relative to her conduct on the 10th of August, 1792; and with respect to the diamonds, which it was alleged she had sent to the Count d’Artois, she declared that she only placed them in the hands of M. Choiseul, as a trusty person, and knew not what was become of them. She utterly denied having maintained any correspondence with the emigrants, even her brothers; and when charged with having encouraged her nephew in the hopes of succeeding to his father’s throne, she replied,—“I have conversed familiarly with that unfortunate child, who is dear to me on more than one account, and I gave him all those consolations which appeared to me likely to reconcile him to the loss of those who had given him birth.” This reply was construed into a confession that she had encouraged the child in these fallacious hopes, and without further interrogatory she was condemned.

The unfortunate princess was nobly supported in the last scene by the consolations of religion. She betrayed some emotion at the first sight of the guillotine; but she presently resumed a look of pious resignation, and was executed the last of twenty-six persons who were carried to the scaffold on the same day.

In order to demonstrate that the most atrocious acts may be as intimately associated with religious hypocrisy as with open profaneness, a grand festival was, a few days afterwards (June 8), observed in honour of the Supreme Being! The president of the convention, from the midst of a spacious amphitheatre adorned with festoons and garlands, made an oration to the immense surrounding multitude, exhorting them to adore the great Author of nature. During the performance of a solemn symphony, he descended from the tribune armed with the torch of truth; and approached a hideous monster representing atheism, which, on being touched by the torch, instantly vanished, and the resplendent figure of wisdom occupied its place. Such are the gaudy shows which human folly has ever been eager to substitute for rational

devotion, and in which the divine simplicity of pure religion is obscured and lost.

No sooner had Robespierre reached the summit of power, than the basis on which it stood seemed to totter under him. After the proscription and immolation of thousands to his own safety, tortured by ceaseless suspicion and remorse, he sought in vain to convert his couch of thorns into a bed of roses. That terror which he had infused into the minds of all, at length appeared to have taken entire possession of his own. He was continually haunted with the apprehensions of approaching death: solitary and abstracted in the midst of company, he seemed to hear only the cries of the victims whom he had sacrificed; and to discern, through the medium of a disturbed vision, naught but mystic characters which portended his speedy and inevitable destruction.

On the 10th of June, Bourdon de l’Oise, a member of the conventional assembly, had the courage to demand that the decree which affirmed the inviolability of the national representatives should be again established; and that no member should be brought before the revolutionary tribunal but in consequence of a decree of accusation passed by the assembly itself, instead of an order from the committee of safety, where Robespierre, and the vile instruments of his horrible tyranny, Couthon and St. Just, bore absolute sway. This was carried, before the tyrant could recover from his surprise. From this time, the party formed against him rapidly increased, and even his celebrated colleague, the artful, the penetrating, the insidious Barrere, took a secret, though efficient, part in plotting his overthrow.

The suspicions entertained by the tyrant of his danger appeared from the successive speeches which he pronounced at the hall of the Jacobins at this period; and one in particular, on the 16th of July, in which he declared that a counter-revolutionary committee actually existed in the republic. That he meditated the speedy destruction of all those whom he now regarded as his enemies was manifest; and it was rumoured that he meant at the same time openly to assume the office of director of the republic. Whether he was aware that Barrere was of the number of his adversaries, is doubtful. That extraordinary man made, on the 23d of July, a speech in the convention, well calculated to lull him into a false security. “This government (said he) is odious on account of its energy. Let me conjure the convention not to sleep on its victories, but to strike terror among the conspirators.” On the 25th of July Robespierre delivered an oration in the convention, in which he plainly indicated his

future project. "What a terrible use (said he) have our enemies made of a word which at Rome was applied only to a public function!" The speech was heard with symptoms of contempt; many things in it contested; and it was evident that his influence in the convention was lost. This was the critical moment. The armed force of Paris, under Henriot, was still at his devotion; but his resolution, and even his sagacity, seemed to fail him; his popularity was evidently declining, and the applauses of the galleries attended the speeches of his opponents, who, on their part, perceived that they had already gone too far to recede.

In the sitting of the 9th of Thermidor (July 27), Billaud Varennes complained openly "that the armed force of Paris was intrusted to parricidal hands. Henriot (said he) was denounced as the accomplice of Hebert. One man alone had the audacity to support him. Need I name him?—Robespierre." He then proceeded to recount with energy his acts of blood and oppression: and accused him, without reserve, of harbouring an infamous design of making himself dictator. "In order to effect his purpose (said this orator) he was resolved to mutilate the convention, to leave there only men as vile as himself, and to inflict a fatal blow on the representatives of the people. I proclaim, I proclaim the tyranny of Robespierre." Bursts of applause resounded from all parts of the hall. Robespierre here, reddening with fury, darted towards the tribune, while a number of voices exclaimed "Down with the tyrant! down with the tyrant!" Loaded with universal imprecations, he was not suffered to speak in his own defence; and Tallien rose to congratulate the convention that the veil was at length withdrawn, and the real conspirators unmasked. "Every thing (said he) announces that the enemy of the nation is about to fall. In the house of that guilty man, who now stands humbled with the consciousness of detected crimes, and overwhelmed with that detestation which his infamous designs against liberty have so justly merited, were formed those lists of proscription which have stained with so much blood the altars of rising liberty. He copied the example of the detestable Sylla. His proscriptions were intended only to prepare the way for his own power and the establishment of a perpetual dictatorship.—Was it to subject ourselves to so object and degrading a tyranny that we brought to the scaffold the last of the Capets, that we declared eternal war against kings, and swore to establish liberty as the price of life? No! the spirit of liberty has not sunk so low. I invoke

the shade of the virtuous Brutus; like him, I have a poniard to rid my country of the tyrant, if the convention do not deliver him to the sword of justice. Let us, republicans, accuse him with the courage that springs from loyalty in the presence of the French people; and as it is of the utmost importance that the chiefs of the armed force do no mischief, I move that Henriot and all his staff be arrested. I move that our sittings be permanent until the sword of the law has secured to us this revolution. I also move that Robespierre and his creatures be immediately arrested." These motions were passed amidst tumults of applause.—Barrere was now called upon to speak in the name of the committee of public safety, and after proposing that the national guard resume its original organization, and that the mayor of Paris be responsible for the safety of the national representation, he joined without reserve in invectives against the fallen tyrant, "who has had the art," said he, "of wearing so many different masks; and when he had no longer occasion for his creatures, has made no scruple to send them to the guillotine, as Camille Desmoulins, Bazire, Chabot, and others."—Robespierre, lost in amazement and consternation, submitted without farther resistance to the decree of the convention, and was guarded by proper officers to the prison of the Luxembourg; the governor of which, being one of his creatures, refused to receive him; upon which he was conducted to the Hotel-de-Ville.

In the mean time, Henriot had found means to escape, and with the activity inspired by desperation, rallied his adherents. Dividing his forces into three bodies, he attempted at once to attack the Hotel-de-Ville, the committee of public safety, and the convention. The representatives of the people showed in this moment of danger much courage and presence of mind. No sooner were they apprized of the state of things, than they declared Robespierre and his accomplices outlaws and traitors. Barras was appointed commander-in-chief: and a proclamation was issued, exhorting the people to assert their liberty, and defend the national convention. The sections of Paris came in succession to the bar, and took an oath to acknowledge no authority but that of the convention. The president, Collot d'Herbois, in returning thanks to them in the name of the assembly, expressed his hope that the sun would not go down before the heads of the traitors should fall. In consequence of these measures, the troops of Henriot almost universally abandoned him; and he himself, with the remainder, took possession of the Hotel-de-

Ville. Here, at two hours after midnight, they were vigorously assaulted by a determined party of the conventional guard, headed by Bourdon de l'Oise and other commissioners of the convention, who rushed boldly forward into the hall of the commune. The insurgents, after a short and fruitless resistance, attempted in the last agonies of wild despair to turn their arms against themselves. Robespierre, already wounded in the side by a sabre, discharged a pistol in his mouth with no other effect than to shatter and disfigure his countenance. Le Bas shot himself dead upon the spot, and Couthon stabbed himself with a poniard. Henriot, while haranguing the populace from an upper window, was thrown down at their desire, and shockingly wounded by the violence of the fall. At six in the morning, the convention suspended its sitting. The victory being now decided, Robespierre and the rest of the criminals outlawed by the convention were immediately conveyed to the revolutionary tribunal, merely for the purpose of indemnifying their persons, and then conveyed to the place of justice, and on the evening of the same day (July 28), to the number of twenty-one, executed in the Place de la Revolution, amidst the loudest and most general acclamations of joy. The eyes of the spectators were chiefly fixed upon Robespierre, Couthon, and Henriot, who exhibited a ghastly picture of blood mingled with dust, and covered with wounds. Robespierre was executed last, but remained on the scaffold wholly speechless and petrified with horror.

Such was the merited doom of a tyrant, destined, by universal consent, to be ranked in the black catalogue of the Neros, the Catalines, and the Borgias, whose names are held up from age to age as the eternal execration of mankind. Immediately after this great and happy event, a very general alteration and amelioration took place in the different branches of the provisional government of France.* The Jacobin Club

* MAXIMILIAN ISIDORE ROBESPIERRE was born at Arras, in 1759. His father, a barrister in the superior council of Artois, having ruined himself by his prodigality, left France long before the revolution, established a school for the French at Cologne, and went into England, and thence to America, where he suffered his friends to be ignorant of his existence. His mother, whose name was Maria Josepha Carreau, was the daughter of a brewer; she soon died, leaving her son only nine years old; and a brother who shared his fate. The bishop of Arras, M. De Conzie, who afterwards showed such aversion to the principles of the revolution, contributed to send Robespierre to the college of Louis le Grand, where he got him admitted upon the foundation.

The political troubles of 1788 heated his imagination; he was soon remarked in the revolution.

was entirely demolished, and the remains of the Gironde party, excluded and proscribed from the month of May, 1793, to the number of seventy-one, were now re-

tionary meetings in 1789, and the tiers-état of the province of Artois afterwards appointed him one of their deputies to the states-general. In 1790 he continued to gain power with the clubs, while he was despised in the assembly. On the 30th of May, 1791, he declared in favour of the abolition of the punishment of death; and this man, who, but a few months afterwards, caused rivers of blood to flow, maintained that this punishment could have been invented only by tyrants. Having connected himself with Danton and Marat, he made use of the impetuosity of the latter, without fearing to find a rival in him; and though he dreaded the ascendancy of the former, he supported himself by his character and his revolutionary forms, as long as he had other enemies to combat. With the help of such auxiliaries, he already exercised great authority over the Jacobins, and by them over the capital, which in its turn influenced the legislature and the provinces. On the 30th of November, 1792, he demanded that "the last tyrant of France (Louis XVI.) should be tried without delay, that, the punishment due to his crimes might be adjudged to him;" and, on the 10th April, he moved that the queen, the Duke of Orleans, Sillery, Guadet, Gensonné, and Brissot, should be sent before the revolutionary tribunal. This multiplicity of denunciations and executions awoke in all minds a suspicion and terror which soon gave to Paris and to all France the appearance of a desert; scarcely durst people speak to each other, and every man thought that he saw a denunciator in the person that he met. Danton, whose energy had been so useful to him, and in whose shadow he had so often walked, while he detested him, had helped to sweep away the other factious before him: the two parties, of which they were the heads, then alone remained, and it was necessary that one or the other should sink. After having in a manner shared his power with him, he had taken care to deprive him of his popularity by sending him to enrich himself in Holland; and afterwards a week was sufficient to have Danton arrested, accused, and sent to the scaffold with Desmoulins, Lacroix, Fabre, &c. In the course of the same month (April) he also delivered over to the revolutionary tribunal the remainder of the party of the commune, and of that of the Cordeliers, whom he termed *atheists*; and from that time till his fall, his power found no more rivals.

A storm was, however, gradually gathering in silence, which was soon to burst upon his head. On the 10th of June, 1794, Ruamps, and especially Bourdon de l'Oise, ventured to show some suspicion of the committee of public safety, which occasioned on the 11th a debate, in which Robespierre spoke with haughtiness, and his confidant Barrere and Billaud Varennes, who were to be his accusers a month afterwards, put Tallien to silence when he undertook the defence of Bourdon; the two last and their friends saw that they were irretrievably ruined, and from that time they redoubled their efforts to overthrow Robespierre. This task was less arduous than might have been expected; and it required only a firm resolution on the part of his adversaries to dissolve that spell, which had by its magical operations imposed the most galling and oppressive burdens on a people boasting of their enthusiastic love of freedom. On the 27th of July, 1794, Robespierre was denounced by Tallien and his former friend Billaud Varennes

stored to their seats in the convention. Dumas, president of the horrid revolutionary tribunal, Fouquier Thiville, the public accuser, Carrière, conventional commissioner, the destroyer of La Vendee, and various others of the same description, lost their lives most deservedly on the public scaffold. At the same time, hundreds were released from the different state prisons, who, but for the late revolution, would probably have fallen miserable victims to the Robespierrian tyranny; and the infa-

mous decree of the convention, for refusing quarter to the English and Hanoverian soldiery, was formally rescinded. The insurgents of the departments of La Vendee and La Loire had never been completely subdued, and thousands were still sheltered in the natural recesses of that romantic country, under their leaders, Charette and Stofflet. A general amnesty, however, being now published, they almost universally laid down their arms, and submitted to the authority of the convention.

CHAPTER XVII.

British History—Meeting of Parliament—Discussions on the King's Speech—Public Feeling strongly excited—Alien Bill passed—Parliamentary Proceedings on the French Declaration of War—Traitorous Correspondence Bill passed—Alarming Failures—Motion for Parliamentary Reform negatived—Charter of the East India Company renewed—Supplies voted for the public Service—Concessions to the Catholics of Ireland—Prosecutions for Sedition in Scotland—Alliances formed with foreign Powers—Debates on the Expediency of continuing the War—Augmentation of the Army and Navy—Precautions against Invasion—Subsidy voted to the King of Prussia—Political Societies—Suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* Act—Trials for High-treason—Poland overwhelmed by foreign Despotism.

ALTHOUGH it is not the proper business of this work to enter into the details of civil history, yet there are a number of prominent events in the public concerns of our own country, which cannot with propriety be passed over in silence, and more especial-

ly as many of them closely stand connected with the wars of the French Revolution. The trial of Louis XVI. was depending when the British parliament was suddenly convoked, on the 13th of December, 1792. The conduct of some democratic societies, and the applications of their members to the French assembly, had excited alarm; and the king, who had ordered the militia to be embodied, informed the two houses that events had recently occurred, which required the greatest vigilance and exertion to prevent the loss of the civil and religious advantages so long enjoyed by this nation. The seditious practices, which had been checked for a time, "had of late," his majesty observed, "been more openly renewed, and with increased activity." The spirit of disorder had shown itself in "acts of riot and insurrection:" the industry employed to diffuse discontent appeared to proceed from "a design to attempt the destruction of our happy constitution, and the subversion of all order and government;" and this design had evidently been pursued in concert with persons in foreign countries. He had scrupulously abstained from all interference in the internal affairs of France; but he could not see, without the most serious uneasiness, the strong indications which its rulers had given of an intention of fomenting disturbances in other countries, and pursuing schemes of conquest and aggrandizement; and their views against his allies, the states-general, he particularly disapproved, because not only the law of nations, but the stipulations of

and after having been doomed to hear in that assembly where his name had but lately struck every mind with terror, the cry of "Down with the tyrant!" he was hurried with his brother, St. Just, Couthon, and Le Bas, to the prison of the Conciergerie. At the moment when he was going to be seized, he attempted to destroy himself with a pistol-shot, but he only shattered his under jaw. He was immediately led into the lobby of the meeting-hall, and then shut up in the Conciergerie. Whilst he was in the antichamber of the committee, a slight dressing was put upon his wound; when wishing to wipe away the blood with which his mouth was filled, he was presented with a cloth already moist with blood; this he pushed away, on which one of his attendants addressing him said, "It is blood, it is what thou likest." On requesting that pen and ink might be brought him, his jailer said, "What dost thou want with it? Is it to write to thy Maker? Thou wilt see him without delay!" On his way to execution the mob stopped him before the house where he lived; some women danced before the cart, and one of them cried out to him, "Thy execution intoxicates me with joy! Descend to hell, with the curses of all wives and of all mothers!" The executioner, when about to put him to death, tore the dressing off his wound; he uttered a horrible cry; his under jaw separated from the upper; and his head presented a most hideous spectacle. He died at the age of 35. The following epitaph was written for him: "Passenger, lament not his fate, for were he living thou wouldst be dead." Of all the public characters produced by the French revolution, none has left a name so abhorred as ROBESPIERRE.

treaties, opposed their pretensions. Amidst these grounds of alarm, he had thought it his duty to take some steps for the augmentation of his naval and military force. At the same time, he would neglect nothing that could contribute to the preservation of the blessings of peace, consistently with the security of his dominions and the performance of his engagements. It was a great consolation to him to reflect, that ample resources for vigorous preparations would be found in the excess of the revenue above the ordinary expenditure. He trusted that the means of enforcing obedience to the laws, and repressing all seditious attempts, would be the objects of immediate deliberation, as the defence of that constitution which had so long protected the liberties and promoted the happiness of every class of his subjects, claimed an early and earnest attention.

Some parts of the royal speech were arraigned by Lord Wycombe, who said that it contained calumnious animadversions on the behaviour of the people, and that the war in which it threatened to involve us could be justified on our part only by an actual invasion from France. Mr. Fox was of opinion that the alarm was excited by art and imposture, rather than by real danger, and that we had more reason to dread the encroachments of the crown, than the seditious intrigues of the people; and he moved for an inquiry into the truth of the ministerial allegations. Mr. Windham was convinced that the country was in a state of great danger, from the traitorous machinations of the enemies of our constitution; but Mr. Grey and Mr. Sheridan contended that the peril was merely imaginary. Mr. Burke asserted the existence of a numerous and zealous party, whose aims extended to the reform of our government according to the French model; and he hoped that the house would be unanimous in counteracting such execrable schemes. A majority of 240 opposed the suggestion of Mr. Fox, and voted for an address, grounded as usual on the terms of the speech. A similar answer to the king's speech was voted by the peers, but not without strong expressions of disapprobation from the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquis of Lansdowne, and Lord Rawdon.* After another debate on the address, a proposal from Mr. Fox, that a minister should be sent to Paris to treat with the governing power, was assailed with a pointed censure by Lord Sheffield, Mr. Jenkinson,† Mr. Grant, and Mr. Burke, who maintained that such condescension to

a horde of monsters would reflect indelible disgrace on this country, but, that if no dishonour attended it, yet that the proposed measure did not afford the least promise of success. These sentiments generally prevailed, and the motion was rejected without the formality of a division.

The kingdom soon began to resound with exclamations against the arrogant, arbitrary, and violent proceedings of the Jacobin faction; and it was loudly affirmed, that the most vigorous exertions of every kind were necessary to prevent the evils with which Europe was threatened by the systematic diffusion of a wild spirit of democracy. Numerous associations were formed for the defence of liberty and property against the attempts of republicans and levellers; and various addresses and pamphlets calculated for the diffusion of loyal sentiments, were distributed among the people. Many of the nobility, and others, who had hitherto appeared in the ranks of opposition, caught the prevailing alarm, and under its influence were induced to join the ministerial phalanx.

From an apprehension of the intrigues of the French and other turbulent foreigners, a bill "for establishing regulations respecting aliens resident in this kingdom," usually called the alien bill, was introduced into the house of peers on the 19th of December. This bill was opposed by the Marquis of Lansdowne and the Earl of Lauderdale, as tending to involve the nation in a war; and they advised that an ambassador should be sent to France, to assist in composing the troubles of the continent, and avert by personal expostulation the danger which seemed to impend over the unfortunate king. The Earl of Guildford (son of the minister who stood at the head of his majesty's council during the American war) was also hostile to the bill, which, he said, infringed the commercial treaty; but it was supported by almost the whole house, and sent to the commons for their concurrence. It was applauded by Mr. Burke, in a speech which not only abounded in declamations against the French, but contained severe strictures on the opinions and behaviour of the leader of opposition. On this occasion, he endeavoured to render his eloquence more impressive by drawing forth a dagger, as a sample of an order given, as he asserted, by a democratic Englishman, for the manufacture of 3000 such instruments at Birmingham. With rage and horror depicted on his countenance, he threw the weapon on the floor saying, "This is what you will gain by fraternizing with France." Sir Peter Burrell and Sir Gilbert Elliot lamented the necessity of separating from a friend (Mr. Fox)

* Earl of Moira, in Ireland.

† Afterwards Lord Hawkebury, and Earl of Liverpool.—W. G.

with whom they had been long accustomed to act; but it was imposed upon them, they said, by the consideration of the disregard recently shown by that gentleman to the true principles of the constitution. Mr. Fox ridiculed the alarm of those who dreaded the influence of French opinions in a country which enjoyed a greater portion of liberty than any other in Europe; but Mr. Pitt declared that the arts, machinations, and violence of the French afforded grounds for the most serious apprehensions, and called for the strictest vigilance; and the bill soon received the royal assent.

On the reassembling of parliament after the recess, the king intimated to both houses his dismission of the French agent, and expressed his reliance on their support in ulterior measures of precaution and defence. In the discussion of this message, Lord Grenville inveighed against the atrocious act which then engrossed the attention of Europe; remarked that the promise of neutrality given by our court was conditional, depending on the proper treatment of the royal family of France; and urged the necessity of taking arms for the assistance of our allies and the prevention of the dangerous aggrandizement of the French. Earl Stanhope said, that such a war would be unnecessary, and consequently unjustifiable; the Earl of Derby thought that it might be easily and honourably avoided; and the Marquis of Lansdowne opposed it, as not required either by good faith towards the Dutch (who did not desire our interference in the affair of the Scheldt) or by any danger which threatened this country. But the speeches of the Earls of Carlisle and Darnley, the Lords Stormont and Pomeroy, and the Lord Chancellor Loughborough, manifested a strong spirit of hostility; and an address of support was voted to his majesty.

In the Commons, Mr. Pitt deplored the death of the French king, and expatiated on the enormity of those principles which actuated the rulers of the republic,—principles which tended to destroy all religion, morality, and social order, and reduce mankind to a state of anarchy. With such men, he said, a continuance of peace could not be expected. They had formed schemes of arbitrary encroachment on the rights of neutral powers; aimed at a total change of the government of those countries in which their arms should happen to prevail; and proposed a subversion of the long-established law of nations, and the propagation of a general spirit of revolutionary insurrection. After unsatisfactory explanations of an obnoxious decree, and palliations of offensive proceedings, their agent in England had persisted in what was equivalent

to the avowal of every thing dangerous to Great Britain, and had thrown out menaces of hostility too obvious to be misunderstood. Mr. Fox admitted, that it was our duty to assist the Dutch, if they should demand our aid; but he did not think that we ought to force them into a war replete with danger to themselves, as this constraint would be an abuse of treaty. He allowed that the decree of fraternity was an insult to the world; but it was not a just ground of war. He blamed the ministry for insisting on security in terms not sufficiently precise, as this was not the way to obtain satisfaction. The object of the contest ought to be clearly stated; otherwise the return of peace might be long retarded. If the court imagined that all Europe was exposed to danger from the progress of the French arms, the peril would not be increased by proposing terms before we should engage in war. The real cause of the war, he added, might be traced to the desire of restoring despotism in France; a motive which he highly disapproved, though he was by no means pleased with the existing government of that country. After other speeches on both sides of the question, an address corresponding with the message passed without a division.

The next communication from the king announced the French declaration of war against Great Britain and the United Provinces. It was alleged by the convention, that his Britannic majesty had persisted (more particularly since the revolution of the 10th August, 1792) in giving proofs of his attachment to the coalition of princes, had refused to acknowledge the new government of France, had violated in various instances the treaty of 1786, equipped an armament against the republic, and seduced the stadtholder into a similar measure of hostility. The royal message censured this “wanton and unprovoked aggression,” and called for the “zealous exertions of a brave and loyal people,” in the prosecution of a just and necessary war.

On the 12th of February Lord Grenville moved an address to his majesty, thanking him for his gracious communication, and assuring him of the determination of the house to support his majesty’s government in the arduous struggle in which the country was involved. An amendment from Earl Stanhope, calculated to ascertain the object of the war, and one from the Earl of Lauderdale, tending to make the war merely defensive, and to accelerate a negotiation, were rejected by the peers; and the motion of the secretary received the assent of the house.

In the lower house, Mr. Pitt analyzed the French declaration of war, and stigma-

tized the "groundless pretences" by which it was supported; and as we had no longer the power of choice, but were forced into a war, he hoped that the zeal of the people would second the views of the court. Mr. Fox was willing to agree to an address which should merely promise the co-operation of the house in defensive hostilities; but he could not vote for one which imputed unprovoked aggression to the French. Mr. Burke said, that a more necessary or justifiable war than that in which we were preparing to engage could not be conceived; but Mr. Sheridan strongly argued against its supposed necessity, and particularly condemned the absurdity of making infidelity a ground of war, as the sword was not a proper instrument for the propagation of religion. The address framed by the minister was then adopted; and considerable additions were made to the naval and military force.

The subject of the war again came under discussion on the 18th of February, when Mr. Fox urged the house to adopt several resolutions, condemning all forcible interference in the internal government of any country, denying that the ministry had taken proper measures to avoid a war, and dissuading his majesty from entering into any engagement which might prevent him from concluding a separate peace. This subject was afterwards resumed, when Mr. Grey moved an address to the king, accusing his advisers of having plunged their country into an unnecessary war. These propositions were rejected; as was also a motion from Mr. Sheridan for an inquiry into the truth of those reports of sedition which had been so studiously propagated.

Mr. Fox and his friends were equally unsuccessful in their opposition to a bill introduced to prevent traitorous correspondence, in trade, or in other respects, with the king's enemies. They affirmed that it involved an arbitrary extension of the act of the twenty-fifth year of Edward III.; that it would lead to perjury, and put any man in the power of a malignant adversary; and that, at the same time, it was a bill by which we should gain less, and our enemies lose less, than if it were not enacted. But the attorney-general and Mr. Burke said, that it was framed in the spirit, if not according to the letter, of former acts, and that its rigour was not greater than the urgency of the crisis required. On a division, the bill was carried by a large majority. In the upper house, it was opposed with vigour, particularly by the Marquis of Lansdowne, who pronounced it to be repugnant to equity and an invasion of the constitution. He, on the same occasion,

took a review of the state of Europe, and on every ground recommended peace.

A memorial which had been presented by Lord Auckland to the states-general, proposing the subjection of some of the detestable regicides to the sword of the law, was reprobated by several members of both houses, as mingling purposes of vengeance with the views of defence and security; but the motions of censure were rejected with little hesitation.

On the 6th of May, a number of petitions to the Commons from the inhabitants of Birmingham, Derby, Warwick, and many other towns, praying for a parliamentary reform, were taken into consideration. The application of "the friends of the people" for this important object, chiefly drew the attention of the house. They stated, that less than 15,000 persons, out of three millions of male adults, elected the major part of the assembly; that the right of voting was not regulated by any uniform or rational principles; that the extent of private parliamentary patronage was an abuse which tended to exclude the great mass of the people from any substantial influence in elections; and that the spirit of the constitution required a frequent renewal of choice, instead of the continuance of the same members to the seventh year. Mr. Grey eloquently exposed the defects and grievances of the present system, and moved for a committee of inquiry. Mr. Windham said, that the blemishes of the constitution could not be corrected without the risk of destroying its excellencies, and that the proposed experiment might lead to the most fatal consequences. Mr. Erskine enlarged on the prevailing abuses; but the Earl of Mornington considered them as unworthy of notice, when compared with the benefits of the parliamentary constitution. Mr. Pitt did not think that the people were desirous of a reform; and he deprecated the attempt in these perturbed times. Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox defended the propriety of an investigation of the causes of complaint, and repelled the objections to the particular time, by arguing that an acquiescence in moderate and constitutional requests would tend to silence clamour and allay discontent, and would thus baffle the schemes of seditious revolutionists. A majority of 241, however, voted against the inquiry.

The slave-trade was productive of fresh debates, without the adoption of any decisive measures. With regard to the trade of India, it was the wish of many that it might be opened; but, when the company petitioned for a renewal of its charter, the continuance of the monopoly was deemed advisable on the ground of expediency,

though it was rendered less strict than it had been under the former regulations. The system of government, established for that country by the act of 1784, was also considered as worthy of retention. On the 23d of May, Mr. Dundas pronounced an elaborate speech in favour of those objects; and the bill which he had framed met with the concurrence of the two houses, and received the royal assent on the 11th of June.

The supplies demanded by the minister, and readily voted by the commons, were £16,698,000. The seamen and marines were 54,000; the guards and garrisons exceeded 27,000 men. Four millions and a half were borrowed on this occasion; and some taxes, at first intended to be merely temporary, were continued in consequence of this loan.

The war had scarcely commenced, before its ruinous effects upon trade began to be developed. The sudden stoppage of the exportation to France; the disappointment in the large speculations into which the merchants and manufacturers had entered, and the effects produced upon the enormous issue of paper money by the alarms which at that time prevailed in the country, produced a number of bankruptcies, exceeding all that had ever happened in the most calamitous times. To relieve the merchants and manufacturers, and to enable them to bear up under this pressure, an act was passed, after some animated discussions in the house of commons, "to enable his majesty to direct that exchequer bills to the amount of five millions, should be issued, to certain commissioners, to be by them laid out under regulations and restrictions for the assistance and accommodation of such persons as may apply, and who shall give such commissioners proper security for the sums that may be advanced for a time to be limited." This act, which offered a very seasonable and indispensable relief to the trade of the country, passed the lords in two days, and on the 8th of May received the royal assent.

The depression of the manufacturing and commercial interests by the operation of the war, had induced a number of gentlemen of great property and influence in the state to endeavour to establish a more judicious system of husbandry than had hitherto prevailed, and a board of agriculture was accordingly established by authority, at the head of which was placed Sir John Sinclair, the original projector of the institution.

On 17th of June, when a prorogation was expected, Mr. Fox took an opportunity of recommending a speedy negotiation, as the French had been so far checked that

no ground of alarm for our security or that of the Dutch could be truly alleged. But Mr. Burke and Mr. Pitt contended that no government with which we could safely treat, existed in France, and a majority of 140 voted for a continuance of the war.

The proceedings of the parliament of Ireland, in this session, ought not to pass without some notice. The Catholics had chosen from among themselves a general committee of delegates, which sat at Dublin, whose province it was to watch over the interest of the Catholics, as a distinct body; and a numerous association, consisting indiscriminately of Protestants and Catholics, had recently been established, under the name of the SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN, whose object it was to obtain a complete emancipation for the Catholics, and a radical reform of parliament, on the principles of universal suffrage and annual election.*

In the preceding session of 1792, the government had made some concessions to the Catholics, by which all legal obstructions to their intermarriages with Protest-

* The Editor of this stereotype edition, while yet a student at the Belfast Academy, under the superintendence of the Rev. William Bruce, was sworn a member of the Society of the United Irishmen, in the autumn of 1796. The principal original objects of that association, which was instituted by Protestants alone, but eventually embraced a vast number of Roman Catholics, were "a complete emancipation of the Roman Catholics, and a liberal reform in parliament," but not a radical reform, on the principles of universal suffrage and annual election; but when their constitutional endeavours to effectuate those objects became hopeless, their views were changed, and, without altering the liberal obligation of their oath, their designs were extended to a political separation from Great Britain, and the establishment of a republic.

The following is the form of the obligation, which, not being in itself treasonable, was made so by an act of parliament, which had a retrospective effect upon all those who did not come forward and abjure the association:—

"In the awful presence of God, I, A. B., do voluntarily declare that I will persevere in endeavouring to form a brotherhood of affection among Irishmen of every religious persuasion; and that I will also persevere in my endeavours to obtain an equal, full, and adequate representation of all the people of Ireland.

"I do further declare, that neither hopes, fears, rewards, or punishments, shall ever induce me, directly or indirectly, to inform on or give evidence against any member or members of this or similar societies, for any act or expression of theirs, done or made collectively or individually, in or out of this society, in pursuance of the spirit of this obligation."

The members of the society recognised each other by a *sign*; which, having been discovered some time in the year 1797, was discontinued. The rebellion finally broke out on the 23d of May, 1798, four days after the arrest of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, by whom the insurgent army was to have been commanded.—W. G.

ants were removed. The right of taking apprentices and of keeping schools was restored to them, and they were permitted to practise at the bar. But the grand code of disabilities still remained in force.

The English cabinet seemed, in consequence of the alarming and agitated state of the country, to be fully convinced that some decisive measures of redress must now be adopted in relation to the Catholics, and Lord Westmoreland (lord-lieutenant) was instructed in the course of his speech to the two houses at the opening of the present session, strongly to recommend "such measures as might be most likely to strengthen and cement a general union of sentiment among all classes and descriptions of his majesty's Catholic subjects in support of the established constitution."

Early in March, the expected bill of relief was brought into the house of commons, and, in its original form, it appeared well calculated to answer the purpose intended. The influence of the executive government was in this instance no less laudably than powerfully and seasonably exerted; but it had strong obstacles to encounter with a great majority of the house. Some of these exceptions were admitted, others were rejected. The chief enacting clause, enabling the Catholics to exercise and enjoy all civil and military offices and places of trust or profit under the crown, was almost paralyzed by the subsequent restrictions,—that it should not be construed to extend to enable any Roman Catholic to sit or vote in either house of parliament, or to fill the office of lord-lieutenant, or lord-chancellor, or judge in either of the three courts of record or admiralty, or keeper of the privy-seal, secretary of state, lieutenant or custos rotulorum of counties, or privy-counsellor, or master in chancery, or a general on the staff, or sheriff, or sub-sheriff of any county, with a number of other disqualifications. The bill, at length, modified with these restrictions, passed with few dissentient voices into a law; and though it stopped far short of Catholic emancipation, and bore no relation to parliamentary reform, it was supposed to be all that the executive government could, at this time, without too violent an exertion, effect.

The spirit of political reform, which spread so widely at this moment throughout England and Ireland, had extended itself to Scotland, and as is too frequently the case, had blended itself with the alloy of enthusiasm and theoretic extravagance. A numerous association of the advocates of these principles, sent from various towns and districts, met this summer at Edinburgh, under the pompous title of a CONVENTION OF

DELEGATES for obtaining universal suffrage and annual parliaments. The extreme indiscretion of this association was manifested in their affected adoption of the modes and forms established in the national assembly of France; and more especially in their habitual use of the obnoxious term "*Citizen*." On a sudden, and while the legality of this conventional assembly was yet unquestioned, divers of the delegates were apprehended (August, 1793) on a charge of sedition, and brought to trial before the high court of judicature, by which they were found guilty, and sentenced by the judges of that tribunal to be transported beyond the seas for the term of *fourteen years*, to such place as his majesty should judge proper. Of this number were Mr. Muir, one of the faculty of advocates at Edinburgh; Mr. Gerald, whose defence attracted much notice; and Mr. Skirving, and Mr. Margat, who were soon afterwards conveyed, in a government transport, across the Atlantic and Indian Oceans to the settlement of Botany Bay. The same severe fate was awarded to Mr. Palmer, a member of the university of Cambridge, whose zeal for the dissemination of Unitarian principles in religion had induced him to fix his residence at Dundee, where he had opened a chapel and collected a congregation. This gentleman had been engaged in printing an address to the people of Scotland, of which, however, he was not the author, on the subject of reform, for which publication he was tried before the circuit court of judicature, at Dundee, and, on the 17th of September, convicted and sentenced to be transported for seven years.

Government, in the mean time, was actively engaged in the promotion of the success of the war, and with that view a convention was signed, in the course of the year, between our court and that of St. Petersburg, stipulating for the prosecution of hostilities till the French should relinquish all their conquests. A treaty was soon afterwards concluded with the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, for a subsidiary body of 8000 men; a number which, by a subsequent agreement, was extended to 12,000. A subsidy was also voted to the King of Sardinia, who engaged (for 200,000 pounds per annum) to keep up an army of 50,000 men, to be employed in the particular defence of his dominions, and in general service against the enemy. A compact of alliance was adjusted with Spain, one with Naples, and others with Prussia, Austria, and Portugal. Besides the stipulations of vigorous hostility, it was agreed that the conduct of other powers should be watched with extraordinary circumspection, lest they should abuse their

professed neutrality by protecting the commerce or property of the French.

The misfortunes sustained by the confederates in the latter part of the campaign of 1793, stimulated the British cabinet to greater vigour of exertion; and a confident hope was excited of the speedy decline of that spirit which appeared to the premier to have been supported chiefly by a system of paper currency, and by the influence of a despotic government.

At the opening of the new session of parliament, on the 21st of January, 1794, the king observed, that he and his subjects were engaged in a momentous contest, on the issue of which depended the maintenance of the constitution, laws, and religion of the country, and the security of all civil society. Having mentioned the advantages obtained by the arms of the confederate powers, he added, that the circumstances by which their further progress had been impeded, not only proved the necessity of vigour and perseverance, but confirmed the expectation of ultimate success. Their enemies, his majesty observed, had derived the means of temporary exertion from a system which had enabled them to dispose arbitrarily of the lives and property of a numerous people; but these efforts, productive as they had been of internal discontent and confusion, tended rapidly to exhaust the national and real strength of the country. He regretted the necessity of continuing the war; but he thought he should ill consult the essential interests of his people, if he desired peace on any grounds exclusive of a due provision for their permanent safety, and for the independence and security of Europe. Again referring to the "true grounds of the war," he begged parliament to recollect that an attack had been made on him and his allies, founded on principles tending to the destruction of all property, to the subversion of the laws and religion of every civilized nation, and to the general introduction of a horrible system of rapine, anarchy, and impiety.

The address on his majesty's speech was warmly supported by Lord Auckland, who inveighed in strong terms against the French government, and execrated that spirit of impiety, despotism, inhumanity, and rapine, which defied the laws both of God and man. He allowed that the republican leaders had shown considerable abilities, and had called into action a most formidable force; but he trusted that Great Britain and her allies would be able to stem the torrent, and rescue the civilized world from the danger of anarchy and ruin. The Earl of Guilford wished for a speedy negotiation, as we had rushed into the war

without necessity; and he proposed an amendment for that purpose. The Duke of Portland justified the war as strictly defensive, and as necessary for the preservation of the Christian religion, political and civil liberty, law and order. Earl Spencer pursued the same line of argument; and the Earl of Coventry, with equal zeal, supported the cause of hostility. The Duke of Norfolk asserted, that he had as strong a zeal for the support of our constitution as any peer of the realm, but he was not impelled by that zeal to an encouragement of the war, as he did not conceive that our happy establishments were endangered by the proceedings of the French. The Earl of Derby wished that the object of the war might be defined; but the Earl of Mansfield said, that it was sufficiently marked out in the speech from the throne. It was not, as it had been called by many, a war of kings. It was of a much more important nature, being directed to the preservation of general order, religion, and morality. Lord Grenville also animadverted on the declarations, the opinions, and the conduct, of the different parties in France, and endeavoured to show, from the convulsed state of that country, the fallacy of all hopes of a successful negotiation. On a division, the supporters of the address were 97, while only 12 peers voted for the amendment.

In the house of commons, the address was moved by Lord Clifden, and supported in a very luminous speech by Lord Mornington,* who was followed by Mr. Windham, Mr. Dundas,† and Mr. Pitt. It was opposed by Earl Wycombe, Colonel Tarlton, Mr. Courtenay, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Fox; but their opposition proved so unavailing, that the original motion was carried by a majority of 277 to 59.

On the 27th of January, Lord Arden brought forward a motion for a supply of 85,000 seamen, including 12,115 marines, for the service of the present year; and on the 3d of the following month he further moved that the land forces should consist of 60,244 men, including 3382 invalids, both of which motions were carried.

To guard against an invasion with which the French menaced this country, a bill was enacted for the augmentation of the militia; and the court encouraged the formation of volunteer companies, both of cavalry and infantry, not only with that view, but also for the suppression of riots.

On Monday, the 28th of April, Mr. Dundas delivered a message from his majesty, importing that a treaty had been entered

* Afterwards Marquis Wellesley, eldest brother of the Duke of Wellington.—W. G.

† Afterwards Lord Melville.—Jb.

into with the states-general and the King of Prussia, for the purpose of carrying on the war, in which it was provided that his Prussian majesty should furnish 62,000 troops, which was 30,000 beyond his contingent, for which he was to be paid by his Britannic majesty £50,000 a month, £100,000 for forage, £400,000 to put the army in motion, and £100,000 on their return, which in one year would amount to £1,200,000, out of which the states-general were to pay £400,000.

A message from the king, more essentially connected with the interests of this country, was soon after delivered. It referred to the seditious practices of democratic societies, and intimated the necessity of taking measures for baffling their dangerous designs. The papers belonging to these clubs were examined by a committee; and a report was soon presented by Mr. Pitt. It was affirmed, as the result of the inquiry, that the "Society for Constitutional Information" and the "London Corresponding Society," under the pretence of reform, aimed at the subversion of the government; that other associations, in different parts of the kingdom, pursued the same object; that they had endeavoured to promote a general convention of the people; that they had provided arms for the more effectual prosecution of their nefarious purposes; that meetings of popular delegates took place at Edinburgh in 1792 and the following year; that their proceedings were regulated on the French model; and that, after the dispersion of this convention, the two leading societies exerted their efforts to procure a similar meeting in England, which should supersede the authority of parliament.

Having expatiated on the flagitious schemes of these societies, the minister proposed that the *habeas corpus* act should be suspended in cases of treason and sedition. Mr. Fox was of opinion that this stretch of power was not justified by the evidence which had been adduced against the associations; and Mr. Sheridan deprecated, as unconstitutional and dangerous, the grant of an arbitrary power of imprisonment: but Mr. Burke was convinced that the power in question would not be abused, and that it would be attended with salutary effects; and Mr. Windham advised the strongest measures of coercion. The bill of suspension was rapidly enacted; and after spirited debates, an address was voted, promising the strenuous co-operation of the two houses with the executive power for the suppression of all seditious attempts and treasonable conspiracies.

Although the state trials, pending at this crisis, served to heighten the alarm which

so universally prevailed, the happy result of those trials tended not a little to allay the general apprehensions, and to restore the public mind to its proper tone. At the spring assizes in this year, held at Lancaster, Mr. Thomas Walker, of Manchester, a strenuous advocate for parliamentary reform, and at whose house meetings for political purposes were steadily held, was indicted for conspiring with nine other persons to overturn the constitution by force of arms, and to assist the French in case of invasion. To establish this charge, involving in its consequences not only the character but the life of the accused, the principal evidence adduced was a spy of the name of Dunn, whose testimony was so contradictory and absurd, that the prosecution was even abandoned by the counsel for the crown; and Mr. Walker was honourably acquitted, without being put upon his defence; while his wretched accuser was committed to prison, to take his trial for perjury.

On the verdict of not guilty being pronounced by the jury, under direction of the bench, Mr. Justice Heath, addressing himself to Mr. Walker, said:—

"I hope, Mr. Walker, that this will be an admonition to you to keep better company in future."

Mr. Walker.—"I have been in no bad company, my lord, except in that of the wretch who stands behind me; nor is there a word or an action of my life in which the public are at all interested that I wish unsaid, or undone, or that, under similar circumstances, I would not repeat."

Mr. Justice Heath—"You have been honourably acquitted, sir; and the witness against you is committed for perjury."

The trial of two persons at Edinburgh, who had been committed on a charge of high-treason, took place under a special commission, in the month of September, in this year. On the third day of that month, Robert Watt, a man without a local habitation, and a spy by profession, was tried and convicted of high treason. This man, it appeared, had formed a romantic project for seizing by force upon the castle of Edinburgh, as well as upon the persons of the principal judicial and municipal officers of that city, together with the bank and the excise office. This intention he had communicated to several persons, who all refused to come into his plans, except one David Downie, an illiterate mechanic. That Watt had conspired to levy war against the king, there could be no doubt, but as he had not actually levied it, it was contended that his offence did not come within the proper and legal construction of the statute of Edward III. But the most remarkable circumstance in the trial was the prisoner's defence, in which he assert-

ed, and produced letters in court from Mr. Secretary Dundas, in support of that assertion, that he had been retained as a spy in the service of government, and had received money from them for his services.* The prisoner's counsel, therefore, contended, that what their client had done was with no other view than to arrive more completely at the knowledge of the secrets of those persons whose conduct he was to observe, and by appearing zealous in the same cause to cover his real intentions, of betraying these counsels, and bringing to punishment the enemies of their sovereign. This singular defence did not avail the prisoner; the jury pronounced him guilty, the judge passed the sentence of death upon him, and the executioner performed his duty. Downie was also convicted and condemned, but the jury recommended him to mercy, and the royal clemency was extended towards him.

While the public mind was still in a high state of fermentation, and in the interval between the state trials in the north, and those that were now pending in the British metropolis, a dreadful rumour was on a sudden raised, of a design to assassinate the king. The persons implicated in this charge, were one Le Maitre, apprentice to a watchmaker, in Denmark-street; William Higgins, apprentice to a chymist, in Fleet-street, and a man of the name of Smith, who kept a book-stall in the vicinity of Lincoln's Inn. Their accuser was a young man of the name of Upton, an apprentice to a watchmaker. The conspirators, who all resided in London, were apprehended by a warrant from the Duke of Portland, on Saturday, the 27th of September, and underwent several examinations before the privy council. The charge, resting on the unsupported evidence of Upton, was to the following effect: an instrument was to have been constructed by the informer Upton, in the form of a walking-stick, in which was to have been inserted a brass tube of two feet long; through this tube a poisoned dart or arrow was to have been blown by the breath of the conspirator Le Maitre, at his majesty, either on the terrace at Windsor, or in the play-house. The poison prepared was to have been of so subtle a nature, that if the point but glanced upon the king, it was to have produced instantaneous death. This story, which set at defiance all knowledge of every human art and science, for some time obtained credit, and the persons accused were committed for trial; but after a long and severe imprisonment, the evidence against them was found so inconsistent, absurd, and incredi-

ble, that the whole affair fell into contempt, under the popular designation of the *pop-gun plot*, and the men were without trial set at liberty.

These transactions served only as a prelude to the proceedings that were now about to take place in the sessions-house at Clerkenwell, and on which the attention of the whole country was riveted with intense anxiety. On the 25th of October, Thomas Hardy, a shoemaker in Piccadilly, who had acted as secretary to the London Corresponding Society; Daniel Adams, the secretary to the Society for Constitutional Information; John Horne Tooke, the philologist; the Rev. Jeremiah Joyce, preceptor to Lord Mahon; John Thelwall, the political lecturer; Thomas Holcroft, the dramatist; J. A. Bonney; Steward Kyd; John Richer; and John Baxter, were all arraigned at the Old Bailey, before the president of the special commission, Lord Chief-justice Eyre. The indictment was of uncommon length, and contained charges of no less than nine overt acts of high-treason, all resolving themselves into the general charge, that these persons did conspire to summon delegates to a national convention with a view to subvert the government, to levy war against the existing authorities of the country, and to depose the king. The court, at the request of the prisoners, determined that they should be tried separately, and Mr. Hardy was the first of the number put upon his trial.

The opening speech of Sir John Scott, the attorney-general, occupied nine hours in the delivery, and consisted chiefly of a recapitulation of the facts set forth in the reports of the secret committee of the House of Commons. The written evidence consisted chiefly of advertisements, addresses, &c.* published in the newspapers, and of several private letters, which had been seized among the papers of the prisoners. Many of these papers were in an intemperate and even inflammatory style, with respect to ministers and other persons in authority, but none of them could by any fairness of construction be construed into high-treason. On the parole evidence, the attorney-general had drawn a very candid, and as it afterwards appeared, a necessary distinction. "Some of the witnesses, he observed, were above all exception; and some were persons employed by the government to watch over the proceedings of these societies." From the witnesses of the former description, nothing was extracted to establish the charge against the prisoner, and the latter were found undeserving of credit. These men enumerated several instances

* Mr. Erskine's speech on Hardy's trial.

* See State Trials.

of rash and inflammatory expressions, not personally affecting the prisoner, Hardy, used at different meetings of the popular societies, which might come under the designation of sedition, but of any formal design to subvert the government, there existed no evidence whatever.

The grand object at which these associations aimed, was unquestionably to effect a reform in parliament, upon the principles of the Duke of Richmond—universal suffrage and annual elections; and as these societies contained a large portion of converts to the novel and extravagant doctrines of Mr. Paine, there can be little doubt that some of the members, in the height of their enthusiasm, believed that a radical reform in parliament upon democratic principles, would eventually lead to the establishment of a democratic government; but this did not amount to treason, nor even to sedition. An attempt was made indeed on the part of the crown lawyers, to show that the association in question had armed themselves against the government; whereas on examination it appeared that they had procured a few pikes to defend themselves against the attacks of the mob at Sheffield, and other populous places where they held their meetings.* In the course of the year preceding the trials, the Corresponding Society had applied to Mr. Francis, a member of parliament, to present their petition to the House of Commons, and that gentleman deposed, that upon this occasion Mr. Hardy, their secretary, had voluntarily offered to come forward and produce all the books and papers of the society, to evince that there was nothing seditious in their conduct, and that their object was merely parliamentary reform. The defence of Mr. Hardy, by Mr. Erskine, may be considered as a model of forensic eloquence. With professional knowledge and science, this celebrated orator embodied a wide range of history and literature, and a thorough acquaintance with human life. Such attainments, invigorated by genius, and adorned with persuasive grace, spoke to the hearts of his hearers with the most impressive eloquence, and formed a defence inferior in no respect to Tully's defence of Milo, constituting, at the same time, a brilliant epoch in the oratory of the British bar.

After a number of witnesses had been called by the prisoner's counsel, principally for the purpose of proving that the prisoner was of irreproachable character, and that he was a peaceable and inoffensive man; the defence was concluded very ably by Mr. Gibbs. The trial was protracted to the

unprecedented length of seven days, and the evidence being closed, the jury after a short deliberation returned a verdict of *not guilty*—a verdict, than which none ever pronounced in an English court of justice, gave more general satisfaction, or was more extensively important in its consequences.

Considering the state of parties in the kingdom at this time, the public joy at the acquittal of Mr. Hardy was much more general than might have been imagined. Even many of those who were decidedly adverse to the societies in question, appeared to partake in the triumph, and they were probably not insensible to the very judicious remark of Dr. Johnson, on the acquittal of Lord George Gordon, as quoted by Mr. Erskine;—"I hate Lord George Gordon, but I am glad he was not convicted of this *constructive treason*; for though I hate him, I love my country and myself."

"The acquittal of Hardy gave," says Dr. Bisset, "very general satisfaction: impartial friends to the king and constitution were aware, that the best security of those was the upright administration of law, even towards their enemies; and were pleased that a person was acquitted, whose proven act had not contravened the statutes which only established the crime of treason."*

"Mr. Hardy's deportment," says an eyewitness, "through the whole of his arduous trial, was distinguished by the most exemplary decorum. Firm, temperate, and tranquil, he showed throughout the conscious rectitude of his heart." When the jury pronounced the verdict of not guilty, he addressed them in a few words of grateful acknowledgment, which were drowned in the low but universal noise of joy which filled the court. On being liberated from confinement, he was drawn in a coach by the rejoicing multitudes, first to his own house in Piccadilly, and then to his brother's house in the Strand; but before he entered the house, he went into the churchyard of St. Martin, and was shown to the grave of his wife, from whose side he had been taken when he was first seized, and who had fallen under the shock. The multitude respected his feelings with a sympathy that did them credit: they kept at a distance while his relation pointed out to him the grave; after this affecting scene, he went into his brother's house, and in a short address thanked his fellow countrymen for the kind interest they had taken in his favour, and requested them, as they respected the cause in which they had displayed their zeal, to separate in peace. The cry of "home! home!" succeeded,

* See State Trials, Camage and Broomhead's Evidence.

* Bisset's History, vol. vi. page 12.

and in a few minutes the multitude had completely dispersed. The gratitude of the people was also shown in a similar manner to Mr. Erskine and Mr. Gibbs, the able and intrepid advocates of Mr. Hardy.

After an interval of eleven days, the celebrated John Horne Tooke, formerly and for many years a clergyman of the established church, a man possessed of extraordinary intellectual talents, but of a peculiar kind, and mixed with a considerable alloy of eccentricity, was brought to the bar. On the trial it appeared, to the general surprise of the court, that Mr. Tooke, supposed so vehemently democratic, had been a remarkably guarded and temperate advocate of reform; that he very rarely attended the meetings of the societies; and had even incurred their suspicion and dislike on that account. He had frequently declared his attachment to the house of peers, as a useful and necessary branch of the constitution; and had uniformly reprobated the Duke of Richmond's plan of reform; in proof of which it appeared, that in a conversation with Major Cartwright on the subject of reform, he made use of the following familiar, but expressive illustration: "You would go to Windsor, but I should choose to stop at Hounslow."

Some difficulty having arisen in the course of the trial, concerning the identity of the prisoner's handwriting, Mr. Tooke offered himself to identify it whenever it appeared, adding:—"I protest I have never done an act—I protest I have never had a sentiment—I protest I have never had a thought of any political nature, which, taken fairly, I have the smallest degree of disposition not now to admit. I am anxious that my life and character should go together, and I wish to admit all that I have said, done, or written." In the early stages of this trial, some altercations took place, principally as to matters of form, but the whole was soon converted into such a scene of pleasantry and good humour, as perhaps never before occurred in a trial for a capital offence.

The most extraordinary circumstance attending this trial, was the examination of the Duke of Richmond and Mr. Pitt, who were both subpoenaed as witnesses by Mr. Tooke. The former was interrogated merely as to the authenticity of his letter to Colonel Sherman, in order to show that as to the matter of reform, the corresponding and constitutional societies were formed upon that plan, and not modelled, as had been contended, upon the principles of the French revolution. Mr. Pitt was then called and asked a variety of questions relative to the Westminster convention, held on the 18th of May, 1792: to these, he was not able from want of recollection to

return any precise answer, but he at length remembered that he was present at some meetings in Privy Garden, where there were delegates from different parts of the country, whose object it was to consider of the best means of procuring a reform in the commons' house of parliament. The evidence being gone through on the 22d of November, the jury retired, and in a few minutes returned a verdict of *not guilty*. An involuntary burst of acclamation instantly filled the court, and was re-echoed by the populace without, who, as on the former occasion, escorted the counsel, Messrs. Erskine and Gibbs, to their chambers.

The prosecution of the members of the Constitutional Society, ended with the trial of Mr. Tooke; and on Monday, the 1st of December, a jury being empanelled *pro forma*, Messrs. Bonney, Joyce, Kid, and Holcroft were acquitted and discharged.

The trial of Mr. Thelwall commenced on the same day, and terminated in the same manner as the other state trials. No new evidence was adduced against him except some intemperate expressions, which he was said to have used at a meeting at Chalk Farm, and in his lecture-room; but the evidence of these expressions resting on the authority of the spies Lynam and Taylor, whose testimony was rendered nugatory by that of two other witnesses, he was acquitted. All the other prosecutions were then abandoned by the crown-lawyers, and those who had been indicted were liberated from confinement.

On the result of these trials, it is only simple justice towards the institutions of our own country to remark, that whatever grievances Englishmen may have to complain of occasionally in the administration of public affairs, they cannot felicitate themselves too strongly or too frequently on the wide distinction which exists between the administration of justice in this and in the other countries of Europe. Even the forms of law, which in civil cases are productive of expense, and might perhaps be simplified with advantage, form in criminal cases a barrier against oppression and injustice. We to that nation who, consenting in any case to dispense with the forms of law, admits the dangerous doctrine of *constructive treason*, and the action of prejudice or passion in judicial proceedings. To this fatal error, may be traced those black and sanguinary transactions which disgraced the early periods of the revolution in France, and which led to the condemnation, or rather to the murder, of men upon suspicion, rumour, and prejudice.

It is painful in the extreme, to turn from

contemplating the happy institutions of our own country, to take a view of the situation of Poland at this juncture. The people of that unhappy country, groaning under the oppressive yoke of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, triumphed in the successes of France over the armies of their oppressors: but a severe retribution for this *offence* awaited them; and at the beginning of the year 1794, Baron d'Ingelstroehm, the Russian ambassador at Warsaw, demanded the erasure of every record, and the surrender of every paper relating to the constitution of 1791, which had been forcibly abolished by the invaders, and that of 1773 substituted in its stead.

The passive submission of the Poles to this demand served only to increase the insolence of the conquerors, and Russia at length issued its mandate for the reduction of the military force of Poland to 16,000 men. The veteran regiments, particularly in the neighbourhood of the metropolis, positively refused to comply with this requisition, and General Madalinski appeared at the head of a great body of insurgents, who had resolved not to surrender their arms without a struggle. Early in the month of February, in 1794, the celebrated Kosciusko, who had already distinguished himself both in America and in Poland, appeared in the field. After obtaining several advantages over the Prussians in their newly-acquired territories, he advanced towards Cracow, which was abandoned to him by the Russian garrison on the 24th of March; on which he issued a proclamation, inviting the nation in the most energetic terms to shake off their fetters, and to unite in forming a new confederation, and a solemn oath was taken by all present to maintain the constitution of 1791. In the month of April, General Kosciusko began his march to Warsaw, with an army composed of such regular troops as he could collect, and reinforced by some thousands of peasants, armed with pikes. On the road, he fell in with a strong corps of Russians, detached by Baron d'Ingelstroehm, from Warsaw, to regain possession of Cracow: a fierce encounter ensued, and the Russians were in the end totally routed, with great slaughter—the Polish peasantry, in their fury, and to their disgrace, giving no quarter to the enemy. The inhabitants of Warsaw now arose and drove out the Russian garrison after an obstinate resistance. Kosciusko took immediate possession of the capital, in consequence of which the king, who had previously issued a proclamation, requiring his subjects to lay down their arms, now yielded passively to the course of events, and declared himself head of the confederation.

Addresses of congratulation were presented from all quarters, and 70,000 men, exclusive of peasantry, were in arms before the end of May; but this force was disposed in different bodies, throughout the wide extent of Poland and Lithuania, and the vast armies of the powers allied for their destruction, were advancing upon them with rapid steps on every side. A Prussian army, under General Elsner, marched to the attack of Cracow, which surrendered at discretion on the 15th of June. Nearly at the same time, his Prussian majesty advanced towards the city of Warsaw, defended by Kosciusko in person, with such skill and courage, that the Prussians were compelled, after a blockade and siege of two months, to retreat with loss and disgrace to the frontiers of Silesia. The Russians, in the mean time, were gradually making progress on the side of Lithuania, and on the 8th of September, in a general engagement near Brzesc, defeated the insurgents, whom they obliged to retreat across the Bug. The invaders, now under the command of General Suworow, the conqueror of Ismail, marched forward in full confidence of victory to Warsaw, designing in their way to form a junction with the detached corps of General Ferfen. With a view to prevent this project, Kosciusko, at the head of his brave Poles, attacked Ferfen, on the 10th of October, with undaunted intrepidity. The courage displayed by the Russians was not inferior, and they had the advantage of numbers, and of superior discipline. After a contest of five hours, the Poles were totally overpowered, and Kosciusko himself, having received a dangerous wound, was obliged to surrender. The fate of Poland was decided by this unfortunate battle. The Generals Suworow and Ferfen, on effecting their proposed junction, proceeded to Warsaw, which was defended by Madalinski, and other brave officers, a formidable line of batteries being opposed to the enemy. But Suworow was not to be intimidated by any obstacles, however formidable: he immediately ordered his soldiers to mount to the assault, using only the sabre and bayonet; after a severe contest of eight hours, all resistance on the part of the Poles ceased, and the fight was converted into a massacre. But the most remarkable circumstance in the conduct of this horrid business was, that nearly ten hours after the Russians, apparently satiated with blood and slaughter, had rested upon their arms, the carnage and pillage of this devoted city commenced anew. The beautiful suburb of Praga was set on fire, and vast numbers, not only of men, but of women and children, perished by the

sword, or in the flames. A capitulation was at length granted to the prayers of Count Potocki, one of the insurgent chiefs; but even in this extremity some high-spirited patriots refused to take any part in the capitulation; among these was General Wawrzecki, governor of the city, to whom Suworow offered to return his sword, but the noble Pole, whose heart adversity could not subdue, refused the proffered boon, saying: "This sword has now become useless, since I have no longer a country to defend."

On the 9th of November, the Russian commander made his triumphal entry into Warsaw, traversing that dreadful scene of desolation and destruction in profound and terrific silence. Having made a solitude, he called it peace. The Polish chiefs

Kosciusko, Potocki, and others, were sent under a strong military escort to St. Petersburg, and thrown into dungeons; and Stanislaus, the unfortunate monarch, soon after ended his days in that city. A third and a final partition of the unfortunate kingdom of Poland was made, after a short interval, conformable to a new convention, signed at St. Petersburg, on the 24th of October, 1795, between the crowns of Russia and Prussia, to which Austria acceded, and the name of Poland was, from this time, blotted out from the map of Europe; or rather the name alone remained, to serve as an imperishable monument of a series of the most flagitious acts of political injustice and oppression that are to be found in the annals of the civilized world.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Operations in the West Indies—Expedition under the Command of Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis—Capture of Martinico, St. Lucia, the Saints, and Guadaloupe—French Expedition under Victor Hughes—Recapture of Guadaloupe—Operations in St. Domingo.

DISASTROUS as the campaign of 1794 had been to the British arms on the continent, her success, wherever she acted alone and on her own element, was not less distinguished. Towards the end of the year 1793, the British government had prepared a formidable armament to act against the colonies of France in the West Indies. On the third of November, in that year, this expedition sailed; the land forces, which consisted of about 6000 troops, under the command of Sir Charles Grey; and the naval armament, consisting of four ships of war, nine frigates, a bomb ketch, and a few gunboats, and several store ships, under the command of Sir John Jervis.

On the 1st of January, the fleet arrived in the West Indies, but it was not till the month of February that the campaign commenced. On the 5th, 6th, and 8th of February, three separate landings were effected on the island of Martinico, and an opening for the British fleet having been made by the gallant exertions of the troops, Admiral Sir John Jervis immediately sailed from Ance L'Arlet, and anchored in the harbour of Port Royal, with a view to co-operate in the reduction of the fortress. Notwithstanding several spirited movements on the part of the enemy, a detachment under Colonel Symes succeeded in the capture of the large town of St. Pierre, while the third battalion of grenadiers, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Buckridge, and supported by the first and second battalions of light infantry, under Lieutenant-colonels Coote and Blundell,

assailed General Bellegarde with so much gallantry and success, as to take possession of his camp and artillery with very inconsiderable loss; the general himself, and three hundred of his followers, having fallen into their hands. But, notwithstanding the success of the British arms, two strong fortresses still remained to be subdued; the first of these was Fort Louis, situated on a neck of land, which forms one side of the harbour called the Carénage; the second, Fort Bourbon, built upon a hill, and greatly superior in point of strength. The British batteries of the second parallel, meant to be directed against Fort Bourbon, being at length complete, measures were concerted with the admiral, for a combined attack by the naval and land forces; the artillery on the Morne, Tortentoon, and Carrier, accordingly kept up a constant fire upon Fort Royal, while all the other batteries played on Fort Bourbon, during both day and night, as well as on the succeeding morning of the 19th of March, until the ships destined for this service had taken their respective stations.

Previously to this, the battery on Point Carrier, which forms the east side of the entrance of the Carénage, had been opened, and, with the gunboats, kept up an incessant fire on Fort St. Louis. Lieutenant Bowen of the Boyne, who commanded the latter, perceiving a favourable opportunity, boarded the *Bien Venue*, a French frigate, and brought off the captain, lieutenant, and about twenty men, under a severe fire of grape-shot and musketry from the fort.

The success of so gallant an action stimulated the commanders by sea and land to attempt this place, as well as the town of Fort Royal, by assault. Scaling ladders were accordingly provided; the *Asia* and *Zebra* were ordered to be kept in readiness to batter the walls, and also to cover the embarkation, consisting of flat boats, barges, and pinnaces, under the command of Commodore Thompson, supported by captains Nugent and Riou; while the grenadiers and light infantry, led by Lieutenant-colonels Stewart, Close, and Buckeridge, advanced from the camps of La Coste and Sourriere. This movement succeeded completely in every part, except in respect to the *Asia*, which did not enter the port as intended, in consequence of some mistake of the pilot, who was a French naval officer.* But that unfortunate circumstance did not deter the gallant Captain Faulkner, who had been for some time exposed to a fire of grape-shot, from undertaking the service, although alone and unsupported. On the 20th, he ran the *Zebra* close to the wall of the fort, and leaping overboard, at the head of his sloop's company, actually assailed and carried it by escalade, before the boats under Captain Rogers, an active and spirited officer, could get on shore to his assistance. Immediately after this, a body of land forces, under Colonel Symes, entered the town by the bridge over the canal, hoisted the British colours, and changed the name of Fort Louis to Fort Edward, in compliment to the prince, who had arrived some time before from Canada, and now commanded at the camp of La Coste.

General Rochambeau, who is supposed not to have been very warmly attached to the cause of the republicans, sent his aid-de-camp on the 21st with a flag, offering to surrender Fort Bourbon. The terms were accordingly discussed, and ratified next day; in consequence of which it was agreed that the garrison, amounting to nine hundred, should march out with colours flying, thirty rounds a man, and two field-pieces with twelve rounds: they were then to lay down their arms, and after stipulating not to serve against his Britannic majesty or his allies during the present war, to embark immediately for France.

On the 23d, at the hour appointed, the English troops marched to the fort, struck the French three-coloured flag, hoisted the British colours, and changed the name of the place from Fort Bourbon to Fort George; while the governor, in consequence of a secret article, was permitted to retire to America.

After leaving six regiments as a garrison, under Brigadier-general Whyte, and Colonel Myres, the fleet sailed for St. Lucia, the reduction of which was attended with little or no difficulty. On the very next day after the fleet had left Martinico, a landing was effected; and the enemy's troops being appalled at the matchless intrepidity with which Lieutenant-colonel Coote, with only four light companies, had stormed a redoubt and two batteries, agreed to surrender on the 3d of April. Prince Edward accordingly hoisted the British colours, and changed the name to Fort Charlotte, while the Grand Cul de Sac, in which the fleet anchored, received the appellation of Barrington Bay.

The entire conquest of St. Lucia having been thus effected, without the loss of a man, and Colonel Sir Charles Gordon intrusted with the government of the island, the British squadron immediately returned to Fort Royal Bay, in Martinico, where, having taken on board two regiments, and the heavy ordnance, the admiral detached Captain Rogers of the *Quebec*, and three other ships,* on the 5th of April, to take possession of the little islands called the Saints, which they effected without any loss. On the same day, part of this fleet anchored at Point-a-Petre, in Guadeloupe, but a fresh wind and a lee current prevented many of the transports from arriving until some time afterwards. Without waiting for their assistance, General Grey effected a landing, with a body of infantry and five hundred seamen and marines, in the bay, notwithstanding the fire of Forts Gozier and Fleur d'Epee, under cover of the Winchelsea, Lord Garlies, who placed his ship so close to the batteries that the enemy could not stand to their guns, and happened to be the only person wounded upon this occasion. At break of day, on the 12th of April, the fort of La Fleur d'Epee was carried by assault, the troops on this occasion attacking in three divisions with the bayonet; the first under the command of Prince Edward, who, with a body of grenadiers and a hundred of the naval battalion, stormed the posts on Morne Mascot; the second, of nearly the same number of troops, under Major-general Dundas, who marched in such a direction as to take Fleur d'Epee in the rear, and cut off its communications with Fort Louis and Point-a-Petre; the third under Colonel Symes, who proceeded by the road on the sea-side, with intent to co-operate with the former.

* The squadron under Captain Rogers consisted of his own ship, the *Quebec*, the *Ceres*, Captain Ingleton, the *Blanche*, Captain Faulkner, and the *Rose*, Captain Scott.

* Monnier de Tourelles, Lieutenant of the Fort previously to the revolution.

The success of this bold and decisive attack, in the course of which it is to be lamented that the greater part of the garrison was put to the sword during the heat of the contest, obtained for the English the immediate possession of that part of the island called Grande Terre, for the enemy thought proper to evacuate Fort Louis, the town of Point-a-Petre, and the new battery on the islet, called Cochon; but many of the inhabitants escaped to Basse Terre, before the Ceres and two gunboats could reach the Carenage, notwithstanding the alertness and precision with which Captain Inledon, of the navy, executed the orders of the admiral.

After a garrison had been placed in Fleur d'Epee, now denominated Fort Prince of Wales, part of the squadron, with two divisions of the army, under the command of Prince Edward and Colonel Symes, anchored under Islet Haut de Fregatte, and the troops were landed that night and next morning, being the 14th of April, at Petit Bourg: nearly about the same time, another detachment, under Major-general Dundas, disembarked within a short distance of the town of Basse Terre, and carried the strong post of Morne Magdaline; while the two former columns, after seizing on the redoubt of d'Arbond, which had been evacuated by the enemy, and carrying Anet by storm, obtained possession of the important post of Palmiste, with all its batteries, at break of day. As these commanded Fort Charles and Basse Terre, General Collot thought fit to signify his intentions to capitulate. A negotiation accordingly commenced for that purpose, and Guadaloupe, with all its dependencies, comprehending the islands of Marigalante and Deseada, were given up by him on the same terms that had been allowed to Gen. Rochambeau. The French garrison marched out of Fort Charles on the 21st of April; and Prince Edward, with the grenadiers and light infantry, having taken possession, the British colours were immediately hoisted on Fort Matilda, the new name by which it was intended to designate this place in future.

A large accession to the sugar colonies of Great Britain was thus obtained at a very inconsiderable expense, through the gallant and indefatigable exertions of her fleets and armies; while the small portion of English blood spilled in the achievement, scarcely stained the laurels of victory. But the clemency of the conquerors is not supposed, upon this occasion, to have been equal to their valour; and a prostrate enemy, instead of being reconciled to his fate by gentleness, was soon menaced with exactions,

wholly incompatible with the rights of legitimate warfare.*

Other unfortunate circumstances contributed also at this period to render the English unpopular in the conquered islands; while the almost indiscriminate seizure of neutral property, under the authority of a temporary order of council, excited the jealousy of several independent nations, and produced the bitterest reproaches on the part of America, whose vessels were confiscated, condemned, and sold with a facility that excited their astonishment and indignation.

While the English commanders, lulled into a false security by the facility with which the conquest of Martinico, St. Lucia, and Guadaloupe was achieved, had despatched a reinforcement to St. Domingo, and were publishing proclamations, enforcing military contributions on the new subjects of Britain, the French government, with some difficulty, fitted out a feeble armament for the West Indies. This was composed of only two frigates, two forty-four gun ships armed *en flute*, and incapable of much resistance, a corvette, and two transports, the whole of which did not contain above fifteen hundred troops. But the chief strength of this little squadron consisted in a simple decree of the national convention, which, by recognising the principles of universal justice, conferred liberty upon all the slaves in the colonies.† But if the law in question was admirably contrived to effect the purpose for which it was intended, the commissioner by whom it was to be enforced must be allowed to have been equally well calculated for deriving every possible advantage from so extraordinary a measure. This was Victor Hughes, a man fitted by nature for desperate enterprises, and favoured upon the present occasion by a combination of circumstances singularly auspicious; for General Dundas,

* See Major-general Dundas's proclamation, dated Martinico, February 19th, 1794 and another proclamation by Lieutenant-general Prescott, dated May 10th, 1794, in which it was intimated, that "all the colonial productions and provisions, of whatever kind and quality, should be publicly sold for the profit of the captors."

† LIBERTY AND EQUALITY.

Extract of a Decree of the National Convention of the 25th Pluviose, the second year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

"The national convention declares that negro slavery in all the colonies is abolished; and consequently, that all men without distinction of colour, domiciliated in the colonies, are French citizens, and entitled to all the rights confirmed by the constitution. It enjoins the committee of public safety constantly to report on the measures to be taken to secure the execution of the present decree."

the governor of Gaudaloupe, died about this period of the yellow fever; Colonel Clos, the second in command, was seized at the same time with a disease that proved mortal; while the troops were thinned by contagion, and the inhabitants disaffected to the English government, in consequence of recent events. The people of colour, too, could not easily forget that beneficent but perhaps premature law, which had rendered them the equals of the white inhabitants; and the negroes, glorying in a principle closely interwoven with the texture of the human frame, hailed the decree of emancipation with rapture, and joyfully rallied around the cap of liberty, now hoisted as a standard.

The French squadron, having escaped all the English cruisers in a most extraordinary manner, arrived at Point-a-Petre, in Guadaloupe, on the 3d of June, after a passage of forty-one days from Rochefort, landed a body of troops near the village of Gozier in the course of the same night, and prepared for an immediate attack.

In the mean time, many of the French planters stationed within the fort, being ignorant of the force as well as of the ultimate intentions of the enemy, proposed to march out and surprise them, with a view of cutting off their communication with the disaffected inhabitants in the colony, and driving them back to their ships. On this, the commandant having permitted them to assemble one hundred and eighty volunteers, the party sallied forth at eight o'clock in the evening; but on being unexpectedly discovered, a general panic seized on the unhappy royalists, who, recollecting that if they escaped from the fire, they would be exposed to the guillotine of the republicans, betook themselves to flight, notwithstanding the repeated attempts to rally them by Captain M'Dowell of the 43d, the English officer by whom they were commanded.

Encouraged by this unfortunate event, Victor Hughes determined to advance against Point-a-Petre, and attempt it by storm. After an arduous struggle, he at length succeeded in obtaining possession of the whole of that part of the island called Grande Terre; Lieutenant-colonel Drummond having found it necessary to retreat with his feeble garrison to Basse-Terre.

In the mean time, the British commanders by sea and land had actually embarked, and were about to sail from St. Kitts for England, when they received the intelligence, equally displeasing and unexpected, of the arrival of an armament from France. On this, Sir John Jervis, after despatching a vessel to Martinico for reinforcements, and collecting some ships of war, immediately proceeded to Guada-

loupe, and arrived on the day after the evacuation. On learning the state of affairs, he anchored off Point-a-Petre, and blockaded the French squadron, while Sir Charles Grey proceeded to Basse-Terre, where he collected a force from the neighbouring colonies, at the town of Petit-Bourg, for the reduction of Grande-Terre; and the islands of St. Christopher and Antigua, alarmed at recent events, raised a considerable body of volunteers to assist in the expedition.

Every thing being at length prepared for the reconquest of Grande Terre, a landing was effected under cover of two frigates, at Ance Canot, the grenadiers being led by Lieutenant-colonel Fisher, and the light infantry by Lieutenant-colonel Gomm. On this, the French abandoned Gozier, and assumed a position that commanded the road to Fort Fleur d'Epee. From this position they were with some difficulty dislodged, and although they rallied again, they were at length compelled to retire into the fort.

Recurring to the mode of successive engagements practised by his countrymen in Europe, in the course of the very evening in which they had been last defeated, the French commissioner sallied out at the head of a motley army of blacks, mulattoes, and whites, and attacked the post occupied by Colonel Fisher on Morne Mascot, under cover of the guns of Fleur d'Epee. But notwithstanding they were worsted upon this occasion also, they persevered with amazing obstinacy, and on the 29th of June advanced with a field-piece, to the number of one thousand five hundred men, assuming a more regular appearance than before, the people of colour being by this time clothed in the national uniform; the bayonets of the English, however, once more drove them from the heights with considerable slaughter.

The British commander, encouraged by these successes on the one hand, and urged by the approach of the hurricane season on the other, determined to finish the campaign by one bold and brilliant manœuvre, in which was displayed all his former zeal, unaccompanied however with any of his former good fortune. Having concerted the necessary measures, Brigadier-general Symes received orders to advance from Morne Mascot, and assault the town on the second of July. He accordingly proceeded with a body of infantry, and the 1st battalion of seamen, commanded by Captain Robertson, who stormed Point-a-Petre before daybreak; but, by a mistake on the part of the guides, they entered at the strongest side, and were soon overpowered by the enemy, who commenced an attack upon them with round and grape

shot, as well as small arms, in the course of which the commanding officer and Brigadier-general Fisher were both wounded, as well as Lieutenant-colonel Gomm, and Captain Robertson of the navy, two meritorious officers. The complete failure of this attempt probably prevented the termination of the war in Guadaloupe, as Sir Charles Grey had made preparations, in case of success, for the storming of Fort Fleur d'Epee; but he was now obliged to relinquish the meditated attack, and even to detach a body of troops under Captain Stewart, as well as a party of seamen from the Boyne, under Lieutenant Woolley, to cover the retreat of the unfortunate division. Nor did the disaster terminate here, for in the course of that very night it was found necessary to retire to Gozier, to march one part of the forces by Petit-Bourg to Ber-ville, and to embark the remainder; which was happily effected without the loss of a single man, under the direction of Rear-admiral Thompson. After this, the commander-in-chief occupied the ground between St. John's point and Mahault bay, with his whole force; he also erected batteries of heavy artillery, as well as of mortars, on Point Saron and Point St. John, opposite Point-a-Petre, whence he attempted to destroy both the town and the shipping, while the gunboats belonging to the fleet were incessantly employed in battering the forts at Point-a-Petre and La Fleur d'Epee; but by this time the French commissioner, although not a military man, had concentrated his strength, and made such able dispositions, as soon gave him a decided superiority. He had also recourse to energetic proclamations, in which, while he detailed the benefits conferred by the convention, he at the same time inflamed the courage and aroused the hopes of those devoted to a cause which he had so ably and so successfully supported.

By this time, the admiral and general, unable to counteract the efforts of a man who contrived to arm both master and slave in one common cause, had retired to Martinico, whence they in vain solicited succours from England. Until these should arrive, a defensive system of warfare was adopted, and it was hoped that the naval force stationed at the Salee would render Basse-Terre secure from invasion. But these calculations proved fallacious, for this resolute and persevering enemy, by eluding the vigilance of the English shipping, effected the passage in the night of the 27th of September, and made two different landings, the one at Goyave, and the other at Lamentin. After seizing on Petit-Bourg, where, under pretence of retaliating former outrages, many of the sick and wounded

were basely put to death, they advanced to Point Bacchus, unfortunately intercepting Colonel Drummond and a party of French colonists, and obtained possession of the heights, in the neighbourhood of the English camp.

The British troops, under the command of Brigadier-general Colin Graham, which at first consisted of nearly 600 regulars and royalists, were in the course of a few days reduced to 125 rank and file fit for duty. Finding that he was cut off from all communication, the general reluctantly consented so capitulate on the 6th of October, and the British troops were allowed the honours of war. But a harder fate awaited the white and the free people of colour, who had taken the oath of allegiance to his Britannic majesty. The British general could only procure the privilege of one covered boat, in which he conveyed away some of the principal royalists; the others, many of whom the conqueror thought proper to consider as rebels, were abandoned to their fate, and one of the chiefs, finding that his three brothers were not to be admitted into the privileged boat, is said to have shot himself with a pistol in the presence of the English general.

In consequence of these unfortunate events, the whole of the island of Guadaloupe, one post only excepted, was restored to the French, in whose favour the militia, conscious of the fate that awaited their disobedience, now declared; and General Prescott, who commanded at Fort Matilda, finding his cannon dismounted, and that even the Boyne and other men-of-war, which had repaired to his assistance, were occasionally obliged to sheer off from the gun and mortar batteries, after protracting the siege for nearly a month, deemed it prudent to evacuate the place during the night, on the 10th of December, which was accordingly effected without loss, under the superintendence of Captain Bowen of the Terpsichore, who was wounded upon this occasion.

Thus, in consequence of the exertions of a single individual, aided by a small force from the mother country, and armed with a decree of a few lines annulling slavery, Guadaloupe was restored to France; and when it is recollected, that although uninstructed in the art of war, he completely baffled the activity, enterprise, and professional skill of two of the ablest commanders in the service of Great Britain, it is but candid to add, that if the humanity of Victor Hughes had been as conspicuous as his talents, he would have been surpassed by few men of the present age.

While the British cause was by turns triumphant and unprosperous in Guadaloupe, fortune seemed for a time to smile pro-

pitions in St. Domingo, where nearly the whole of the peninsula of Tiburon had submitted to Lieutenant-colonel Whitelocke.

But in the West Indies, as in Europe, it was soon found that the occupation of so many places necessarily rendered the defence of each weak, and that extension only produced insecurity; for although Captain

Grant, of the 13th regiment, gallantly repulsed three distinct bodies of the enemy, after both himself and his two lieutenants were wounded, yet the town and port of Leogane fell into the hands of the republicans, and the officer commanding at Tiburon was obliged in the course of a few weeks to evacuate that post.

CHAPTER XIX.

Retrospect of the triumphant Progress of the French Arms—Dissolution of the first Coalition—The Republic recognised, and Peace concluded with Tuscany, Prussia, Hesse-Cassel, and Spain—War in La Vendee; its Origin, sanguinary Progress and temporary Cessation—The Vendean War resumed—Expedition to Quiberon; its disastrous Result—French Civil History—State of the Finances; Conflicts of Parties: Insurrection of the 1st of April and the 20th of May—Death of Louis XVII.—Exchange of the Princess his Sister for the arrested Deputies—New Constitution—Insurrection of the Sections of Paris—Dissolution and Character of the National Convention—The new Government.

At no period in the annals of the revolution, nor perhaps in the history of France, had such a succession of brilliant exploits distinguished the arms of that country, as in the campaign of 1794; and a list of recent conquests was printed and affixed to a tablet which was hung in the hall of the convention, from which it appeared that the ten provinces of the Austrian Netherlands; the seven United Provinces; the bishoprics of Liege, Worms, and Spire; the Electorates of Treves, Cologne, and Mentz; the dutchy of Deux-Ponts; the Palatinate; and the dutchies of Juliers and Cleves, all ranked amongst her conquests in the north; while the dutchy of Savoy, with the principalities of Nice and Monaco, in Italy, swelled their number in the south. The population of the conquered countries was in this document estimated at thirteen millions of souls; which, added to the twenty-four millions contained in ancient France, gave the republic a number of citizens amounting to thirty-seven millions. These conquests had, as they asserted, been achieved in seventeen months, during which period the French armies had gained twenty-seven general battles, had been victorious in not less than one hundred and twenty-seven actions; and had taken one hundred and sixteen strong cities and fortified places. These successes, say they, have been obtained over the best disciplined armies in Europe; elated with their past triumphs over warlike enemies, and commanded by generals of consummate experience and most dazzling reputation; while the armies of the republic, at the commencement of the contest, consisted of officers and soldiers, few of whom had seen service, and com-

manded by generals hitherto without renown.*

The natural effect of such a series of successes was to weaken the cement which held together the coalition, and most of the neighbouring powers became eager to recognise the republic. The Grand-duke of Tuscany, brother to the emperor, was the first to acknowledge the new government, and in a public proclamation, dated March 1, 1795, he says, "his royal highness now expressly repeals all acts of adhesion, consent, and accession, to the armed coalition against the French republic," and re-establishes "the neutrality of Tuscany." This was soon afterwards followed by a recognition of the French republic on the part of the King of Prussia, who, having annexed two great commercial cities, Dantzic and Thorn, together with some of the most fertile provinces of Poland, to the dominions of the house of Brandenburg entered into a negotiation with the committee of public safety, and on the 5th of April, 1795, concluded a treaty of reciprocal advantage, by means of his minister, the Baron de Hardenberg, with citizen Barthelemy, the French ambassador at Bade. His Prussian majesty, who had been the first to enter into the coalition against France, and was now among the first to abandon the confederated princes, felt that his conduct called for some justification, and accordingly, on the 2d of May a declaration was promulgated from Berlin, in which he said:—"After three bloody campaigns, fertile in death and desolation, is not suffering humanity brought sufficiently low? His majesty cannot wholly

* Dr. Bismet's History, vol. vi. p. 49, 50.

sacrifice himself, and leave his dominions entirely a prey to destruction, for the sake of participating in the future experiment of a war, the result of which, if it were even as favourable as possible, would still be inferior to a present negotiation for peace. All considerations of foreign and domestic relations, as likewise the sacred duties which his majesty owes to the prosperity of his provinces, to his subjects, longing for peace and tranquillity, and to the happiness of his own royal bosom, summon him most urgently to renounce forthwith a war whose future issue must only prove ruin past redemption."

This proclamation, so different in language and in spirit to the memorable proclamation issued by the Duke of Brunswick, the Prussian commander, on entering the French territory in the month of July, 1792, was soon afterwards followed by a treaty of peace between the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel and the French republic, under the mediation of the King of Prussia, in which it was stipulated, that the French should still continue to occupy one of his fortresses, Rheinfeldt, and that he should neither renew nor prolong the two subsidiary treaties with the court of Great Britain.

On the one side of the Pyrenees, uninterrupted success still attended the arms of France. In the first campaign, indeed, after the breaking out of the war, the Spaniards had been victorious, and after taking the important fortress of Bellegarde, had gained a decisive victory over the republicans on the territory of France; but from this moment, success seemed to have forsaken their standard. In the second campaign, the republicans entered the kingdom of Spain, in the direction of St. Jean de Luz, Figuieras, and Irun; and the important city of Fontarabia capitulated on the first summons of General Moncey, while the gates of Tolosa were open to the victorious invaders. On the eastern side of the Pyrenees, General Dugommier obtained a decisive victory over General de l'Union, at Colisaro, in which not less than seven thousand of the Spaniards grounded their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war; after which, Bellegarde fell again into the hands of the French, to whom Figuieras surrendered with a garrison of nearly ten thousand men. No sooner had the third campaign opened, than the French seized upon Vittoria, while General Miollis crossed the Ebro, and took possession of Miranda, in Old Castile, within one hundred and sixty miles of Madrid. The King of Spain, seized with terror at the conquests of an enemy who threatened speedily to overrun his kingdom, transmit-

ted orders to Don Domingo d'Yriate, whom he had nominated his plenipotentiary at Basle, immediately to conclude a treaty of pacification, which was signed on the 22d of July. By this treaty, France agreed to evacuate her conquests in Spain, on his Catholic majesty ceding to the French republic all the Spanish part of the island of St. Domingo.

From this period, the contest assumed a new form, and all the governments of Europe, that of England alone excepted, now breathed a fervent and sincere wish for peace; and even the King of Great Britain, as Elector of Hanover, had notified his accession to the treaty between France and Prussia, and soon afterwards issued the most peremptory orders for the removal of all the armed emigrants from his Germanic territory.

It has been already intimated, that the Thermidorean revolution, in consequence of which Robespierre and his accomplices, from being executioners, became in their turn victims, produced an entire change in the domestic policy of France. Efficacious measures had been for some time adopted, to quiet the insurgent districts, and extinguish the flames which had so long consumed a tract of country, consisting of many of the western departments of France, but stigmatized under the name of La Vendee. The war in that country, which originated in attachment to "the throne and to the altar," had been carried on ever since the 10th of May, 1793, with various success, and during the reign of the Mountain party had assumed the most ferocious aspect on both sides. The insurgents conducted their hostilities with a degree of savage ferocity, unexampled for ages in modern Europe, anterior to the wars of the French revolution. All the republican prisoners, even those who had not carried arms, finished their lives in dreadful and prolonged tortures. Every cruel device that the most rancorous ingenuity could invent, was perpetrated on the mutilated bodies of their expiring enemies, in the name of the Catholic faith and of Louis XVII. After the manner of the savage Indians, the woman too were called in to participate in these horrid rites; and when the sufferings of the captives were to be heightened by any new refinement in cruelty, the female sex were incited to inflict additional pangs, and protract the agonies of the victim without bereaving him of his life. Some of the leaders, however, were not devoid of humanity. The brave D'Elbe spared all those placed within his power by the fortune of war, during the first five months of his career; and at length put his enemies to death, not from a love of vengeance, but the necessity of

retaliation. The name of Charette, on the contrary, was terrible to his foes, and he exercised his power with the most savage ferocity;* but Bonchamp, although expiring by a wound received in battle, restored to liberty not less than four thousand of the soldiers employed by the convention.

On the other hand, the republicans resorted to means that can never be justified, or even palliated. The convention put all the inhabitants of the insurgent departments out of the protection of the laws; and no sooner did the Chouans make their appearance, than orders were issued "that they should be pursued without intermission, and put to death without quarter." Some of the deputies sent to those devoted departments, acted like so many executioners rather than legislators, and more than one of the generals† appear to have cheerfully participated in their crimes. At Bressuire, Floutiere, Le Chapeignerave, Pouzanges, Meilleray, and several other places, the habitations were delivered up to the flames, and the inhabitants to the bayonets of a furious soldiery. Grignon, a dealer in cattle, anterior to the revolution, and an officer afterwards, is said to have ordered his own father-in-law to be shot. Fraucastel and Henty, sent on a mission to the western army, commenced their bloody apostleship at Angers, and one thousand two hundred Vendéans were immolated at one time to their vengeance.‡ Huchet, not

content with committing the most atrocious murders with his own hand, and ordering the country everywhere around him to be destroyed by fire, actually commanded all the members of a municipality who had repaired with their tri-coloured scarfs to his camp at Sorinieres, to be shot, although they had gone thither to request his protection against the royalists.

But, notwithstanding the reign of terror had now commenced, many of the republican party abhorred these measures, as equally impolitic and cruel, and some were bold enough to denounce them openly. Philipeaux, a deputy from the department of Sarthe, after visiting La Vendee, declared that the jacobin generals perpetuated the war by means of their crimes, and even accused the committee of public safety as the accomplices of their atrocities.

Amidst this horrible state of uncertainty, during which the royalists and republicans triumphed alternately, such of the inhabitants as escaped exile, disease, and the sword, were obliged by turns to declare for the victors. They accordingly appeared before the advancing columns with white or tri-coloured cockades, in exact conformity to the principles of the invaders, and were careful to be prepared with other emblems of attachment, in case of an unexpected retreat.

Thus all La Vendee was unceasingly a prey to horrors; and a portion of the French territory destined by nature to feed twenty departments, could scarcely supply the wretched remnant of its own population with food.

No sooner, however, had Robespierre and his ferocious satellites received the tardy punishment invoked by so many crimes, than an entire change took place in the conduct of the civil war. The convention, permitted at length to pause in the career of slaughter, and no longer terrified with the prospect of new proscriptions, determined to put an end to the bloody strife. A system of moderation, equally politic and humane, accordingly took place; and the authority of the insurgent chiefs, which remained undiminished amidst all the mischiefs inflicted by the desolating torch, and the exterminating sword, was suddenly sapped and diminished by the language of peace and the prospect of conciliation. The deputies of mission not only permitted mass to be said publicly, but cherished and protected

* When Charette retook Machecoul, he caused the patriots of that place to be assembled, and after adding to these a few prisoners taken in battle, he ordered them all to be shot, to the number of seven or eight hundred. Although the greater part of these unfortunate persons were only slightly wounded, yet they were immediately thrown into a ditch, and thus literally buried alive!

† Turreau, on commencing an expedition against the Vendéans, is said to have addressed his soldiers as follows:—

"Nous entrons dans le pays des insurgés; vous y brûlerez tout, vous passerez au fil de la baïonnette tous les habitants. Il peut y avoir quelques patriotes dans les pays; mais c'est égal, il faut tout sacrifier."

"We are about to enter the country of the insurgents; you are to burn every thing, and bayonet all the inhabitants. There may be indeed some few patriots among them; but, notwithstanding that, the whole must be sacrificed."

‡ Francastel assisted Carrier in the massacre of the priests at Nantes; and he himself is said to have issued an order to bind sixty-one of the clergy of Nièvre together, and drown them by means of a vessel sunk for that purpose. The following is a copy of his directions to General Grignon:

"Tu feras trembler les brigands auxquels il ne faut pas faire de quartier: nos prisons regorgent. . . . Des prisonniers dans La Vendee! . . . Il faut incendier les maisons ecclésiastiques, les moulins, surtout les châteaux; enfin, achever la transformation de ce pays en desert. . . . Point de pitié ni de grâce. . . . Ces sont les vœux de la convention."

"You must make the robbers tremble, and give them no quarter—Our prisons are crowded. . . . What! prisons in La Vendee! . . . It is necessary to burn all the lone houses, the mills, and, above all, the castles; in short, to transform the whole country into a desert. . . . Neither mildness nor clemency. . . . Such are the intentions of the convention."

the non-juring clergy. Hoche, who seconded all their efforts, punished every infraction of the laws of humanity with the most exemplary severity, and prohibited the brutal custom of exhibiting the bleeding heads of the vanquished Vendéans in the front of the French columns. At the same time, an amnesty was published, offering pardon, amity, and protection, to such as should bring in their arms: the insurgents, embracing this offer, deserted by multitudes, and their chiefs saw no alternative but to accept the proposed act of oblivion.

After some preliminary negotiations in the beginning of February, 1795, Charette and the principal chiefs of his army, on behalf of the Vendéans, and General Cornmante on the part of the Chouans, publicly signified their intention to deliver up their arms and magazines, and to live for the future in subjection to the existing government. In the mean time, conferences were opened at a farm-house near Nantes, between the insurgent chiefs and the deputies from the convention; and on the 7th of March a treaty was concluded, signed and ratified at Nantes, by which it was stipulated, that "the sum of eighty millions of livres should be granted to the inhabitants of La Vendee, to indemnify them for the losses, burnings, and devastations they had suffered—that the contracts entered into between the generals and inhabitants of La Vendee should be discharged by the French republic—that the inhabitants of La Vendee should acknowledge the French republic—that General Charette, who should give in a list of persons to be banished from La Vendee, should have the command of a body of two thousand men—and that the free exercise of the Catholic religion should be permitted, the banished non-juring priests to return, and be restored to their patrimonial estates only—and that there should be no districts or municipalities, but only a national agent in La Vendee, in which no requisitions were to take place for the space of five years.

In the paper signed by Charette and the other chiefs on this occasion, they attribute their taking up arms principally to the oppressive government of Robespierre and his party; and say, "As the government of blood has disappeared, we declare our submission to the French republic, one and indivisible, and our acknowledgment of its laws. We promise to surrender, as soon as possible, all the artillery and horses in our possession; and we make a solemn promise never again to bear arms against the republic." At the same time, these chiefs published an address to the

inhabitants of La Vendee, exhorting them to submit to the laws, extolling the justice and liberality of the convention, and setting forth the folly and mischief of perseverance. Stofflet and some of his adherents still, however, continued to resist, but being soon forsaken by many of his followers, he signed a treaty on the 20th of April, in this year, to the same effect as the treaty made with the Vendéans.*

The hopes that the peace of La Vendee would be permanent, and that the French armies would from this time have to contend only with foreign enemies, were soon proved to be delusive. The republican government, on a plea of bad faith, refused to advance the sums stipulated by the treaty of the 7th of March, and several of the chiefs having been arrested for holding a traitorous correspondence with the English government, the country was again in arms early in the month of June, under the command of Charette and Stofflet. In the mean time, the British government, listening to the counsels of the French refugees, was meditating an attack upon France, in the most vulnerable part; and a number of regiments were accordingly raised and embodied, partly of British, but principally of emigrants; but as the number of volunteers, for so desperate an undertaking, proved insufficient, the fatal measure of recruiting from the jails was resorted to; and as a natural consequence of such a proceeding, a mutinous spirit exhibited itself among the troops, amounting even to a regular conspiracy, immediately after the expedition sailed.† This army, which consisted of from 4 to 5,000 men, was placed under the command of M. de Puisaye, who possessed considerable influence amongst the Chouans, but who neither enjoyed the confidence of the troops, nor possessed any military renown. Under his command were placed the Count de Sombreuil, a young nobleman of great promise, and the Count d'Herville, a general anterior to the destruction of the monarchy. This

* The act of accession of Stofflet, and his adherents, was to the following effect:

"We, the general and principal officers of the catholic and royal army of Anjou and Upper Poitou, declare, that, animated with the desire of peace, we have retarded its conclusion till this day, solely to consult the desires of the people, whose interests have been confided to us, and those of the catholic and royal army of Brittany. We adhere to the measures taken by the deputies for the pacification of the insurgent departments, and submitting ourselves wholly to the laws of the republic, promising never to bear arms against her, and to send our artillery with as little delay as possible."

(Signed by Stofflet and seventeen of the chiefs.)

† Hist. philosop. de la Revol. par Ant. Fantin Desodoards, t. vi. p. 186.

little army, fitted out with a liberality bordering upon profusion, was embarked in transports, under the convoy of a small squadron, commanded by Sir John Borlase Warren, whose intimate knowledge of the French coast rendered him particularly adapted for such an undertaking. After having been sixteen days at sea, the fleet anchored, on the 25th of June, in the bay of Quiberon. The debarkation of the main body of the troops was effected during the night, under the orders of General d'Herville, and the remainder landed on the succeeding days without molestation from the enemy, together with an immense quantity of muskets, uniforms, stores, and five pieces of cannon. The first movement was to take possession of Auray and Vannes, and the fleet, co-operating with the army, attacked and carried Fort Penhievre, which surrendered after a defence of two days, with a garrison of 400 men. The royalists soon afterwards made themselves masters of the whole peninsula, together with the intrenched camp of Carnac, and although the inhabitants appeared unfriendly to their cause, M. de Puisaye, who had established his head-quarters at the village of Genese, was soon joined by a body of Chouans, and the commander clothed and armed, without sufficient discrimination, all the peasantry that presented themselves.

Thus far, the enterprise wore a prosperous aspect, and the commander-in-chief had time and opportunity, under the title of "Lieutenant-general of the king's armies, and commander-in-chief of the catholic and royal army of Brittany," to publish a proclamation, inviting Frenchmen of every description to rally round his standard.

But no sooner did the intelligence of these events reach Paris, than the national convention despatched to Brittany, Blad and Tallien, two deputies on whose energy they could rely. Their business was to raise the neighbouring departments, while Hoche assembled troops, and organized an army. This being accomplished, the first object of the French general was to compel the invading army to withdraw to the camp of Kousten, and to erect batteries to confine them within the peninsula. The Anglo-emigrant army, now swelled to the number of 12,000, with a view of extricating themselves from this perilous situation, and of keeping up the communication with the disaffected in the interior, determined to assault the republican lines by break of day on the 16th of July. Accordingly, a detachment, consisting of nearly half the troops fit for service, marched to to attack the intrenched camp of Hoche, at St. Barbe; but intelligence of this important operation had been communicated

to the enemy on the preceding evening, by not less than four different deserters; and on the approach of the columns of the invaders, General Humbert fell back to the intrenched camp, followed by the English and French troops, in confidence of victory; but on a sudden, a masked battery of grape-shot was opened upon them, which did inconceivable execution. Almost in a moment, the whole army of the assailants was thrown into confusion; the retreat was in a very short time converted into an absolute flight, and had not the fire from the British fleet stopped the progress of the republican columns, scarcely a man would have escaped. In this disastrous affair, three hundred of the emigrants, with the Count de Thalmont, and a number of nobles, were left dead on the field, while General d'Herville, who commanded on the occasion, was desperately wounded, and three pieces of cannon fell to the lot of the victors.

Hoche, who had by this time collected a formidable force, determined to leave the lines hitherto occupied by his troops, and attack the invaders, whom he had pinned up within the peninsula. Accordingly, at eleven o'clock on the night of the 20th, three thousand of the republicans, led by the Generals Humbert and Valle, and conducted by a number of deserters, left the camp of St. Barbe, amidst a dreadful storm accompanied with a deluge of rain, and passing along the low and level shore of the sea, climbed the rocks without being discovered, and attacked the fort before there arose the least suspicion of danger. On receiving intelligence of this event, the remainder of the republican army was instantly put in motion, and the commander-in-chief, assisted by the two representatives, Blad and Tallien, penetrated the peninsula in three columns with an overwhelming force, when M. de Puisaye, seeing that all was lost, sought his own personal safety on board a man-of-war, directing the brave but unfortunate M. Sombreuil to await his orders. At length, the intrenched camp was forced, and while nearly one half of the invaders joined the army of Hoche, with the cries "*Vive la République!*" the remainder retired to a rock where they had posted a piece of cannon, and defended themselves with the greatest intrepidity. But it was found impossible to resist the number and the artillery of the assailants, and these wretched and unhappy men were at length forced to surrender at discretion, but not till some of the chiefs had escaped on board the boats sent to their succour. In Fort Penhievre and the peninsula were found seventy thousand muskets, clothing for forty thousand men, one hundred and

fifty thousand pair of shoes, and all the artillery landed from the fleet; the beach of of Quiberon was covered with wines, liquors, and all sorts of stores, and a number of vessels laden with flour, rice, and provisions fell into the hands of the victors.

But part of the sad story of the fate of the vanquished remains to be told. Not less than six or seven hundred of the emigrants perished at the foot of a rock called *le rocher de Portignes*, where they had taken shelter; about two thousand were saved by the boats of the fleet, and of those that surrendered, such as were not noble after some time obtained their liberty, and all the women and children of the Chouans were immediately set free. The Bishop of Dol, who had sailed with the expedition from England and fourteen of his clergy, received death, with the most exemplary resignation; M. de Broglie, and several men of birth, to the amount of nearly three hundred, after a trial before a military tribunal, consisting of a lieutenant-colonel, a captain, sergeant, corporal, and private, also suffered death upon this occasion, and the gallant Count Charles de Sombreuil, whose fate attracted the attention and commiseration of all Europe, fell under the hand of the executioner. A day or two previous to the death of this unfortunate young nobleman, he addressed a letter to Sir J. B. Warren, in which he says, "A number of vessels which remained on the coast might have afforded me the disgraceful retreat which M. de Puisaye so vigilantly seized; but the dereliction of my companions in arms would have been far more shocking to me than the lot which awaits me. I am bold to say I deserve a better fate; and this you will acknowledge, together with all those that know me, if chance should ever permit any of my companions to reveal the mysteries of this fatal—this unexampled day. Farewell! I bid you farewell with that calmness which can alone result from purity of conscience. In this last moment, I derive a source of enjoyment, if any can be tasted in a situation like mine, from the esteem of my companions in misfortune, and that of the enemy by whom we are conquered.—Farewell!—Farewell! to all the world!"

Such was the fate of this disastrous expedition, but the British squadron remained some time on the coast, and the Isle of Dieu was taken possession of, and converted into a place of arms, whence the Chouans could occasionally be succoured, while the British cruisers, by hovering in the neighbourhood, kept the adjacent coast in continual alarm, and intercepted all communication by sea.

France still continued to be agitated by

factions, and her metropolis, even at this period, was too often defiled with blood. The convention, made wise by experience, assumed sufficient fortitude to abolish the law of *maximum*, which fixed the price of the necessities of life, and prescribed the limits above which they should not advance. This salutary repeal, so essential to the interests of trade, and so closely connected with the very existence of the people, was soon afterwards followed by a report presented by Johannot from the united committees of commerce and finance, from which it appeared that

	Livres.
The value of the national property amounted to	2,276,430,410
The national forests, occupying five millions of acres, to	2,000,000,000
The confiscated lands and palaces of the emigrants, to	15,226,280,220
The national domains in Belgium, to	3,000,000,000
	<hr/> 22,502,710,630

making a sum equal to about nine hundred millions of pounds sterling, on the credit of which national paper had been issued, amounting to little more than one third of that sum.

The two parties who had combined to overthrow the sanguinary tyranny of Robespierre, soon began to show that they could not exist together; and on the 2d of March, 1795, a report was presented to the convention, in which Barrere, Collot d'Herbois, and Billaud Varennes were accused of having participated in the enormities of Robespierre, and after undergoing the usual form of trial, it was decreed that they should be transported to Guinea. The proceedings against these deputies, united with the pressure of famine, which at that moment was felt with peculiar severity, occasioned an insurrection in Paris, which broke out on the 1st of April, and was not suppressed till the following day.

The trial of Fouquier Thinvillle, and the ex-judges and jurors of the revolutionary tribunal during the reign of terror, followed, and having been convicted, on the clearest evidence, of the mal-administration of public justice, and of having perverted the law to purposes of judicial murder, Thinvillle, and fifteen others, were executed on the morning of the ninth of May, amidst the execrations of an indignant people.

Another insurrectionary rising took place in the metropolis, on the 20th of May, when the rallying exclamation was "Bread, and the Constitution of 1793," which was followed by insurrections in the departments, but they were all at length suppressed by a mixture of terror and reconciliation.

No event in the history of the interna.

concerns of France during the present year, made a more powerful impression on the sympathies of Europe, than the death of the infant son of the unfortunate Louis XVI. It was at first supposed, that this child of misery, whose only crime consisted in being born to a throne, owed his death to poison, but for such an atrocity there appears, at the period in question, to have been no adequate motive, though it is highly probable that his death was hastened by the unjust confinement in which he was held, and by which he was debarred from taking the air and exercise necessary to his existence. He had ever been an unhealthy child, subject to a scrofulous complaint, and for some time previous to his decease, had suffered from swellings in his knees and wrists. In this deplorable situation, he was attacked by a fever, and death at length terminated his woes on the morning of the 9th of June, in the prison of the Temple, where he had been confined from the fatal autumn of 1792. Penetrated, perhaps, with this event, the committee of public safety proposed the exchange of his sister, the princess, who remained a prisoner in the Temple, for the deputies, Semonville and Maret, who had been delivered up to Austria by Dumouriez, and for several others; this proposal was, after some delay, acceded to, and the captive princess once more breathed the balmy air of liberty.

The unsettled state of France, and the continual conflicts of the contending factions in the convention, served to convince every Frenchman who really felt the sacred flame of patriotism glowing in his breast, that a regular form of government, and an executive power, were indispensably necessary, to rescue that country from the revolutionary vortex in which she had been so long involved. The plan of a new constitution was accordingly drawn up and presented, on the 23d of June, by a committee appointed for that purpose. After much discussion and various alterations, the constitutional act was, on the 23d of August, declared complete, and referred to the primary assemblies for their approbation. By this constitution the legislative power was vested in two councils, chosen through the medium of the electoral assemblies,* the one consisting of 500, and the

other of 250 members. To the former, styled the legislative council, belonged the proposing, to the latter, styled the senate, or council of elders, the confirming of laws; and no person could be a member of the council of elders who had not completed his fortieth year. One-third of each council was appointed to be re-chosen every year. The executive power was delegated to a directory of five members, to be partially renewed by the annual election of one member in regular rotation; the directory to be elected by the two councils; the council of five hundred, making out, by secret scrutiny, a list containing ten times the number of the members of the directory, from which the council of elders selects, by secret scrutiny, the proposed number. The judicial power was to reside in judges of departments and districts chosen by the electoral assemblies, and a high tribunal of appeal, and cassation or annulment, established by the same mode of election for the whole kingdom.

This was certainly the outline of a free and noble constitution; but it was by no means exempt from defects. The directory was not invested with the power of assembling or proroguing the legislative bodies; and the executive authority was much weakened by being committed to five persons, between whom differences and division might be expected to arise, to the embarrassment of public business, and the injury of the state.

On this constitution, two decrees were engrafted, which, in their consequences, plunged the metropolis of France into another of those scenes of horror that had so often been exhibited during the revolution: by the first of these decrees, passed on the 5th Fructidor (August 29d), it was enacted, that the elective bodies should, in appointing the deputies to the legislative body, choose two-thirds from among the members of the present convention; and by the second, that in default of such election, the convention should fill up the vacancies themselves. The forty-eight sections of Paris, who had usually given the tone to the nation at large, while they unanimously accepted the constitutional act, as firmly rejected the law for the re-election of the two-thirds. The majority of the primary assemblies throughout the country, to whom both the constitution and the decrees were submitted at the same time, accepted them both, but not without violent opposition. But such was the determined resistance of the sections of Paris, that they soon proceeded to acts of open hostility, and in the dead of night of the 4th of October, the cry of *To Arms! To Arms! Liberty or Death!* once more reverberated through the streets of the metropolis; and at the

* Every man of one-and-twenty years of age, born and resident in France, who paid a direct contribution to the state, and who had not forfeited his franchise by any infamous crime, was by this constitution declared to be a French citizen; these citizens formed the *primary assemblies*; and by them the *electoral assemblies* were nominated in the proportion of one elector for two hundred citizens; it being required that each elector should be five-and-twenty years of age, and possessed of certain property.

early dawn of day, the sections, having drawn out their forces, marched them to the hall of the convention, and a sanguinary battle took place in the streets. The command of the troops was confided on this occasion to Barras, by the convention; and the different avenues of the Tuilleries being planted with cannon, great slaughter was made among the insurgents, who repeatedly rallied and returned to the charge with incredible obstinacy; but being overpowered, they were, at the close of the day, and not till then, driven by the conventional troops from all their posts, with the loss of about eight hundred men; and the convention, now triumphant, declared the majority of votes in the departments in favour of the law of Fructidor.

The labours of the convention were now drawing to a close: and on the 30th of September, they solemnly decreed the incorporation of all the countries which the house of Austria, previous to the war, had possessed on the French side of the Rhine, with the republic of France. The last, and perhaps the best act of the convention passed on the 27th of October, 1795, when it was decreed, that the punishment of death should be abolished at the peace, and a general amnesty granted; and the president then rising, said—"THE CONVENTION IS DISSOLVED!"

Such was the termination of this memorable assembly, whose decrees and transactions were more important and extraordinary than those of any set of men upon record. "Where is there a Tacitus," says a French writer, "to convey to posterity the history of their glorious actions, and of their criminal excesses?" This convention, composed of lawyers, physicians, and men of letters, with an audacious hand, signed the death-warrant of the

successor of a hundred kings, and in one day broke the sceptre for which an existence of fourteen centuries had produced a religious veneration. These men, when their country was on the eve of subjugation, created an army of fourteen hundred thousand men, who repelled the invaders, and conquered the conquerors; but their glorious deeds were sullied by licentiousness, and their conquests abroad were contaminated by their cruelties at home.

The members of the new legislature, having formed themselves into two councils, according to the constitutional act, proceeded to the choice of the directory, and the election fell upon men not distinguished as favourites of the people, but most of whom bore characters free from reproach. At the head of the list, stood Reveillere Lepaux, a lawyer by profession, and of the Gironde party: the next was Reubel, a moderate man, of plain good sense, and one of the village attorneys mentioned by Mr. Burke. Letourneur de la Manche, an officer of engineers, and rather more attached to the mountain than the plain, was the third. The fourth was Barras, formerly a viscount, a soldier by profession, and by habit a man of pleasure. Sieyes, the subtle statesman, was at first nominated as the fifth, but he saw too clearly the difficulties of the constitution; and Carnot, a member of the committee of safety under Robespierre, but who had attended almost exclusively to the business of the military department, and of whom it was said, "That he organized victory, and rendered her permanent," filled up the number.

Thus constituted, the new government, in all its departments, entered upon the active exercise of its functions, and the palace of the Luxembourg was appointed for the residence of the executive power.

CHAPTER XX.

'Opening of the Campaign of 1795—Luxembourg, Dusseldorf, and Manheim taken by the French, who invade Mentz—The Siege of Mentz raised, and Manheim retaken by the Imperial Army—Renewal of Hostilities in Italy—Success of the French Armies, and Retreat of the Austrians—War declared by Great Britain against Holland—Capture of the Dutch Settlements in the East by the British—Conquest of the Cape of Good Hope—Campaign in the West Indies—Naval Campaign of 1795

THE belligerent powers of the continent, exhausted by the memorable campaign of 1794, were not in a situation to take the field till the month of May, in the following year; and it was not till the 7th of June, that the fortress of Luxembourg was attacked by the French troops: aware that the reduction of this place, so necessary for the security of their other conquests,

would be attended with extreme difficulty, and that its fall was rather to be expected from famine than from the sword, the republican generals had cut off all supplies, and left a numerous garrison to subsist entirely on its own magazines. It was now regularly invested, and notwithstanding that the Field-marshal Bender, a veteran general, commanded in the place, yet he

found himself under the necessity of capitulating, as there was not the most distant prospect of being relieved.

Nothing seemed wanting to complete the glory of the French arms, and secure their recent acquisitions, but the subjection of a city lately wrested from them by the King of Prussia. The blockade of Mentz was accordingly the first operation that took place on the frontiers of Germany. The defence of that place, formerly intrusted to the troops of the house of Brandenburg, had now devolved upon the emperor, and his majesty was pleased to select Marshal Clairfait, as the most able officer to whom he could confide the command of the troops collected for that purpose. This general, who had been driven at the latter end of the last campaign across the Rhine, being now placed at the head of the Austrian army, as well as that of the empire, returned to the charge, and nothing dismayed by his recent defeats, attacked and routed the French who were posted upon the heights of Mornback, after which he occupied that advantageous position with his own forces.

Notwithstanding this, Germany was soon afterwards menaced with a new invasion, and Mentz with a new siege, by two of the greatest commanders in the service of the republic. After a considerable time had elapsed in preparation, a large portion of the army of the Sambre and Meuse suddenly crossed the Rhine, in the neighbourhood of Dusseldorf. That city was immediately summoned, and having refused to surrender, was taken by assault, the Austrian garrison having previously retired. The duchy of Berg was also overrun; a large quantity of ammunition and artillery belonging to the enemy fell into the hands of the invaders, and the imperialists retreating on every side, Mentz was again invested.

No sooner had Pichegru received intelligence of these exploits, than he also crossed the Rhine with his army, advanced against Mannheim, and obtained possession of that important city, with a decree of facility so disproportionate to the strength of the place, that it was evident he must have been favoured by the good wishes of the inhabitants. On this, General Wurmsér, who was advancing by rapid marches to its relief, endeavoured to form a junction with Marshal Clairfait, but he was overtaken and defeated by a detachment of the army of the Rhine and Moselle. The French, however, were surprised and overcome in their turn; and in consequence of one of those sudden reverses, so common in all wars, but more especially in the wars of the French revolution, the fortune of the

campaign, from being highly disastrous, became at length eminently propitious to the imperial arms.

Pichegru being no longer able to second the efforts of Jourdan, the latter was under the necessity of raising the siege of Mentz, and retreating before the victorious Austrians to Dusseldorf, where he repassed the Rhine; while the former fell back upon Mannheim, and after leaving a considerable garrison in that place, and sustaining a number of sanguinary attacks, was happy to escape across that river also.

Marshal Clairfait, who was not unmindful of the great object of the campaign, appearing before Mentz, attacked and carried the intrenched camp, which the French had endeavoured to render inexpugnable by the labours of eleven months. General Schaal, who occupied this strong position on the retreat of Jourdan, with fifty-two battalions of infantry and five regiments of cavalry, was obliged to retire, and leave one hundred and six pieces of cannon, two hundred ammunition wagons, and about two thousand prisoners, among whom were two generals, in the hands of the assailants.

Notwithstanding the disasters sustained by the French army, the garrison of Mannheim, consisting of about nine thousand men, contrived to make a stout resistance. The imperialists at length obtained possession of an intrenched hill, called the Gulyenberg, by assault, as well as the Necker fort: but although they were driven from the latter, they persevered with unabating ardour, and after a long siege, obliged this important city to capitulate.

In the mean time, Marshal Clairfait and General Wurmsér had crossed the Rhine in pursuit of the French, and having formed a junction, resumed possession of the Palatinate, reconquered many of the acquisitions of the French, and even threatened to retake Luxembourg. On this, Pichegru and Jourdan, after receiving the necessary reinforcements, marched to encounter the triumphant enemy. The former carried the town of Kreutznach twice by storm, in the course of one day; but he was obliged at length to evacuate that place, while his colleague was repulsed soon after in an attack upon Kayserslautern, in which he lost two thousand men. At length, the severity of the season, and an unexpected armistice of three months, put an end to a campaign, the close of which was not only far different from its commencement, but also from what might have been augured from the relative forces of the contending powers.*

* By a convention signed at Vienna, on the 4th May, in the present year, between his Britannic majesty and the emperor, it was agreed, that the

The troops of the house of Austria, although entirely destitute, as formerly, of the support of the Prussians, must be allowed to have conducted themselves not only with exemplary skill and bravery, but with a degree of zeal, and even of enthusiasm, which they had not hitherto evinced. The Field-marsals Clairfait and Wurmser added greatly to their former reputation; and the Generals Boros, Kray, and Haddick evinced talents that afforded a promise of future celebrity.

On the other hand, the fame of Pichegru and Jourdan, two of the best generals in the French service, experienced a sudden eclipse; while they loudly complained that the victories of the imperialists had been accomplished by the violation of neutral territory, they at the same time evinced a jealousy and even a hatred of each other, that proved but little serviceable to the interests of their country.

The peace with Spain produced a considerable effect on the military operations in Italy. No sooner had the court of Madrid consented to the termination of hostilities, than the victorious troops which had crossed the Pyrenees in search of conquests, were conducted to the Apennines, and Kellermann was soon in possession of all the summits of the Alps, from the lake of Geneva to the county of Nice.

The war, however, for some time was defensive in this quarter; and while the Austrians intrenched themselves at Borghetto and Albenga, the French strengthened their position at Dego, neither of the armies paying the least attention to the neutrality of Genoa, the territories of which were invaded and occupied occasionally by both.

General de Vins, who had again assumed the command of the Austro-Sardinian army, in the mean time extended his redoubts along Mount Balin, which commands Savona and Vado, with the double view of securing a retreat, in case he should be pressed by superior forces, and preserving the communication with Alexandria and Savona, whence he drew his supplies.

But the army of Italy being at length pressed by famine, in consequence of the capture of all neutral vessels laden with corn in the Mediterranean, a council of war was held at Albenga, on the 26th of October, in which it was determined to attack the imperialists throughout the whole extent of their

line, with a view of chasing them from the dominions of Genoa, and obtaining a supply of provisions. Accordingly, several partial engagements occurred, in one of which the Austrians were driven from Campo di Pietra, by the Generals Angereau and Chastel, with the loss of five hundred prisoners. On the 22d of November, they were again attacked by General Scherer in the valley of Loano; and, after a battle that lasted from six o'clock in the morning until five in the afternoon, the allies were obliged to retreat to Garesio, with the loss of eight thousand men, who were either killed or made prisoners.

The action being renewed the next morning at break of day, the enemy fled in confusion towards Savona and Bagniano. In this state of distress, De Vins summoned the senate of Genoa to deliver up the fortress of Savona, and being refused the possession of a place which he was unable to obtain by force, the Austro-Sardinians were obliged to pass the defiles of the Bochetta, and retire towards Acqui; on which the French took possession of Pietre, Loana, Finale, and Vado, as well as of the immense magazines which the Austrians had collected at Savona.

In consequence of this succession of victories, the barriers of the Alps were completely laid open to the invaders: but the excesses which accompanied and followed their triumphs, notwithstanding the repeated proclamations of General Scherer, who endeavoured in vain to render the commanding officers of companies, the colonels of battalions, and generals of brigades and divisions, personally responsible for the malversation of their soldiers, soon reduced the republican army to a state of complete anarchy. In addition to the disorganization that ensued, other circumstances contributed to restrain the farther progress of the French; for the emperor, in consequence of his recent successes on the Rhine, was enabled to detach into Italy a body of twenty-five thousand men, who fortified a position on the back of the Apennines; while the court of Turin, fully aware of its critical situation, sent a reinforcement of six thousand troops to General Colli, who commanded the Sardinian army.

But the rigour of the season prevented the allies from attempting any enterprises of moment; and the intervention of mountains covered with snow restrained the rage of hostile armies, and procrastinated the fate of Italy.

The conquest of the seven United Provinces, and the entire change in the government, which arose out of that event, prepared the way for a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive between the republic of

sum of four millions six hundred thousand pounds sterling, should be raised in England on account of the latter; and that the emperor should in return employ in his different armies in the campaign of this year, a number of troops, which should amount at least to two hundred thousand effective men.

France and the republic of Holland, which was concluded at the Hague on the 15th of May, 1795. The necessary consequence of this alliance was, to place the Dutch people, on whose behalf the war was ostensibly undertaken, in a state of actual hostility with England; and his Britannic majesty accordingly issued a proclamation, ordering all Dutch vessels in the ports of Great Britain to be stopped; and five men of war, nine Indiamen, and about sixty sail of smaller vessels, were immediately detained. This proclamation was followed by an order in council, to seize all property whatever of that nation; and on the 15th of September, an order for general reprisals was granted against the ships, goods, and subjects of the republic: and in the course of the year all the factories of Holland in Asia, were either obtained by stratagem, or seized, after a short resistance, by force of arms.

Upon receiving the necessary instructions from England, the government of Madras immediately determined to fit out a small armament, with a view of obtaining possession of the important island of Ceylon. This expedition, which was intrusted to Rear-admiral Rainier and Colonel Stuart, sailed towards the middle of the summer, and consisted of the Suffolk, which was the flag-ship, the Centurion, the Diomedé, which joined off Negapatam, and several transports.

Notwithstanding the loss of the Diomedé, which struck upon an undescribed rock between Pigeon Island and the outer point of the bay, the first detachment, consisting of five hundred and twenty European, and one hundred and ten native soldiers, and two field-pieces, landed without opposition at the White Rocks, on the 3d of August, and were immediately followed by the remainder of the troops. About ten days more were consumed in the debarkation of stores and provisions; after which the English commenced their approaches, opened batteries against the fort of Trincomale, and completed a practicable breach in the course of a week after they had broken ground, during all which operations little or no molestation was experienced on the part of the enemy. Rear-admiral Rainier and Colonel Stuart now summoned the garrison to surrender; and on the 26th of the same month, Major Fornbauer consented to a capitulation, by which the troops, amounting to more than six hundred, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. On this, the commandant of Ostenburg immediately entered into a negotiation for the surrender of that place also, which was accordingly delivered up on terms similar to those granted at Trinco-

male, and the British colours were hoisted on the ramparts. The fort of Batticaloe was secured a short time afterwards, as well as the settlement of Jafnapatam, and the fort and military post of Molletivee.

These important acquisitions were soon followed by the capture of the island of Manar, which was seized by Captain Barbutt, with the flank companies of the 72d regiment and two parties of sepoys. A small armament from Madras, consisting of the Resistance, Captain Newcome, some transports, and the Suffolk's tender, with four European and a few native troops, commanded by Major Brown, obtained possession of Malacca on the 17th of August; by the acquisition of which, additional security was afforded to the British commerce in the straits of that name, as well as in the Chinese seas; Cochin also surrendered to the English arms, with Chinsurah and its dependencies, the fort of Porca, and Quilon; and in fine, all the settlements on the continent of India appertaining to the Dutch.

Nearly about the same time, the flourishing colony of the Cape of Good Hope was transferred to the English.

The invasion of that settlement was undertaken partly with a view of preventing the French from obtaining possession of it, and partly with an intention of securing an intermediate station between Europe and the rich and numerous possessions of Great Britain in the East; and the conduct of the expedition was intrusted to Vice-admiral Sir George Keith Elphinstone and General Sir Alured Clarke.

On the 14th of July, a landing was effected at Simons-Town, and possession obtained of that place, which had been previously evacuated with the intention of being burned. Major-general Craig, though entirely destitute of artillery, marched against the enemy, who were posted in great force at Mysenberg. After a long and fatiguing march, the major-general made an unsuccessful attack upon one of the enemy's outposts, which failed, partly from the intricacy of the roads, and partly from the timidity and ignorance of the guides. The British commanders were now reduced to a very distressing dilemma, for neither the numbers nor the energy of their adversaries seemed to diminish; and while no fair opportunity presented itself on the one hand for the army to advance, the navy on the other was unable, on account of the unfavourable season, to form a ready co-operation with the troops, by occupying Table Bay. The arrival of General Clarke, with the forces under his command, was of course looked for with intense anxiety; but such was the exigency

of the situation of the British army, that it was determined, if at the expiration of six days no succour arrived, Major-general Craig should march forward under every disadvantage, to try the fortune of an attack, before the total failure of their provisions rendered a retreat unavoidable. They were however anticipated by the enemy, who on their part meditated an assault on the British camp, which in all probability would have decided the fate of this important colony. They accordingly advanced during the night of the 1st of September, with their whole strength, supported by a train of eighteen field-pieces; and considerable bodies of troops had already made their appearance—when at this critical and important moment, the signal for a fleet, soon after succeeded by the appearance of fourteen large vessels, induced the enemy to relinquish their enterprise, and to return to their former post. This event was decisive of the conquest of the cape, for on the morning of the 16th an officer arrived from the Dutch Governor Sluysken, in consequence of which a cessation of arms ensued, and the castle and Cape of Good Hope were surrendered to the British arms.

To counterbalance these brilliant successes in the east, our affairs in the western hemisphere wore a less auspicious aspect; and while the English ministry was fitting out a powerful armament for the West Indies, Victor Hughes not only retained possession of Guadeloupe, but extended his arms and his influence to the neighbouring isles. Declining no arts however inhuman, and no measures however dangerous, he violated the sanctuary of the dead* without compunction, and exposed the living to all the penalties of rebellion without remorse. In one of his numerous proclamations, he boasted that eight hundred republicans and two French frigates had conquered the island where he then resided; and after ridiculing the idea of declaring Guadeloupe to be in a state of blockade, he affirmed that his cruizers "had taken, sunk, and burnt eighty-eight of the enemy's vessels," while they, according to his account, had "turned pirates and ransacked neutral vessels."

Nor was his government unmindful of the services of this singular man; for early in the present year a small armament, consisting of a cut-down seventy-four ship of

war, four frigates, and ten armed transports, carrying forty-six guns and five hundred men, arrived safe in the West Indies, with the loss of only one of the frigates. On this, the commissioner, who had dispersed proclamations and emissaries everywhere, determined to extend the theatre of war, and retaliate on the English by attacking them in their own settlements. He began, on the 7th of January, with the island of Grenada, which had formerly appertained to France; and having conveyed thither a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition, with a small body of troops, an insurrection took place under Fedon, on the 10th of April, in consequence of which, the lieutenant-governor and several of the principal inhabitants were taken prisoners.

As materials for combustion are ever ready in colonies where a few whites hold a multitude of negroes in slavery, St. Vincent also was subjected to all the calamities of civil war, which were aggravated greatly by the fury of the Caribbees. The French inhabitants of Dominica were likewise instigated to revolt, and a small detachment sent to their assistance; but they did not hold out so long as in the other islands, for the invaders were resisted by the militia, and obliged to submit as prisoners of war, while those who had joined them were punished with all the rigour of the laws.

Victor Hughes, however, found means to resume possession of St. Lucia on the 20th of April, having landed a body of troops there under Massades and Lombard, and incited the negroes to revolt by the allurements of liberty, so congenial to the heart of man. Brigadier-general Stuart, after obtaining possession of Vieux Fort, proceeded to attack the enemy at Souffrier; but he was anticipated in his intentions, and although he found means to dissipate an ambuscade, yet his troops were compelled, at the close of an engagement of seven hours, to retire. The capture of Pigeon Island and the loss of the Vigie soon afterwards rendered St. Lucia no longer tenable; it was accordingly determined to evacuate it, which was happily effected, without any loss, on the 19th of June, by Captain Barrett of the Experiment.

Nearly about the same time, the Maroons, instigated by real or supposed injuries, took up arms in Jamaica; in consequence of which a contest commenced, and was carried on with a spirit of relentless hostility never before practised by Englishmen. On all former occasions, when the insurgent slaves, or such of their descendants as had been admitted to the protection of the British government, made war upon the colonists, no unmanly or perfidious stratagems were resorted to, but they were constantly overcome

* In the latter end of 1794, this commissioner published a proclamation, in which, after stating "that the rights of humanity, of war, and of nations," had been violated by the British commanders, he added, "that the body of Thomas Dundas, Major-general and Governor, interred in Guadeloupe," 3d June (slave style), should be taken up and given a prey to the birds of the air," &c.

by the superior bravery, discipline, and resources of the Europeans and Creoles. Yet upon the present, not only Spanish arts, but Spanish arms were employed for their extirpation; the ferocity of the canine race, for the first time in our history, was invoked in aid of the soldiery; while the women, children, and old men were exposed to the rage of blood-hounds; and the public faith itself is said to have been violated in respect to the articles of a treaty entered into with these deluded people. But their sufferings did not end here; for such as the sword had spared were transported from the tropical region of the Atlantic isles, and exposed to all the rigours of polar cold in Upper Canada, until they were at length transferred by the interposition of some humane individuals to a more congenial climate on the coast of Africa.

From scenes such as these the indignant Briton will readily avert his eyes, to contemplate the more honourable triumphs of that navy destined to add to the glory and protection of his native country.

Notwithstanding the naval power of France had been greatly reduced, and the spirit of her seaman almost entirely annihilated by the memorable engagement off Ushant in the course of the former campaign, she yet found means early in spring to fit out a squadron in the Mediterranean. Toulon, although hitherto supposed to have been rendered incapable of furnishing a supply of stores for that purpose, was the port whence this armament, consisting of fifteen sail of the line, four frigates, and two corvettes, issued forth, with a view of making a descent upon Corsica, and restoring that island to the dominion of its former masters.

Vice-admiral Hotham having received intimation from Genoa that this fleet had been seen off the isle of Marguerite, left Leghorn road in pursuit of it, on the 9th of March, with fourteen sail of the line, four frigates, and four armed vessels. Anticipating the enemy's destination, he shaped his course accordingly, and sent orders for the Berwick, then at St. Fiorenzo, to join him off Cape Corse; but he received the unwelcome news that this ship, after an action in which Captain Littlejohn, the commander, was killed, had been captured two days before by the enemy's fleet.

Although the respective squadrons were seen daily by the advanced frigates of both, yet they did not descry each other until after the lapse of three days, when the French were discovered to windward. As they evinced no inclination to bear down, the signal was made by the admiral for a general chase; in the course of which, the weather being squally and blowing very

fresh, one of the enemy's line-of-battle ships was perceived to have lost her top-masts. On this the *Inconstant*, which acted as repeating-frigate to the commander-in-chief, attacked, raked, and harassed this vessel, until the arrival of the *Agamemnon* of 64 guns, commanded by Captain Nelson, since so much renowned in the naval annals of his country, rendered her a complete wreck; but he was twice recalled by signal from the *Britannia*, as several of the enemy's ships were advancing to her succour, by one of which she was soon afterwards taken in tow.

Finding that the British squadron did not gain upon that of the French, the ships of the latter being fresh from port, the vice-admiral gave orders to form on the larboard line of bearing; and perceiving the disabled ship with her consort separated from and to leeward of the main body, it was determined to reduce the enemy to the alternatives, either of abandoning two of their line-of-battle ships, or coming to action.

The Captain and Bedford, of 74 guns each, were accordingly despatched to secure these vessels; on this, the French squadron bore down to their assistance, and a partial action ensued, in the course of which the British van ships, particularly the *Illustrious* and *Courageux*, not only lost their main and mizen masts, but suffered considerably, the former having twenty seamen and marines killed, and seventy wounded. But although nothing further was effected, the *Ca Ira* of 80 and the *Censeur* of 74, which had been separated from the French fleet, were captured after an obstinate and very bloody engagement; for one of these ships having one thousand three hundred, and the other one thousand men on board, their decks were strewed with carnage, and they lost between three and four hundred men; the whole loss on the part of the English amounting only to seventy-five killed, and two hundred and eighty wounded. (26)

(26) The force of the British, on this occasion, is said in the text to have consisted of fourteen sail of the line, four frigates, and four corvettes: and that of their antagonists to have amounted to fifteen sail of the line, four frigates and two corvettes. We find, however, in another historical work,* a statement of the comparative numbers of each fleet, by which it appears (estimating the British ships of the line to carry 84 guns), that the French force was inferior to that of their antagonists by about fifty guns; besides, as the British also lost two 74's, one taken by the French fleet, and the other so much injured that they were compelled to run her ashore, it could hardly be called a victory on their part. It is worthy of remark, that the two French vessels captured, were part of the fleet said to have been destroyed at Toulon.

* Stephen's History of the wars of the French revolution, vol. 2, p. 61.

Notwithstanding this success, a flying squadron, consisting of the *Agamemnon*, *Maleager*, *Ariadne*, *Moselle*, and *Mutine* cutter, under the command of Captain Nelson, was chased, on the 7th of July, into St. Fiorenzo bay by twenty-three sail of the enemy, seventeen of which proved to be of the line. On this, Admiral Hotham immediately put to sea, and the enemy was at length descried to leeward. But as six of the English squadron were unluckily forced to bend maintop-sails in the room of those that were split in the course of the night, some time was lost, and the attempt to cut the French off from the land, whence they were only five leagues distant, proved abortive: and about eight o'clock, the signal was hoisted for a general chase, and a few of the van ships got up with their rear about noon, in consequence of which a partial action took place, and the *Aleide*, a French ship of 74 guns, struck, but about half an hour after she caught fire and was consumed. The rest of the fleet, being favoured by a change of wind, took shelter in Frejus Bay, and eluded all further pursuit.

On the 26th of August, a detachment from the Mediterranean fleet, consisting of six ships of the line, under the command of Captain Nelson, proceeded to the bays of Alasio and Languellia, in the neighbourhood of Vado; whence he cut out nine ships belonging to the French. On the other hand, the *Censeur* and part of the Mediterranean convoy were taken nearly about the same time by a squadron under Richery, consisting of six sail of the line and three frigates; and that admiral being afraid either to keep the sea or return to a French port, immediately took shelter in Cadiz, which was afterwards blockaded by the English.

A small detachment from the channel fleet evinced, in the course of this summer, a manifest superiority over the French, both in skill and resolution. Vice-admiral Cornwallis, whose flag was flying on board a first-rate, with four seventy-four gun ships, and two frigates, fell in with a fleet of thirteen line-of-battle ships, fourteen frigates, two brigs, and a cutter, near the Penmarks. In consequence of a change of wind, the enemy obtained the weather-gage, and while one of their large ships began to fire upon the *Mars*, a frigate which had kept to leeward, ran up upon her larboard quarter, and frequently yawed and fired with an unusual portion of gallantry, while the other ships kept up a distant cannonade. Towards evening, an attempt was made to cut off this vessel, which was at some distance from the squadron; on which, the English admiral bore up for

her support, and all the ships under his command evinced so determined a spirit, that the superior fleet drew off, and before sunset tacked and stood away. (27)

A portion of the same fleet, consisting of twelve sail of the line and eleven frigates, was on the 22d of June, perceived off Port L'Orient, by Admiral Lord Bridport, whose flag was flying in the *Royal George*, with a strong squadron, consisting of two ships of a hundred, three of ninety-eight, one of eighty, and four of seventy-four guns, under his command. (28) Perceiving that the French declined a contest, four of the fastest sailing men-of-war were the first detached,—and the whole followed soon afterwards in quest of the enemy, the pursuit continuing during the night. Early next morning, the headmost ships came up with the enemy, and after an action of three hours, the *Alexander*, *Formidable*, and *Tigre* struck, and had not the remainder been protected by the land, more would perhaps have been captured; however, when it is recollected that the action was fought in the face of batteries, and before a strong naval port, it must be allowed to have evinced considerable gallantry on the part of the British squadron.

In the course of this summer, the coasting trade of France was greatly distressed, and many of her armed ships captured, by the zeal and attention of the English cruisers. Several commanders, well acquainted with all the rocks, shoals, and harbours, distinguished themselves upon this occasion; particularly Sir W. S. Smith, who in

(27) After reading this account, it can no longer be a matter of doubt, that the English navy was fully entitled to claim the empire of the ocean. A French fleet, it seems, of thirteen sail of the line, fourteen frigates, two brigs and a cutter, is put to flight by a British squadron of five sail of the line and two frigates! Supposing the frigates on both sides to have carried 40 guns each, the number of guns in the French fleet amounted to about 1,600 and that of the British to about 400; a disproportion which it required British valour to surmount, and British historians to record. When it is remembered, however, that one Englishman has always been considered in that country, equal to three Frenchmen, our admiration is in some degree abated. If the victory had been gained by any other people, therefore, we should have added one feeble tribute of admiration to the eulogies bestowed in the text; but when between Englishmen and Frenchmen the proportion is only four to one in favour of the latter, we take it as a matter of course that the French vessels suffered an ignominious defeat, particularly after the instances of British valour recorded in the annals of this country, such as the chase of Commodore Rodgers by a small frigate, and the capture of the *President* by the *Endymion*, without the assistance of any other vessel.

(28) The force of the British fleet on this occasion is said in the Annual Register to have consisted of fourteen sail of the line, with eight frigates, carrying much heavier metal than their opponents

the Diamond chased some of their corvettes on shore, and engaged with their land batteries, while Sir John Borlase Warren, Sir Richard Strachan, and Sir Edward Pellew lost no opportunity of exhibiting the most determined spirit of enterprise.

Of all the actions between single ships during the present campaign, and perhaps also during the whole of the war, no one deserves more particular notice than that which occurred between the *Blanche*, mounting thirty-two, (29) and *La Pique*, of thirty-eight guns and three hundred and sixty men, in the West Indies. Captain Faulkner, who commanded the former, during a cruise off the island of Guadaloupe, perceived a frigate at anchor, on the 5th of January, near Point-a-Petre, under protection of the batteries. Next day, finding that this vessel had come out, and was two leagues astern, he made sail for her, and about noon passed under her lee on the star-board tack, exchanging broadsides at the same time; and after an engagement of five hours, during which *La Pique* had seventy-six men killed and one hundred and ten wounded, she surrendered to the *Blanche*; but the gallant Captain Faulkner, who had before distinguished himself in the sight of the English fleet and army

at the assault of Fort Royal, was no longer alive to receive the sword of his vanquished rival, having fallen by a shot which proved mortal in the midst of the action.* The superior skill and seamanship of the victors will appear more conspicuous when it is stated, that during the whole of this memorable fight, eight of them only were killed, and twenty-one wounded.

In fine, the naval campaign of this year was peculiarly auspicious to England, for she lost only four ships: the *Berwick*, of seventy-four guns, in the Mediterranean; *Le Censeur*, of seventy-four guns, retaken by the enemy off Cape St. Vincent: the *Daphne*, which was forced to yield to two men-of-war; and the *Nemesis*, of seventy-eight guns, taken by two frigates in the port of Smyrna. While, on the other hand, the French had about fifty armed vessels, of various descriptions, sunk, destroyed, and captured: of these, one was a ship of ninety-eight guns, two of eighty, four of seventy-four, two of forty-four, one of forty-two, two of forty, one of thirty-eight, and one of thirty: and in addition to the five Dutch men-of-war, detained in England, one of sixty-four was seized at Cork, and six smaller ships were captured in other places.

CHAPTER XXI.

BRITISH HISTORY. Session of Parliament of 1795; his Majesty's Speech; Address; renewed Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act; Ways and Means; Motion for Inquiry—Affairs of Ireland; Earl Fitzwilliam appointed Lord-lieutenant; Measures of his Government; his Recall; Discussions thereon in the British Parliament—Marriage of the Prince of Wales—Motion for the Abolition of the Slave-trade lost—Acquittal of Warren Hastings—Termination of the Session of Parliament—Distressed State of Ireland—Treaties with America and Russia—The Duke of York appointed Commander-in-chief—Petition for Peace—Riots in Westminster—Revival of the Charge against Higgins, Smith, and Le Maitre; their Trial and Acquittal—Alarming Scarcity—Outrageous Attack on the King, on his way to open the Session of Parliament; Proclamation thereon—Treason and Sedition Acts—Ways and Means—Message from his Majesty—Birth of the Princess Charlotte, of Wales—Motion for Peace; for the Abolition of the Slave-trade—Second Loan—Motion for the Appointment of a Committee of Finance; for Censure on Ministers—Prorogation and Dissolution of Parliament.

THE session of parliament of 1795 opened under circumstances of great public difficulty. The coalition formed against the enemy in 1793, was on the eve of dissolution; already had Tuscany, Spain, and Prussia, exhibited indications of declining zeal abroad, while some of the most independent supporters of the war at home were ready to propose a negotiation for peace with republican France. Undismayed by these inauspicious circumstances, and strengthened by the accession of several men of talents and of influence from the ranks of opposition, ministers determined

to persevere in a contest, involving, as they contended, not merely the vital interests of this country, but the security and repose of all the other governments of Europe. With such sentiments prevailing in the cabinet, parliament assembled on the 30th of December, 1794, when the king, in his speech from the throne, informed the two houses, "that notwithstanding the disappointments and reverses which the allied arms had experienced in the course of the last campaign, he retained a firm conviction of the necessity of persisting in a vigorous prose-

* A monument has since been erected, at the public expense, to commemorate the exploits of this brave and able commander.

(29) That is probably forty-two guns.

cution of the just and necessary war in which the nation was engaged, confident that it was only from firmness and perseverance that we could hope for the restoration of peace on safe and honourable grounds." "In considering the situation of our enemies," his majesty remarked, "parliament would not fail to observe that the efforts which had led to their successes, and the unexampled means by which alone those efforts could have been supported, had produced among themselves the pernicious effects which were to be expected, and that every thing which had passed in the interior of the country had shown the progressive and rapid decay of their resources, and the instability of every part of that violent and unnatural system which must prove equally ruinous to France, and incompatible with the tranquillity of other nations. He should therefore continue to use the most effectual means for the augmentation of his forces, and should omit no opportunity of concerting the measures of the next campaign with such of the powers of Europe as were impressed with the same necessity of vigour and exertion." He concluded with expressing a confident hope, that, "under the protection of Providence, and with constancy and perseverance on our part, the principles of social order, morality, and religion, would ultimately be successful, and that his faithful people would find their present exertions and sacrifices rewarded by the enjoyment of secure and permanent tranquillity at home, and by the deliverance of Europe from the greatest danger with which it had been threatened since the establishment of civilized society."

Earl Camden, in moving the address, drew a contrast between the situation of France and this country, much to the advantage of the latter. His lordship strenuously urged the necessity of a vigorous prosecution of the war, and contended that the present was the most improper season for making peace that could possibly be chosen. The Earl of Guilford, in moving an amendment to the address, urged "the impracticability of attaining what appeared to be the present object of the war,—the dictating of a government to France." The Marquis of Lansdowne declared that he could see no difficulty in treating with France at the present period, nor could he admit the objection that there was no power existing in that country to treat with. "When persons," said his lordship, "wish to make up a quarrel, when there is a sincere desire for peace on both sides, the means of effecting reconciliation are always to be found, and France, amidst all her change of parties, had, in no one in-

stance, since the revolution, falsified her engagements with foreign states." After a very animated debate, the amendment was rejected, by a majority of 107 to 12 voices.

In the lower house the debate on the same subject was still more interesting. On the address being moved by Mr. Knatchbull, and seconded by Mr. Canning,

Mr. Wilberforce, the representative of the county of York, and an intimate friend of the minister, to whom he had hitherto afforded his support, rose to object, that the obvious tendency of the address was to pledge the house to a prosecution of the war till there should be a counter-revolution in France. He further observed, that in his majesty's speech, he was sorry to say, there was nothing pacificatory; although the jacobin system, so hostile to this kingdom, had been destroyed, and there appeared an assumption, at least, of moderation, on the part of the new rulers of that country. "The confederacy against France," he observed, "was now dissolved, and her internal disorders were appeased; how then could we conquer a people who had resisted with such success, when assailed by the combined forces of Europe from without, and when distracted with insurrections from within? The retrospect of our affairs was bad, but the prospect before us was still worse; like the waves of the ocean, the armies of France seemed rapidly overthrowing every thing that stood in their way. Regardless of slighter difficulties, they looked merely to the convention, and thought themselves bound to adhere to what they perceived would alone keep the country together. This circumstance it was, which had first staggered his opinion with relation to the probability of ultimate success in the contest in which we were unhappily engaged. He was well aware of the impossibility of forcing a government upon France, when that country was united in opinion and in act; and he scrupled not to add, that, though a friend to monarchy, he did not conceive a monarchy to be the fittest form of government for France, in present circumstances, as the current of prejudice set so strongly against it." He added, "that he did not think this country would be at all debased by a declaration for peace: true magnanimity consisted in acting with propriety under every circumstance, resolutely determining to change the mode of conduct whenever it is required, by an alteration in the state of affairs. Those who thought it so easy to effect a counter-revolution in France, should recollect that revolutionary principles had now been six years prevalent in that country, and that a new generation was rising up, who had been educated in and familiar-

fized to them. Equitable proposals for a negotiation would at all events be beneficial to this kingdom, and if rejected, every person would unite with government in carrying on with vigour what would then in reality be a just and necessary war." Mr. Wilberforce concluded by moving an amendment to the address, embracing the principal topic contained in his speech. Mr. Duncombe, his colleague, seconded the motion, which was supported by Mr. Burdon, Mr. Banks, and Sir Richard Hill, the latter of whom observed, that the object of the continental war had been stated in one word—*security*. But if we were asked what we had gained by the war, short as had been the period of its duration, we might be answered in another word—*ruin*.

Mr. Pitt rose under visible emotion, and expressed his astonishment at the language of those members who, after voting for the war, had now become the advocates of peace. "Neither the speech nor the address," he affirmed, "pledged the house never to make peace with the republican government of France, though he had no idea of a secure peace till the return of the monarchy. The recent change which had taken place in France, was a change merely in name, and not in substance; and the present government no more deserved the name of moderate, than that under Brissot," which, as he asserted, "had provoked this country to war. Peace, could it be obtained, would not place us in a situation of confidence; we must, on the contrary, increase our precautions. Hostilities would again commence on the part of the French, when our military power was diminished, and we should again be opposed to an enemy who might have found it as difficult to disband his armies, as we should to obtain fresh forces. Even if disposed to peace, the French rulers would be compelled by fear to give their troops new employment. If we dissolved the continental confederacy, we could not again hope to see it restored, and we should then be exposed alone to the fury of France." In conclusion, Mr. Pitt entered into a variety of details, to show that the French finances were in the very gulf of bankruptcy, and that the expenditure of the government since the revolution, had amounted to three hundred and twenty millions. After a debate protracted until four o'clock in the morning, the house divided, when there appeared for the amendment 75, against it 246.

This subject was frequently resumed during the same session of parliament, on various motions, by Earl Stanhope, Mr. Grey, the Duke of Bedford, and Mr. Wilberforce, all deprecating the idea of interfering in the government of other countries,

and recommending the British government not to object to proposals for a general pacification, on account of the present circumstances of France; but these motions were in succession strenuously opposed by ministers, and ultimately lost by large majorities.

On the 5th of January, 1795, the discussion of the suspension of the habeas corpus act was resumed. Mr. Sheridan said, that the preamble to that act stated that a dangerous and treasonable conspiracy existed in this country; but three distinct verdicts of our courts of justice had shown that this conspiracy was a mere fabrication of ministers, who had resorted to a species of management in forming the grand jury, wholly incompatible with the laws and constitution of this realm. The accused, as Mr. Sheridan asserted, had undergone the strictest trial, and, though eight thousand pounds had been paid out of the public purse to crown lawyers, and no less than two hundred witnesses had been procured at a vast expense against one culprit, they had all been acquitted by juries of their countrymen. Mr. Lambton, the member for Durham, declared, that though a confiding parliament had, during the last session, yielded credit to bare assertions, and suspended the habeas corpus act, by which we held our personal liberties, upon the strength of those assertions; yet the persons accused of high-treason had been acquitted, not only upon principles of law, but of common sense. The evidence had totally failed on the part of the crown lawyers; and their own witnesses had disproved their case. He wished to know on what pretence ministers demanded a renewal of the bill, and demanded some information respecting these hidden conspiracies:—

"Quis? Quid? Ubi? auxiliis? Cur? Quomodo? Quando?"

Mr. Hardinge, on the other side, strongly contended that a conspiracy did really exist, though no conspirators had yet been found whom the law had been able to reach. The late verdict of the juries would of itself encourage those who had embarked in these wicked counsels. He affirmed, that it was no common treason that lay before them; it was not English, but French treason, and proved by a mass of evidence, which, though it could not effect conviction in the courts of law, well warranted the passing of the suspension bill. Mr. Adair, in supporting the suspension act, maintained, that the suspicion entertained against the accused had not been cleared up to their advantage, and that the transactions of the societies sufficiently proved their treasonable intentions. The debate

closed by a division of the house against the repeal, the numbers being 230 to 53; and the bill for the renewal of the act, being transmitted to the house of lords, passed that assembly also, but not without a vigorous protest against it, signed by the Dukes of Norfolk and Bedford, and the Earls of Lauderdale and Guilford.

On the 23d of February, Mr. Pitt submitted his annual statement of supplies to the consideration of the house. The number of men voted for the service of the year, was one hundred and fifty thousand landmen, including militia; and one hundred thousand seamen; and the loan proposed was eighteen millions, being the largest sum ever voted by parliament up to that period.

The nation, in this stage of the contest, seemed wearied and dispirited with the war, and Mr. Fox, availing himself of this state of the public mind, and of the recent defection of Mr. Wilberforce, and a number of his friends, from the court party, moved, on the 24th of March, "that the house of commons should resolve itself into a committee, to inquire into the state of the nation." Mr. Fox said, that in justification of his motion, nothing more, he thought, was necessary, than to state to the house, that, after a contest continued for two years, we had been uniformly unsuccessful, and had relinquished every object for which the war was said to be undertaken, while the enemy had gained more than the wildest imaginations ever ascribed either to their ambition or to their principles. In one view indeed an inquiry must be favourable even to ministers themselves: if, as they asserted, we had entered into the war from necessity, and had conducted it, as they also asserted, with wisdom and vigour, the inquiry would redound to their honour. After a most comprehensive and luminous view of our various relations, both foreign and domestic, Mr. Fox concluded by observing, that he thought highly of the eloquence and even of the talents of the present prime minister, as exerted in a particular line; but he was a minister of art and plausibility merely, not of discernment, nor of candour, nor of generosity—"in rebus politicis, nihil simplex, nihil apertum, nihil honestum."*

Mr. Pitt, in reply, asked whether, at a period so arduous and important, and at so advanced a state of the session, it would be expedient to commence an investigation so extensive as that at present proposed? Every topic in the speech just delivered had, he said, been fully discussed and decided upon: such a committee as that required was therefore as unnecessary as it

was improper: it could answer no good purpose at the present moment; but whenever a proper period should arrive for investigating the conduct of the executive government, ministers would not shrink from the inquiry, and it would then be found that moderation and forbearance had uniformly distinguished his majesty's councils. This reasoning of the premier was considered so conclusive by the house, that after a long debate, he was supported by the votes of 219 of the members, while only 63 concurred in the motion for inquiry made by his political rival.

The affairs of Ireland formed one of the most important subjects that engaged the attention of the present parliament. Distracted as this country had long been by political and religious feuds, it became the duty of ministers to take every means within their power to heal these dissensions. With this view, a bill was introduced into the Irish parliament, during the last session, under the auspices of his majesty's government, for removing a number of those disabilities under which his Catholic subjects had hitherto laboured; and ministers, acting upon the same enlightened policy, determined, at this most critical juncture, to appoint to the head of the Irish government Earl Fitzwilliam, a nobleman distinguished for his mild and conciliatory conduct, and of whom it has been justly said, that his only wish is to act right, and his only fear lest he should do wrong. This appointment was peculiarly acceptable to the Irish nation, and his lordship was received with universal satisfaction. The parliament of the sister kingdom assembled on the 22d of January, 1795, and after voting to the new viceroy an address expressive of the general satisfaction, agreed, without hesitation, to the most ample supplies ever granted in that kingdom.

The lord-lieutenant, finding it impracticable to defer deciding on the demands of the Catholics for the removal of the remaining disabilities under which they still continued to labour, employed, in his transactions with the leading members of that body, the celebrated Mr. Grattan, a statesman in whom the Catholics universally confided. At the instance of this gentleman, and with the acknowledged confidence of the lord-lieutenant, a bill for the further relief of the Catholics was introduced into the Irish parliament, with the most flattering prospects of success, and the utmost joy was diffused through the Catholic body in Ireland, in the expectation of this enlarged toleration; but what was their disappointment and chagrin, when, two days after the favourable reception of Mr. Grattan's motion, intelligence arrived

* In affairs of state, neither sincere, nor candid, nor honourable.—W. G.

in Dublin that the British ministry avowed themselves adverse to the measure of emancipation. The lord-lieutenant himself, foreseeing the consequences that would naturally flow from this unexpected proceeding, did not attempt to conceal his displeasure, and he is said to have declared that the retraction of an assent so formally given, would kindle a flame of rebellion, which could be extinguished only by torrents of blood, and that he would rather retire than be answerable for the consequences. His lordship's recall immediately followed, and after holding the government only three months, he was displaced, and Lord Camden appointed in his stead. As a proof of the estimation in which Lord Fitzwilliam's government was held in Ireland, it is proper to remark, that on the day he quitted that country, the shops in Dublin were shut up, and the whole metropolis was put in mourning. On the 24th of April, Earl Fitzwilliam appeared in the English house of lords, and challenged ministers to a full investigation of the nature of his instructions, and the cause of his removal. He said, they had insinuated blame to him in his capacity of the king's representative in Ireland, and the gauntlet they had thus thrown down, he now avowed himself willing to take up. A profound silence here ensued on the other side of the house, and the Duke of Norfolk gave notice of a motion to address the king, requesting that those parts of the correspondence between Earl Fitzwilliam and the ministry, which related to his lordship's recall from his government in Ireland, should be forthwith laid before their lordships. This motion was debated in a full house on the 8th of May, being supported by the Duke of Leeds, Earl Moira, and Earl Fitzwilliam himself, who positively avowed that he went out expressly authorized to complete the measure of Catholic emancipation, and that no objections had been made to the steps he had adopted for that purpose, until he had proceeded to the dismissal of certain persons in office inimical to that measure, and had taken other gentlemen into his favour and confidence.*

Lord Grenville declined entering into a formal discussion of the subject, being prevented by reasons of state, which he "could not with propriety explain." The motion, he observed, called upon ministers to vio-

late the secrets of the cabinet and the sanctity of their oaths; but he asked in what respect the situation of a lord-lieutenant differed from that of any other minister of the crown, who might be removed at pleasure? and affirmed that the noble lord complained with an ill-grace of being himself removed from office, after he had exercised his authority in the removal of so many others. His lordship in conclusion observed, that he had witnessed the removal of many lord-lieutenants, without a single complaint to parliament on the subject, and to adopt a new course would be to change the constitution, and to convert the house of parliament into a committee of public safety. After a long and vigorous debate, the house divided—contents, 25; non-contents, 100. A similar motion in the house of commons, moved by Mr. Jekyl, and seconded by Mr. Fox, was lost by a majority of 188 to 49.

During the present session of parliament, an event of great national importance took place, in the marriage of the heir-apparent to the throne of this kingdom. His royal highness espoused his royal father's niece, Princess Caroline, daughter of the Duke of Brunswick and the Dutchesse Augusta of England, and Lord Malmesbury was employed to conduct the royal bride from her father's court. On her arrival in England she was received with every mark of distinction due to her royal birth and illustrious alliance. Having arrived at St. James's, the people, with the ardent eagerness of spontaneous loyalty, received the beautiful stranger with long-continued shouts of congratulation: To these unequivocal expressions of the public regard, she could not be insensible, and while she was standing at the window with the prince, she addressed the people concisely, but impressively, in the following terms, expressed in good English:—"Believe me, I feel very happy and delighted to see the good and brave English people—the best nation upon the earth." On the 8th of April, the marriage of their royal highnesses took place in the chapel royal, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the nuptials were celebrated with a magnificence suitable to the rank of the illustrious parties.

On the 27th of April, a message from his majesty to the commons, announcing the marriage of the prince, expressed the king's conviction that a suitable provision would be made for the establishment of the prince and princess. The message proceeded to state that his royal highness was under pecuniary incumbrances, and recommended to parliament the gradual extinction of his debts, by applying to that purpose part of the income which should

* By these changes, Mr. Beresford, who with his political friends was left in an unofficial minority, repaired to London, and immediately after his conferences with the British cabinet, a new system was adopted, the veto was put upon further proceedings in the measure of Catholic emancipation, and the reign of Protestant ascendancy was restored.

have been settled on the prince, and appropriating to that object the revenues of the dutchy of Cornwall. After some discussion, the house, on the suggestion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, determined, that one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds, together with thirteen thousand pounds arising from the dutchy of Cornwall, should be settled upon the prince, of which seventy-eight thousand pounds should be applied annually to the liquidation of his debts, which amounted at this period to upwards of six hundred thousand pounds, and that a law should be passed to prevent the heir-apparent in future from being involved in similar difficulties. These propositions met the concurrence of the house, and a jointure of fifty thousand pounds per annum was settled upon the Princess of Wales, in the event of her surviving his royal highness.

Mr. Wilberforce, persevering in his efforts to rescue the much-injured inhabitants of Africa from the merciless gripe of commercial avarice, this year renewed his motion for the abolition of the slave-trade; but after a very animated debate, the motion was negatived, though the eloquence of both Fox and Pitt were displayed in its support.

The long pending trial, by impeachment, of Warren Hastings, Esq. which had commenced on the 13th of February, 1788, terminated in his acquittal on the 23d of April, in the present year. Out of twenty-nine peers who pronounced judgment on the occasion, twenty-three declared the accused innocent of the whole of the twenty-four charges preferred against him; which resolved themselves into four heads: by the first and second of which the governor was accused of cruelty and extortion towards Cheyt Sing, and towards the Begums of Oude; by the third, with receiving presents to the amount of two hundred and sixty-nine thousand pounds, as bribes for obtaining particular services; and by the last, with granting contracts to the prejudice of the East India Company.

The session of parliament was terminated on the 27th of June by a speech from the throne, which breathed the air of pacification, and his majesty was graciously pleased to declare it to be impossible to contemplate the internal situation of the enemy with whom we were contending, without indulging a hope that the present circumstances of France might, in their effects, hasten the return of such a state of order and regular government as might be capable of maintaining the accustomed relations of amity and peace.

The situation of public affairs in Ireland

assumed a most portentous aspect at the present period; the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam had cast a deep gloom over the country, and the arrival of his successor in the capital, on the 31st of March, was accompanied by so marked an ebullition of popular discontent, that the intervention of the military was found necessary to maintain public tranquillity. On the 13th of April, the Irish parliament assembled, and on the 21st of that month a motion was made by Mr. Grattan for an inquiry into the state of the nation, including the reasons for the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam; but strange as it may appear, this motion was negatived by a large majority of that parliament who had almost unanimously, and apparently with enthusiasm, supported all the measures of the preceding administration. On the 24th, Mr. Grattan presented his memorable bill for Catholic emancipation; but the time for extending the privileges of that numerous body had gone past, and on the second reading, which took place on the 4th of May, the bill was rejected by seventy-one votes.

From this period, the political association styled the society of United Irishmen, rapidly extended itself over the whole country. All the Catholics, and a large proportion of the Protestants of the kingdom, joined this community, and the leaders began, as was too truly predicted, to entertain dangerous designs, and to form illegal and treasonable connexions with the government of France. Secret oaths of adherence to the association were administered; and agents were sent to negotiate with the national convention. Acts of sedition, rapine, and murder were perpetrated by the most desperate of the lawless and licentious populace; while, on the other hand, the sanguine and violent supporters of the system of exclusion confederated together for the purposes of security and revenge, under the name of Orangemen, in societies styled Orange Lodges. Mutual injuries soon engendered a most inveterate hatred between these two descriptions of men, one of which was beyond comparison superior in number, and the other in property, in legal authority, and military force; and these dissensions rapidly increased, till the whole land exhibited a scene of consternation, blood, and horror.

But it is time to turn from these deplorable scenes, which will, however, again force themselves upon our notice, to take a view of our foreign relations:—In the month of November, 1794, a treaty of amity and commerce was signed in London, by Lord Grenville and Mr. Jay, between the crown of Great Britain and the United States of America: and in the February following a

treaty of defensive alliance was concluded with the imperial court of Russia.

The office of commander-in-chief and field-marshal general of the forces of Great Britain, was this year conferred upon his majesty's second son, Frederick, Duke of York, on the resignation of the venerable Lord Amherst, who retired from public life with the well-merited thanks of his country.

Early in the present year, a spirit of discontent, arising out of the dubious origin and disastrous prosecution of the war, pervaded the country, and the necessity of peace for the renovation of our manufactures, the revival of commerce, and the recruit of our finances, produced petitions for that purpose from the cities of London, York, and Norwich, and from the towns of Hull and Manchester, as well as from several other places of inferior note: but these petitions were not sufficiently general to produce any material impression, and their influence was counteracted by counter-petitions, expressive of a confident reliance in the wisdom of government, and in their readiness to enter upon negotiations for peace, whenever the proper period should arrive.

In the month of July, some serious riots, which continued for several days, occurred in Westminster, arising out of the excesses committed in several crimping-houses in that city,* and the mob, who had long shown a marked aversion to the prime-minister, repaired to his house, in Downing-street, where they broke the windows, and were proceeding to further excesses, but the minister had sufficient address to escape by the park gate, into the horse-guards, and the presence of a body of military soon restored the public tranquillity. During this period of alarm and agitation, Higgins, Smith, and Le Maitre, the persons accused of a conspiracy to take away the life of the king, by shooting at him a poisoned dart through a tube, were again apprehended by a warrant from the privy council, and along with one Crossfield, a surgeon, who had been for some time a prisoner in the town of Brest, were put upon their trial for imagining the death of the sovereign; but the evidence adduced against them rested chiefly on the authority of one Upton, an informer, and after a full investigation of the case, they were all pronounced not guilty, by a jury of their countrymen. In the autumn of this year, great apprehensions were excited, by large assemblages of the populace, convened by the corresponding society, which still continued its meetings; and on the 26th of October, not less than 40,000 persons assembled in a field at Chalk Farm,

near Copenhagen House, for the purpose of voting a number of resolutions, expressive of their views of the measures of government, and a petition, praying that the "bill recently introduced into the house, for the restriction, or rather the utter prevention of popular assemblies, for the purpose of political investigation, might be dismissed with that marked disapprobation it so justly deserved." They further entreated the honourable house to believe, that they felt a "sincere abhorrence of all tumult and violence," and their behaviour on this occasion, which was decent, orderly, and becoming, supported the truth of their assertion.

To the agitations produced by the conflicts of parties was now to be added another evil still more alarming. A scarcity arising almost to famine prevailed throughout the kingdom, and such was the deplorable situation of the labouring classes, that numbers of them actually perished from want. This scarcity was occasioned, in part at least, by an alarming deficiency in the year's crop, which had suffered extremely by incessant rains, and partly by the waste and increased consumption of a long protracted and unsuccessful war. The state of the nation from these circumstances appeared so critical, that it was judged expedient to assemble parliament at an earlier period than usual.

On the 29th of October, the day fixed for the meeting of parliament, an unusual concourse of people assembled in the Park, and as his majesty passed to the house, violent exclamations were heard of—*Peace! Peace! Bread! No Pitt! No War!* and the clamour gradually increasing, stones began to be thrown at the royal carriage, as it proceeded through the streets of Westminster; and from a house in Margaret-street, near the Abbey, a bullet was supposed to be discharged from an air-gun, as no noise was heard, though something passed through the glass of the coach with great force and velocity. On entering the house of peers, his majesty, in some perturbation, addressing the lord-chancellor, said, "My lord, I have been shot at." But the rage of the misguided populace was not yet exhausted; for on his return from the house, the king was again assailed in the Park, and to such a pitch of audacity did the mob carry their resentment, that one part of them attacked and nearly demolished the state carriage as it returned empty from St. James', while another party attempted to stop the private carriage of the king, in which he had seated himself for the purpose of joining his family at the queen's house, and even to force open the carriage doors. In this last attack, the

* Crimping-houses are places where impositions are practised upon the unwary, to induce them to enlist into the army or navy.—W. G.

king, for the moment, seemed to lose his characteristic firmness, and was evidently struck with amazement and consternation; but upon the arrival, at so critical a moment, of a party of the life-guards, the populace were dispersed, and the king, with great difficulty, and even danger, reached the queen's house. So gross an outrage as this had never been offered to any monarch of Great Britain since the days of Charles I., and the conduct of the mob excited the deep and universal execration of all orders of persons throughout the nation.

A proclamation was immediately issued, offering a reward of one thousand pounds, to be paid on conviction of any person concerned in this daring and criminal assault; but it is remarkable that no one who had been guilty of any actual violence was ever discovered. A man of the name of Kidd Wake, by trade a journeyman printer, was indeed found to have been amongst the hissers and disturbers of the king's peace, of which crime he was convicted, and sentenced to five years' solitary confinement in the penitentiary-house at Gloucester, and to stand in the pillory; but no other person was brought to punishment, though three others, all in obscure situations in life, were apprehended, and underwent repeated examinations.

The spirit which had dictated these excesses appeared to his majesty's government to call for an extension of the treason and seditious laws, and two bills were in consequence brought into parliament, the former "for the safety and preservation of his majesty's government against treasonable and seditious practices and attempts;"*

* This bill, which was introduced into the upper house by Lord Grenville, and which in consequence obtained the name of the "Grenville Act," consisted of two parts: the first made a very momentous change in the law, and an extension in the punishment for the crime of treason: it declared the commission of any offence, by deed or by words, spoken, written or printed, or shown in any other open manner, or in any way *tending* to the imprisonment, deposition, or death of the king, or his heirs and successors, a conspiracy to levy war, in order to overawe the parliament, and to effect a change of counsels; or to instigate any foreigner or stranger, by force, to invade any of the king's dominions; to be high-treason, during the king's natural life, and till the end of the next session of parliament after the demise of the crown. The second part extended the crime, and aggravated the punishment of sedition: to excite dislike and hatred to the person of the king, or to the persons of his heirs and successors, or to the government and constitution of this realm, as by law established, by deed, by advised speech, or by words written or printed, subjected the offender for the first offence to the pains and penalties incurred by the commission of a high misdemeanor, and for the second, to the usual punishments prescribed by law, or to transportation for seven years, at the discretion of the court.

and the latter "for the more effectually preventing seditious meetings and assemblies."* The restrictions imposed by these bills upon the free constitution of the country, subjected them to the most vigorous opposition both in and out of parliament; but neither the eloquence of the advocates of public liberty in the senate, nor the voice of 400,000 petitioners in various parts of the country, could prevail, for in the month of December both these bills passed into laws.

Amidst these stormy discussions, the senate was not unmindful of the critical state of the country, owing to the scarcity of corn. It appeared, from the information laid before a committee of the house appointed to inquire into this subject, that the principal failure in the late harvest had been in the crop of wheat, and a bounty of twenty shillings per quarter was in consequence ordered to be paid on the importation of wheat from the Mediterranean; fifteen shillings per quarter on that from America; and five shillings per quarter on Indian corn. Bills were also introduced, and passed the two houses of parliament, for prohibiting the manufacture of starch from wheat; for prohibiting the distillation of spirits from grain; and for facilitating the cultivation of waste lands: and a considerable number of inclosure bills passed the house in the course of this session of parliament.

To these consultations succeeded others respecting the military and naval force of the kingdom; and on the 4th of Novem-

* The law introduced into the house of commons, by Mr. Pitt, on the 10th of November, and called the "Pitt Act," enacted, that all assemblies exceeding fifty in number, and not already recognised by law, if convened for addressing the king or parliament, with the view, or on the pretext of considering grievances, or procuring an alteration in the church or state, should be declared unlawful and liable to dispersion by a magistrate, after reading a proclamation for that purpose, unless the assembly were collected by a public advertisement, signed by seven resident householders, and a true copy of it, subscribed by them, was left with the publisher, who, under a penalty of fifty pounds, must deliver it to any justice of the peace by whom it should be demanded. It further provided, that disobedience for more than one hour to the magistrate's order to disperse should subject any individual of a number above twelve, to the punishment of death; and even an assembly held by regular advertisement, in the same manner, and with the same risk to the disobedient, might be dispersed, if any measures, which, in the judgment of a magistrate, should be thought subversive of the constitution, or tending to excite the people to hatred, or dislike, or contempt of the royal family, or of the parliament, were proposed: and for the purpose of suppressing certain political lectures, any person opening a house for political discussions, without a license, incurred a penalty of one hundred pounds.

ber, Lord Arden moved that one hundred and ten thousand seamen, including eighteen thousand marines, should be voted for the service of the year 1796; and Mr. Windham, on the same occasion, proposed that two hundred and seven thousand men should be employed in the land service. These motions being carried, Mr. Pitt brought forward, on the 7th of December, a proposal to negotiate a loan of eighteen millions, and stated the sum of twenty-seven millions five hundred thousand pounds to be the estimated expenses of the approaching year.

His majesty, in his speech from the throne at the opening of the present session of parliament, had observed, "That the distraction and anarchy which had so long prevailed in France, had now led to a crisis, of which it was impossible to see the issue; but that should this crisis terminate in any order of things compatible with the tranquillity of other countries, and afford a reasonable expectation of security and permanence in any treaty which might be concluded, the appearance of a disposition to negotiate for a general peace, on just and suitable terms, should not fail to be met on his part, with an earnest desire to give it the fullest and speediest effect." This declaration on the part of his majesty, was followed by a message delivered to the house of commons by Mr. Pitt, on the 8th of December, announcing "the establishment of such a form of government in France as appeared capable of maintaining the relations of peace and amity, and expressive of a readiness on the part of the British government to meet any proposal for negotiation on the part of the enemy, with a desire to give it the speediest effect in producing a peace." On the following day, Mr. Pitt moved an address in reply, thanking his majesty for his most gracious communication. This address gave rise to a debate, in which Mr. Sheridan proposed an amendment, altogether disclaiming the idea of considering any change of government in France as affecting the principle of negotiation, and praying that a treaty might immediately be entered upon. This amendment was said to be perfectly consistent with the spirit of the message, which admitted that Great Britain might now safely treat: where then could be the objection to declaring, that she would treat with France? "It is," said Mr. Sheridan, "a vulgar, and indeed, the most vulgar of opinions, to suppose that it is disadvantageous to a power at war to be the first to offer terms of peace. The experience of history proves the reverse; and were peace now proposed on reasonable terms by his majesty's ministers, it would not be possible for the French

government to refuse their assent." To this reasoning, ministers observed that it was highly proper and expedient that the executive government should be left unfettered, and the amendment was negatived without a division.

The year 1796 was ushered in by the birth of a princess, at present heiress, to the Prince of Wales, and who appears likely to give to England a female reign. This princess was born on the 7th of January, and baptized Charlotte, in compliment to her august grandmother, the queen of these realms. (30)

After the recess of parliament, Mr. Grey moved, on the 15th of February, an address to the king, praying him to communicate to the executive government of France, his readiness to meet any disposition to negotiate a general peace. This motion was resisted by the ministry, on the same grounds as the amendment to Mr. Pitt's motion, previously moved by Mr. Sheridan, and negatived by a great majority.

On the 18th of February, Mr. Wilberforce renewed his annual attempt to effect the abolition of the slave-trade. This motion was supported by the eloquence of Mr. Fox, Mr. Pitt, and a number of other members on both sides of the house; but it was opposed with equal vehemence by Sir William Young, Mr. Dundas, and General Tarleton, and ultimately lost, to the great chagrin and disappointment of every friend to humanity and justice.

During this session of parliament, a circumstance of a very unusual nature occurred. On the 18th of April, the chancellor of the exchequer brought forward a proposition for a second loan, to the amount of seven millions and a half, in order to take out of the market a great proportion of the paper, constituting the unfunded debt. This measure, which was considered as resulting from a profuse and uncalled-for expenditure of the public money, by which a sum amounting to forty-three millions sterling had been required by ministers in the short period of fourteen months, had to encounter a very animated opposition, but the motion of the premier ultimately prevailed, and the resolutions were carried by a large majority.

Early in the month of May, motions were made, in the two houses of parliament, for the appointment of committees of finance, to ascertain how far the public expense had

(30) This princess is since dead, in consequence of which the Duke of York is the presumptive successor to the prince-regent.*

* The Duke of York having died in the year 1827, the Duke of Clarence became heir-presumptive, and succeeded George IV. in 1830.—W. G.

increased beyond the supplies annually granted by parliament; but these motions were negatived, in both houses, by majorities that might have been thought sufficient to repress any further parliamentary attempt to interfere with the appropriation of the public revenue.

On the 10th of the same month, an address to the king was moved in both houses—in the upper house, by the Earl of Guilford, and in the lower house by Mr. Fox. This address declared, "that the duty incumbent on parliament no longer permitted them to dissemble their deliberate opinion, that the distress, difficulty, and peril, to which this country was then subjected, had arisen from the misconduct of the king's ministers, and was likely to exist and increase as long as the same principles, which had hitherto guided these ministers, should continue to prevail in the councils of Great Britain." In introducing this address, which was of great length and cogency, Mr. Fox enlarged much on that most fatal, as he called it, of all the innumerable errors of ministers, their rushing into a ruinous and unnecessary war, instead of mediating between France and the allied powers. "Had they," said he, "counselled his majesty to accept the grateful office of mediator, it would have added lustre to the national character, and placed Britain in the exalted situation of arbitress of the world. That was the period when Great Britain might have interfered with advantage, with decision, and with effect. Her seasonable interposition would have produced the peace of Europe. But from the refusal of our good offices, the natural conclusion was, that, although England saw the growing discord, and had the means of preventing it, she thought proper to become an accessory in the designs formed against France." Mr. Fox, then adverting to the immediate and specific causes of the war, remarked, that from the moment Lord Gower was recalled,* there was no way left to make any regular application to the French government, and how could we expect the redress of any grievances from a government of which we did not acknowledge the existence! In allusion to the celebrated publication of Mr. Burke on the French revolution—that splendid effusion of genius, and of imagination—Mr. Fox said, that the ministry and the nation had been

dazzled with the brilliancy of a fatal constellation, from which death and distraction had issued, and the world had been desolated. This it was, which had induced ministers to run headlong into the ruinous abyss of war and carnage. For his own part, he had, from the commencement of the contest, advised the recognition of the new government of France, as the first and most essential step to be taken in order to effect the restoration of peace: and of the necessity of this measure it now appeared that his majesty's ministers were at length convinced, though he feared that the men who had shown themselves so incompetent to conduct with success the war in which they had plunged the nation, would be found no less inadequate to the conclusion of a safe and honourable peace.

Mr. Pitt, in reply, insisted that his majesty could not have interposed his mediation without incurring the hazard of involving himself in a war with that power which should have refused his terms. He again expatiated on the danger arising to all Europe, from the revolutionary decree of the 19th of November,* and the insult offered to this country in particular, in the encouragement given to the seditious and treasonable addresses presented to the convention, by whom the bearers of them were cherished, applauded, and caressed; and while the negotiations were yet pending, war was actually declared by France: that country, therefore, and not England, was the aggressor. This nation had no alternative; and after a war of more than three years—a war approved and sanctioned by that house, by repeated votes and declaration—a war justifiable on every principle of morality, and essential to the very existence of our constitution, would the house now acknowledge themselves in a delusion? Would they submit to the humiliating degradation of falsely arraigning themselves, and of passing on their own acts a sentence of condemnation? It was a war, of which the necessity and policy were manifest: and if the country should at any time suffer a disastrous reverse of fortune, he would exhort them not to yield to a temporary pressure; but, on the contrary, to redouble their efforts, in order to surmount their difficulties, and finally to obtain safe and honourable conditions of peace. Nor, on the other hand, if success were gained, should the prospect of obtaining more and further advantages be relinquished, by a premature readiness to make peace. These arguments were deemed conclusive, and the motions

* By the treaty of commerce and navigation entered into between Great Britain and France, and signed at Versailles, on the 26th of September, 1786, "the recall or sending home of the respective ambassadors or ministers," is deemed equivalent to a declaration of war. See second article in that treaty, page 78 of this volume.

* See a copy of the Decree of Fraternity, in the 76th page of this volume.

of both Mr. Fox and Lord Guilford were lost by prodigious majorities.

The public business being now concluded, his majesty terminated the session of parliament on the 19th of May with a speech from the throne, expressive of the highest

approbation of "the uniform wisdom, temper, and firmness which had appeared in all the proceedings, since their first meeting in that place;" and on the following day a proclamation was issued for the dissolution of parliament.

CHAPTER XXII.

Italian Campaign of 1796: General Bonaparte appointed Commander-in-chief—Opening of the Campaign—Success of the French Army—Sardinia detached from the Coalition—Italy overrun by the Conqueror—The Pope and the King of Naples sue for an Armistice—Its Conditions—The Command of the Austrian Army conferred on Marshal Wurmser, on the Resignation of General Beaulieu—The Marshal, after successive Defeats, shut up in Mantua—Close of the Campaign. Campaign in Germany: The French Armies, under the Command of Generals Moreau and Jourdan, penetrate into Germany—Arrested in their victorious career by the Arch-duke Charles—Jourdan's Army, panic-struck, retreats in disorder—The memorable Retreat of Moreau—Germany freed from the presence of the Invaders—Extinction of the War in La Vendée, and Execution of the insurgent Chiefs—Colonial Conquests of Great Britain—Evacuation of Corsica—Naval Campaign of 1796.

THE war on the continent had hitherto been confined chiefly either to the dominions of France, or to the territories in her immediate vicinity; but hostilities were now fated to take a more extensive range, and the unoffending inhabitants of the Alps and the Tyrolese mountains, as well as those on the banks of the Danube and the Po, were doomed to experience all the horrors of a conflict arising out of a revolution which had taken place in the capital of France.

The command of the troops of the King of Sardinia was still intrusted to General Colli, an officer supposed to be admirably calculated for the management of a defensive system, while the emperor confided the direction of his forces to Baron Beaulieu, an able and enterprising officer, whose military reputation had outlived his success.

The directory, on the other hand, instead of selecting one of its victorious chiefs, had, under the guidance of Carnot, "the organizer of victory," placed Napoleon Bonaparte, a general untried and almost unknown, at the head of the army.*—Born in Corsica,

* This extraordinary character, the hero, as he may be styled, of the French revolution, and whose name and achievements will descend from the annals of our own times to the remotest posterity, was born at Ajaccio, on the 15th of August 1769,(31) and was the son of Charles Bonaparte

(31) It is said in the "Biographic Moderne," a work of considerable authority (title Napoleon), that this great captain was born on the 5th of February 1768, prior to the annexation of Corsica to France; and not at the period here mentioned, and which has generally been considered as that of his birth. By representing himself to have been born in 1769, he became entitled to the privileges of a French citizen; Corsica having then become a part of France.

and educated at the military school in France, this aspiring youth had already exhibited the promise of great talents, but he had acquired little practical knowledge, and

and Letitia Ramolini, his wife. His father, who was a native of Tuscany, was bred to the civil law at Rome, and took part with General Paoli, whose friendship he enjoyed, in the ever-memorable struggle made by a band of brave islanders against the tyrannical efforts of Louis XV. The advice of an uncle, who was a canon, detained him in Corsica, and it was afterwards owing to his intimacy with M. de Marbeuf, commander of that island, that he was appointed the king's attorney at Ajaccio, and represented the noblesse in the deputation of the three orders sent in 1773 to Louis XV. The elder Bonaparte died at Montpellier, whither he had gone for the re-establishment of his health, leaving four sons and three daughters, all of tender years. After the father's death, M. de Marbeuf, the friend and protector of the family, placed the second son, Napoleon, at the college of Autun, and afterwards at the military academy of Brienne: the education which was given there was of a nature to form superior men in more than one department, and it was especially a preparation for the profession of arms. Born in the midst of a republican contest in his native land, it was his destiny to burst into manhood at the moment when the country of his choice was engaged in a struggle which opened a wide and almost boundless field for the military adventurer; and there was something in his manners and habits that fitted him for the situation to which he seems to have been destined. Instead of imitating the frivolity of the age, his mind was continually intent on military studies, and from the lives of Plutarch, a volume of which he always carried in his pocket, he learned at an early age to copy the manners and emulate the actions of antiquity. We accordingly find him, while yet at school, presenting himself as a candidate for a commission in the artillery, in consequence of which he became a lieutenant in the French army, and served for two or three years in the regiment of La Fere.—In 1790, General Paoli repaired to France, where he was honoured with a civic crown, and there embraced the son of his old friend; and soon afterwards they met again in

was chiefly indebted to the patronage of Barras, and his own zeal at Toulon, for the attainments of so elevated a station, before he had attained the twenty-sixth year of his age.

Having arrived at the head-quarters of his army early in the spring, Bonaparte, who spared no pains to render himself popular with his army, prepared to take the field the moment that the disappearance of the snow permitted the march of his troops.

The Piedmontese were posted on the declivity of the Alps, so as to extend from the Col de Tendi to Cairo, in the province of Acqui, while their imperial allies occupied the heights of Savona, Sassello, Musano, Campo-Fredo, the Bochetta, the valleys of the Thebia and the Serevia, including within their intrenchments the two roads leading from Genoa to the Milanese.

The French army, inferior in point of numbers, was encamped all the way from Nice to the neighbourhood of Final; the head-quarters were established at Allenga,

Corsica, when Bonaparte, now a captain, was elected lieutenant-colonel of a corps of Corsican national guards.

Though he declined to take any part in the annexation of Corsica to the crown of England, his intimacy with Paschal Paoli rendered him suspected; but he eluded the arrest ordered against him by Lacombe St. Michel, one of the commissioners of the convention, by passing over into France, and taking up his residence in the neighbourhood of Toulon. There a spacious field presented itself for the exercise of his talents. Toulon, recently surrendered to the English arms, was at that time besieged by the republican troops, and Bonaparte was pointed out to Barras, the conventional deputy, as a young officer of extraordinary skill and enterprise. In this service, he soon attracted the notice of Dugommier, the commander-in-chief, who one day said to the representatives:—"Let this young man fix your attention; if you do not advance him, I will answer for it that he will contrive to advance himself." On the conquest of Toulon, Bonaparte, with a small armament, made an attack upon Ajaccio, but he was repulsed by Captain Masseria; he afterwards repaired to Paris, where he obtained the military command of that city, under his friend Barras, and by his masterly disposition of the troops in the insurrection of Vendémiaire, contributed essentially to restore the public tranquillity, and to secure the triumph of the representatives over the sections of the metropolis. While he held this command he formed a matrimonial alliance with Madame Beauharnois, and soon after received from the directory the elevated appointment of commander-in-chief of the French army in Italy. The appointment of so young a general to a command of such vast importance, could not fail to excite general observation, but he alone remained unmoved amidst the universal surprise, and in answer to some remarks made upon his youth, he calmly replied:—"In six months I shall be an old general, or I shall be in my grave." Here the biographer may pause, as the future history of Napoleon will be read in the history of Europe, and stands closely interwoven with those astonishing events, which it is the object of this work to record.

the advanced posts extended to Voltri, between Savona and Genoa, while Ormea, on the other side of the mountains, was in their possession. (32)

Hostilities were commenced on the 9th of April, 1796, on the part of the imperialists, who, feeling confident in their superior strength, attacked the enemy at Voltri, with a body of ten thousand men. This first operation proving successful, the Austrians advanced rapidly, in the hope of cutting off the retreat of the French troops; but Bonaparte, foreseeing this sanguine pursuit, detached a body of troops under General Massena, who, taking advantage of the night, gained the rear of the Austrian army. Unapprized of this movement, General Beaulieu began the attack at break of day next morning, and the contest was continued with various success, until the division under Massena appeared on the left flank and rear of the Austrian army. Astonished at this unexpected manœuvre, and thrown into the utmost disorder, the Austrians fled from the field with the loss of three thousand five hundred men, of whom two thousand were made prisoners. The French troops, inspired with confidence by their recent victory, and urged to the pursuit by the enterprising spirit of their commander, pushed forward to the banks of the Bormida, while the Austrians continued their retreat till they attained the vicinity of Millesimo. At this place, a general engagement was fought on the 17th of April, and the Generals Massena and La Harpe, passing the Bormida, surrounded the left wing of the Austrian army, on which a great slaughter ensued, and General Provera, with his brave division, was obliged to surrender, with a loss to the Austrian army of eight thousand prisoners and thirty-two pieces of cannon.

Nothing short of some gallant and even desperate enterprise could now rescue the character of Beaulieu from disgrace, and stop the progress of Bonaparte, who, like a portentous comet, already appalled every beholder, and seemed to threaten, not the imperialists only, but all Italy with destruction. Accordingly, on the following day, General Beaulieu surprised the French while reposing in full security, on the banks of the Bormida, and carried the vil-

(32) The army under Beaulieu, at the commencement of the campaign, amounted to about 35,000 men. The Sardinians, under Colli, were 22,000 in number. The rest of the Piedmontese army, about 25,000 strong, was in garrison, or formed corps of observation. The French did not amount to more than 42,000 men, with only 60 pieces of cannon, while those of the combined forces were estimated at 200.—*Histoire Critique, &c. des campagnes de Bonaparte, par Jomini, vol. i. p. 12.*

lage of Dego by the point of the bayonet: Massena, who attempted to stop the progress of the enemy, was repulsed; Cusse, at the head of the 90th demi-brigade, proved still more unfortunate, for he fell pierced with wounds, but he perished like a hero, and with his last breath uttered an ardent wish for the prosperity of his country. This success was of short duration, for Bonaparte, by one of those prompt and well-combined movements, which had already distinguished his tactics, obliged the Austrians to abandon Dego, and the French cavalry, being sent in pursuit, completed their disorder.

The Piedmontese and Sardinian army retreated with precipitation, and being successively driven from the posts of Ceva, Mondovì, and Cherasco, sought refuge in Turin. The French thus became masters of the course of the Tanaro, encamped in the midst of the plain of Piedmont, and prepared to besiege its metropolis; while their youthful leader inflamed the minds of his soldiery, by a speech pronounced at the head of his army, in the style and manner of the generals of antiquity.*

* This oration, so strongly characteristic of the French general, was in the following words:—

"Soldiers," said Bonaparte, "in the course of thirteen days, you have gained six victories, taken twenty-two stand of colours, fifty pieces of cannon, several strong fortresses, and conquered the richest portion of Piedmont: you have already seized fifteen hundred prisoners, and killed and wounded more than ten thousand men.

"You have as yet, however, fought only for sterile rocks, rendered illustrious indeed by your valour, but useless to your country. Yet you already equal the victorious armies of Holland and the Rhine: destitute of all, you have acquired every thing; you have gained battles without cannon, crossed rivers without pontoons, made forced marches without shoes, and watched all night under arms without brandy, and sometimes even without bread. Republican phalanxes, the soldiers of liberty, are alone capable of suffering such privations as these.

"But, soldiers! notwithstanding two vanquished armies flee before you, it is needless to dissemble that you have achieved nothing, since Turin and Milan are not yet yours, and the ashes of the conquerors of Tarquin are still trodden under the feet of your enemies.

"You were bereft even of necessities at the commencement of the campaign, and now you enjoy plenty; the magazines taken from your enemies are numerous; the heavy artillery is arrived, and your country has a right to expect important events. Will you realize her hopes? The greatest obstacles are doubtless overcome, but you have still battles to win, cities to take, rivers to pass. Is there one among you whose courage is subdued? Who would prefer to return again to the summits of the Apennines and the Alps, patiently to listen to the reproaches of a soldiery composed of slaves? No; there are none such among the conquerors of Montenotte, Millesimo, Dego, and Mendovi.

"All burn to extend the glory of the French people; all are desirous to humble those haughty

Notwithstanding that Turin was well fortified, and its citadel might have impeded the career of a victorious enemy, and thus protracted the fate of Italy, yet the aged king, despairing of being succoured by the Austrians, and uncertain of the attachment of his own subjects, determined to avoid the horrors of a bombardment. He accordingly sent orders to General Colli, to enter into a negotiation for a truce, and the hard conditions annexed to this favour announced the fallen fortunes of the monarch, who surrendered Exilles, Tortona, Coni, Alexandria, and Chateau Dauphin, as the pledges of his good faith; relinquished Savoy, in the county of Nice, for ever; and consented to the immediate demolition of the fortresses of Suza and Brunetta, on the French frontier.

The aristocracy of Venice, which, thinking itself hitherto little interested in the war, had manifested a decided partiality for the house of Austria, now perceived the necessity of bending before the genius of the Gallic democracy: and in pursuance of this policy, the Count de Provence, eldest brother of the late king of France, and afterwards styled Louis XVIII., was ordered to withdraw from the Venetian territory. In vain, did this exiled prince assert his privilege as a Venetian nobleman: the mandate was imperative, and, after quitting the city of Verona, he wandered about the other states of Europe for some months, and at last found an asylum at Mittau, in Courland, under the protection of the court of St. Petersburg.

Although Bonaparte had thus defeated two armies, and detached one of the kings from the coalition against France, he would not allow any respite to his troops. Marching

sovereigns who dared to menace us with chains; all wish to dictate a glorious peace, calculated to indemnify our country for the immense sacrifices it has made; all are eager to be able, on returning to their native villages, to exclaim with pride 'I also belonged to the victorious army of Italy!'

"Friends! I promise you this conquest; but it is on the express condition that you respect the people whom you are about to deliver from bondage, and avoid all thoughts of pillage, dreamed of only by these vile wretches set on by our enemies: without this, you will not be the liberators, but the scourgers of enfranchised nations; you will not be an honour to the French, for they will disavow you; your victories, your courage, your successes, the very blood of your brethren shed in battle, will all be lost, and your honour and glory gone for ever.

"Nations of Italy! the army approaches on purpose to burst your fetters. France is the friend of every people: approach our standards with confidence. Your religion, your property, and your customs, shall all be respected. We will carry on the war like generous enemies, for we have no dispute but with the tyrants who keep you in servitude."

along the southern bank of the Po, he reached Placentia early on the 7th of May, and in the course of the same day effected his passage at that place. Apprized of the approach of the Austrians, who moved along the northern bank of the same river, Bonaparte encountered the van-guard of their army at Fombio, and compelled them to retreat. Another body, coming up to the assistance of the first, was intercepted and repulsed by General la Harpe, who fell during the combat. General Berthier, arriving in the interval, pursued the enemy to Casal, of which he took possession; and the Dukes of Parma and Modena, on whose territory the republicans had now entered, were compelled to sue for peace, which was granted on the condition of paying ten millions of livres, and yielding up a certain number of the most valuable paintings in the world to adorn the national museum now forming at Paris.

Well aware that his conquests would never be consolidated till he had totally vanquished the Austrian army, and seized on all their Italian possessions, Bonaparte hastened to pursue the enemy to Lodi, where General Beaulieu had concentrated his forces. This is a large town, containing 12,000 inhabitants. It has old Gothic walls, but its chief defence consists in the river Adda, which flows through it, and is crossed by a wooden bridge about 500 feet in length. When Beaulieu, after the affair of Fombio, evacuated Casal, he retreated to this place with about 10,000 men. The rest of his army was directed upon Milan and Cassano, a town situated, like Lodi, upon the Adda.

Bonaparte calculated, that if he could accomplish the passage of the Adda at Lodi, he might overtake and disperse the remainder of Beaulieu's army, without allowing the veteran time to concentrate his forces for further resistance in Milan, or even for rallying under the walls of the strong fortress of Mantua. The judgment of the French general was in war not more remarkable for seizing the most advantageous mode of attack, than for availing himself to the very utmost of victory when obtained. On the 10th of May, attended by his best generals, and heading the choicest of his troops, Napoleon pressed forward towards Lodi. About a league from Casal, he encountered the Austrian rear-guard, who had been left, it would appear, at too great a distance from their main body. The French had no difficulty in driving these troops before them into the town of Lodi, which was but slightly defended by the few soldiers whom Beaulieu had left on the western or right side of the Adda. He had also neglected to destroy the bridge, although he ought

rather to have maintained a defence on the right bank of the river, for which the town afforded many facilities, until the purpose of destruction was completed, than have allowed it to exist. But though the bridge was left standing, it was swept by twenty or thirty Austrian pieces of artillery, the thunders of which menaced death to any who should attempt that pass of peril. The French, with great alertness, got as many guns in position on the left bank, and answered this tremendous fire with equal spirit. During this cannonade, Bonaparte threw himself personally amongst the fire, in order to station two guns with grape-shot in such a position as rendered it impossible for any one to approach for the purpose of undermining or destroying the bridge; and then calmly proceeded to make arrangements for a desperate attempt. But it was not on this occasion, but in a subsequent engagement, that he seized a stand of colours, and rushed forward for the purpose of inspiring his soldiers.

His cavalry was directed to cross, if possible, at a place where the Adda was said to be fordable, a task which they accomplished with difficulty. Meantime, Napoleon observed that the Austrian line of infantry was thrown considerably behind the batteries of artillery which they supported, in order that they might have the advantage of a bending slope of ground, which afforded them shelter from the French fire. He therefore drew up a close column of 3000 grenadiers, protected from the artillery of the Austrians by the walls and houses of the town, and yet considerably nearer to the enemy's line of guns on the opposite side of the Adda, than were their own infantry, by whom they ought to have been protected. The column of grenadiers, thus secured, waited in comparative safety, until the appearance of the French cavalry, who had crossed the ford, began to disquiet the flanks of the Austrians. This was the critical moment which Bonaparte had expected. A single word of command wheeled the head of the column of grenadiers to the left, and placed it on the perilous bridge. The word was given to advance, and they rushed on with loud shouts of *Vive la République!* But their appearance on the bridge was a signal for a redoubled shower of grape-shot, while, from the windows of the houses on the left side of the river, the soldiers who occupied them poured successive volleys of musketry upon the dense column, as it endeavoured to force its way over this long bridge. At one time the French grenadiers, unable to sustain this dreadful storm, appeared, for an instant, to hesitate. But Berthier, the chief of Bonaparte's staff, with Massena, L'Allemagne,

and Corvini, hurried to the head of the column, and by their presence and gallantry renewed the resolution of the soldiers, who now poured across the bridge. The Austrians had only one resource left, to rush upon the French with the bayonet, and kill or drive back into the Adda those who had forced their passage, before they could deploy into a line, or receive support from their comrades, who were still filing along the bridge. But the opportunity was neglected, either because the troops, who should have executed the manœuvre, had been, as we have already noticed, withdrawn too far from the river; or because the soldiery, as happens when they repose too much confidence in a strong position, became panic-struck when they saw it unexpectedly carried; or it may be that General Beaulieu, so old and so unfortunate, had none of that energy and presence of mind which the critical moment demanded. Whatever was the cause, the French rushed upon the artillerymen, from whose fire they had lately suffered so tremendously, and unsupported as they were, had little difficulty in prostrating them with the bayonet.

The Austrian army now completely gave way, and lost in their retreat, annoyed as it was by the French cavalry, more than twenty guns, and a thousand prisoners, and about two thousand more wounded or slain.

Such was the famous passage of the bridge of Lodi; achieved with such skill and gallantry, as gave the victor the same character for intrepidity and practical talent in actual battle, that he had gained in the former part of the campaign as a most able tactician.—“Of all the actions, in which the troops under my command have been engaged,” said Bonaparte in his despatches to the directory, “none has equalled the tremendous passage of the bridge of Lodi.”

Bonaparte having thus defeated the principal army of the imperialists, after taking Pavia, proceeded to Milan, and before the end of May subdued the principal part of Lombardy. Amazed at the extent and rapidity of his own conquests, and still acting upon the maxim, that nothing is done while any thing remains undone, Bonaparte, in a proclamation, dated Milan, 1st Prairial, addressed the army under his command, in the terms of triumph and of excitation:—“Soldiers!” he exclaimed, “you have precipitated yourself like a torrent from the heights of the Apennines: you have overthrown and dispersed all that dared to oppose your march: Milan is yours: and the republican standard is displayed throughout all Lombardy. Yes, soldiers, you have done much; but still more remains for you to do.

Shall posterity reproach you with having found a Capua in Lombardy? To re-establish the capital; to replace there the statues of those heroes who have rendered it immortal; to arouse the Roman people, entranced in so many ages of slavery; this will be the first fruit of your victories; it will be an epoch for the admiration of posterity!”

In the mean time, the dispersion of the Austrian army afforded Bonaparte all the leisure that he required to carry on his various enterprises against the respective states of Italy; and some insurrectionary movements in different parts were repressed with the most vigorous severity. On the 28th of June, a detachment of French troops took possession of Leghorn, though belonging to a neutral power, on pretext of dislodging the English; the whole of whose property found in the city was confiscated to the use of the republic. The factory however had the address to remove the greater part of their effects to the Isle of Elba; to which humble station, the conqueror himself was, after a lapse of years, and strange vicissitudes of fortune, doomed to be removed from the dazzling height of imperial splendour.

The main army of the French, during these operations, entered the territory of the ecclesiastical states, and took possession of the cities of Bologna, Urbino, and Ferrara. Alarmed in the highest degree at the advance of an enemy, now become formidable to all Italy, both the pope and the King of Naples sued for an armistice, which was granted to his Sicilian majesty, on the easy condition of withdrawing all assistance from the allied army; but the pope, whose tardy acquiescence had endangered the existence of the papal see, was obliged not merely to cede to the French the towns already in their possession, but to add to their number the city and fortress of Ancona, on the Adriatic, together with a contribution of twenty-one millions of francs by instalments, and a *present* of one hundred pictures, statues, busts, and vases, to be selected by competent judges of the arts, from the galleries at Rome, to adorn the museums of France.

At this period, all Italy seemed to be heaving from its political basis. The government of Naples, to which such favourable conditions of peace had been recently granted, was sunk to the lowest pitch of imbecility and depravity. The power of papal Rome, once so extensive, tottered to its fall; and Lombardy, divided among a number of petty despots, caught the strong contagion of the revolutionary spirit, and aspired to the rank and dignity of a free and independent nation. The whole country south of the Po, Genoa excepted, now

in possession of the French, appointed delegates, to the number of one hundred, to meet in convention at the city of Modena; the ducal government being previously dissolved, and the Duke of Modena himself having abandoned his territory, and virtually abdicated his sovereignty. The convention met on the 16th of October, 1796, and immediately decreed that there should be a sincere and indissoluble union between the states of Bologna, Reggio, Modena, and Ferrara; the new federation taking, from its geographical situation, the name of the Cispadane Republic; and with the approbation of the French general, the moving spring of this Italian revolution, a delegation was sent to Milan, styled by analogy the Transpadane Republic, for the purpose of establishing between the two states the bonds of political union and fraternity. In return, the administrators of the political government of Milan were permitted to send deputies to the general congress, now removed Reggio, which, about the close of the year, resolved themselves into a republic, one and indivisible, on the model of France.

Having detached the sovereign of Naples, and his holiness the pope, from the coalition of princes, Bonaparte marched in pursuit of Beaulieu to Borghetta; the approaches to which place he found defended by four thousand infantry, and eighteen hundred horse: but the assailants having forced the redoubts, the Austrians crossed the bridge, and cut down one of the arches. On this, an ineffectual attempt was made by the French to re-establish the communication, and an awful pause ensued; but at length a column of grenadiers, led by General Gardanne, jumped into the river, and with the water up to their chins, and their muskets elevated above their heads, forded the river, to the astonishment of the enemy, who, recollecting the column of Lodi, immediately gave way.

The court of Vienna, alarmed at these disasters, strained every nerve to assemble a new army in Carinthia and the Tyrol; while the directory, dazzled with the achievements of the hero of Italy, and as yet unsuspicious of being supplanted by the enterprising Corsican, proclaimed and celebrated a festival in honour of his victories.

General Beaulieu, finding himself incompetent to withstand the army of the enemy, flushed as it were with uninterrupted success, and acting upon a new system of tactics, under the direction of a general, "whose mistress was glory, and whose companion was Plutarch," resigned the command of his army, which was conferred on Field-marshal Wurmser, a warrior in the eightieth year of his age, but who, like

a veteran hero of the present day,* combined all the energy and ardour of youth with the experience of age. Having collected the shattered remains of Beaulieu's army, and strengthened them with large reinforcements, Marshal Wurmser crossed the Adige towards the end of July, and having carried the posts of Sala and Corona, which covered the city of Mantua, the French were obliged to raise the siege, and to evacuate their posts with considerable loss. Bonaparte, seeing himself in danger of being surrounded, suddenly withdrew his troops from Verona, and the banks of the Adige, and by a forced march regained possession of Brescia. He then collected his forces near the village of Castiglione, between the lake of Garda and the city of Mantua; Marshal Wurmser having likewise taken a position in the same vicinity. On the 5th of August, the two armies came in conflict, and the battle was continued for several successive days, but victory at length declared in favour of the French general; and Marshal Wurmser, after evacuating Roveredo and Trent, narrowly escaped being cut off at Bassano, and was at length obliged, on the 27th of August, to take refuge in Mantua. On this, Bonaparte resumed his former position on the Adige, and, after having manifested his sanguinary disposition, by punishing an insurrection of the inhabitants of Dego with all the horrors that could be inflicted by fire and sword, he sat down once more before Mantua.

The emperor, alarmed at the loss of Lombardy and the Milanese, and deeply affected at the fate of the brave and unfortunate Wurmser, endeavoured to retrieve the disasters of the Italian campaign by assembling another army, at the head of which was placed Alvinzi, a member of the aulic council. Fortune was at first favourable to the new general, who defeated a detachment of the enemy, while Bonaparte deemed it necessary to abandon Bassano, Vicenza, Trent, and Roveredo, and to concentrate his forces along the Adige, and the borders of the lake of Garda. The field-marshal now expected to be able to form a junction with the army of the Tyrol, and raise the blockade of Mantua, at the head of fifty thousand men; but his progress was intercepted by Bonaparte, who suddenly appeared in order of battle, with his left commanded by Vaubois, his right by Massena, and his centre by Augereau. Having ordered the two last generals to advance on the 15th of November, the outposts of the Austrians were immediately driven in; but an obstinate resistance was

* Blücher.

experienced at Arcole, a position strengthened equally by nature and art. It was in vain that some of the principal French officers placed themselves at the head of the columns, and braved all the fury of the enemy; for the Generals Verdier, Vernes, and Lasnes were wounded and obliged to retire, while Augereau, who had advanced with a stand of colours in his hand, was forced to withdraw from the storm of grape-shot with which he and his followers were assailed. The commander-in-chief, unable to restrain his own natural impetuosity, repaired with his staff to the front of Augereau's division, and advancing at the head of the grenadiers, ordered them to charge; he however had scarcely proceeded thirty steps, when the incessant fire of the Austrians broke down the bridge, and forced Bonaparte into a morass, whence he was with some difficulty rescued. The battle was renewed the next day, and night alone forced the combatants to separate, before victory had declared on either side.

On the third morning, a combined attack was concerted and executed, by Massena on the left, and Augereau in front, while the garrison of Porto-Legnano, supported by a considerable train of artillery, received orders to make a diversion in the rear. The column that attacked the bridge was however once more repulsed, and fell back in disorder towards Ronco; but on receiving a reinforcement, the battle was again renewed, and the Austrians, seeing their left about to be turned, abandoned the field, and retired towards Vincenza.

In the mean time, the left wing of the French army had been forced by General Davidowich, who seized on the important post of Rivoli, and advanced to Castellonuovo, within eight leagues of Mantua; but Bonaparte, taking advantage of his late victory, ordered a body of troops under General Massena to repossess the Adige, and attack the successful division, which was forced to retire behind the Arisio, on the 23d of November, while Alvinzi took refuge on the other side of the Brenta, after losing about six thousand men in killed and wounded, eighteen pieces of cannon, and four standards.

Thus ended one of the most memorable campaigns recorded in history, in the course of which all the resources of modern war were exhibited and displayed on a grand scale, and countries won and abandoned, not as heretofore, after a contest of a few hours, but in consequence of a succession of memorable battles.

But what chiefly fixed the attention of Europe, was the astonishing success of the French general, who, placing himself at the head of an inferior body of troops, had rush-

ed down from the mountains like a torrent upon Italy, overcoming every obstacle, and overwhelming all opposition. Three armies and four generals defeated, one after the other; a multitude of princes courting the favour of the conqueror, by presents of statues, pictures, and gold; a vanquished monarch abandoning the coalition of kings, and resigning his principal fortresses; these were some of the wonders of this eventful period, which for a time obtained for the military talents of the republican chief the admiration of mankind.

A plan no less daring and extraordinary than that of the Italian campaign, was projected by Carnot for the French armies in Germany. An overwhelming force was directed to penetrate into the circle of Suabia, to seize on the country adjoining the lake of Constance; to march through the passes of Bregentz; and after scaling the Rhetian Alps, to enter the Tyrol; and while one body of troops, following the course of the Rhine, reached the Adige, and communicated with the army of Italy; another was to traverse the valleys of the Inn, and extending itself to the borders of the Danube, in the neighbourhood of Passau, was to threaten the German capital.

The conduct of Pichegru having become suspicious, the command of the French armies on the Rhine was conferred on Jourdan and Moreau. On the 24th of June, the republican troops took the field, and after crossing the Rhine, and carrying the enemy's posts, seized and occupied the fortress and village of Kehl. Having secured this important position, Moreau re-established the bridge across the Rhine, and on the arrival of his artillery attacked and carried the enemy's camp at Wilstedt. Three battles, won successively at Renchen, Rastadt, and Etlingen, threw all Germany into dismay, and not only enabled the invaders to gain possession of the passes of the Black Forest, but to invest Mentz, Mannheim, Philippsburg, and Ehrenbreitstein, at the same time. The engagement at Etlingen, where the Archduke Charles, a gallant and popular prince, now placed at the head of the Austrian army, contended against Moreau in person, was long and obstinate, and when at length the Austrians were forced to retire, it was rather before the enthusiasm than the superior skill of their adversaries. Jourdan, in the mean time, crossing the Lahn, the Maine, and the Necker, took possession of Frankfurt, seized on Aschaffenburg and Wurtzburg, and rendered the whole of Franconia, the birthplace of the ancient Franks, subject to their descendants. The armies of the Sambre, the Meuse, and the Rhine, were soon enabled to co-operate with, and assist each

other. Moreau, seizing upon Stutgard, obliged the Duke of Wirtemberg, the Landgrave of Baden, and all the princes of Suabia, to purchase peace, at the price of enormous subsidies to the republic; on which, the invading armies advanced towards the centre of Germany, along both sides of the Danube; the one traversing the rich provinces of Franconia; the other taking the route of Upper Suabia, a country already wasted by the miseries of war. In the pursuit of this victorious career, Moreau forced the Elector of Bavaria to sue for peace; while Jourdan, seizing on Nuremberg, Ingolstadt, and Amberg, menaced Austria on the right, as well as Bohemia in his front.

The retreat of the imperial forces in Germany was cotemporary with the dreadful losses which they were sustaining from Bonaparte in Italy; but their strength, though overpowered, was not wholly broken, and it was reserved for the unsubdued resolution of the cabinet of Vienna, and the masterly skill of the brother of the sovereign, once more to arrest the hand of disaster, and to turn the tide of misfortune. Another cause of the impending reverses of the French army, was the cruel exactions imposed upon the unoffending inhabitants of Germany by the invaders. The Archduke Charles, having received considerable supplies, determined to throw himself between the invaders and Ratisbon; but before the arrival of his highness, the army of Wartenslaben had fought a successful battle, and driven the French from the heights before Amberg. On the 22d of August, the archduke arrived in person, and after defeating the enemy under Bernadotte, drove them back to Newmark. Jourdan, finding his left wing and rear thus exposed to a superior force, was driven by the impetuosity of the Austrian army, and the indignation of the peasantry, as far as Wurtzburg; here they were again overtaken, and being once more defeated, they were seized with a panic, and immediately disbanded.

The disorderly conduct of the army of the Sambre and Meuse placed that of the Rhine and the Moselle in the most critical position, for all the conquests of Moreau were now become useless in consequence of the defeat of Jourdan. The former, after conducting his victorious troops from the banks of the Rhine to those of the Danube and the Isere, and proving successful in no less than five pitched battles, as well as a multitude of skirmishes, was now obliged to commence his celebrated retreat, which may be justly compared, in point of merit, with that of a great warrior of antiquity, more especially as Xenophon conducted the Greeks through the territo-

ries of a cowardly and effeminate people, while Moreau traversed a country inhabited by one of the most warlike nations in the universe.

Instead of appearing disconcerted by the recent successes of the archduke, the French general actually crossed the Danube, as if with an intention to succour his defeated colleague; but this movement was calculated merely to collect his detachments, and concentrate his strength. After having completely deceived the Austrians relative to the rout he intended to take, Moreau crossed the Lech on the 11th of September, and gave orders to cut down all the bridges behind him; he then ascended along the banks of the Danube, and stationed his head-quarters at Ulm. Finding himself closely pursued, he attacked General Latour in his camp between Biberach and Buchau, and after a long and bloody action, fought on the 1st of October, not only forced him to retire in confusion, but would have entirely destroyed his army, had it not been for the gallant resistance on the part of the emigrants under the Prince de Condé, who covered the retreat of the Austrians, and saved their baggage.

He now divided his army into two bodies, and marched suddenly through Munderkingen, Neudlingen, and Bellingen, to attack the Generals Nauendorff and Petrasch, who were forced to abandon their respective positions: so terrible was this commander, even in the moment of retreat, that he took no less than seven thousand prisoners in these different actions. Having at length opened a communication with the forest towns, forced the passes to the Black Forest, and penetrated through the *Val d'Enfer* (the valley of hell) the name of which sufficiently expresses the nature of the country, with his centre, he employed his two wings against the numerous detachments, led on by the Generals Latour, Petrasch, and Nauendorff. The French army having resumed its march, the main body encamped in the neighbourhood of Fribourge on the 19th, and waited for the arrival of the rest of the troops; the moment a junction had been effected, the Archduke Charles assaulted, and with some difficulty carried the village of Kendringen; next day he attacked part of the enemy stationed at Nymbourge, but after an action that lasted from ten o'clock in the morning until dark, he was compelled to desist from his enterprise, having experienced considerable loss in consequence of the spirited resistance of General Deessaix.

Moreau now abandoned the Brigaw, and at the head of an army fatigued by the length of its march, destitute of shoes, and rendered sickly by continual rains, march-

ed towards the banks of the Rhine; and dividing his army into two bodies, Dessaix repassed that river at Brisach, while he himself directed his course towards Huningen, continually followed and harassed by the enemy. On his arrival at Schliengen, he assumed an excellent position, and notwithstanding the superior numbers of the Austrians, determined to wait the event of a battle. He was accordingly attacked along the whole of his line, but the enemy were repulsed on every side. However, Moreau moved his camp on the night of the engagement, and having passed the Rhine at Huningen without any molestation on the part of the enemy, returned to Strasburg, on the 26th of October, the point whence he set out, after one of the most memorable expeditions recorded in history.

The Archduke Charles, by a singular union of gallantry, talents, and good fortune, had thus liberated Germany from the yoke of France; and the surrender of the fortress of Kehl, and the entrenched position at Corne, after an obstinate but fruitless resistance, freed the whole of the Austrian dominions on the eastern side of the Rhine from the presence of the invaders.

In the course of the present year, the insurgents in La Vendee were entirely overcome, and the contest in those devoted departments was brought to a final close. Stofflet, being desirous to place himself at the head of a formidable party, left his haunts, where he had long remained in security, and on the return of spring, repaired from place to place, for the purpose of stimulating the lukewarm loyalty of a people, heretofore burning with zeal for the sovereign. One of these excursions proved fatal to him. Having repaired to the village of Langreniere, with only a single domestic, and a couple of aide-de-camps, two republican officers, Lonti and Liegard, were informed by the inhabitants, who had now become weary of the war, of his arrival. They accordingly hastened thither at the head of a small body of infantry and cavalry, and having secured all the avenues, suddenly entered the apartment, and seized on the person of Stofflet, a chief who in the course of two years had fought no less than one hundred and fifty actions, in more than a hundred of which he had proved victorious. He was executed at Angers, on the 23d of February, and died with a heroic constancy.

But as the Vendean war could never be considered as finished while Charette survived, he was incessantly pursued by the cavalry of Hoche, and on the 23d of March the adjutant-general of his army came up with him at Chabottier, in Poitou. Although harassed with unceasing fatigue,

and wounded both in the head and hand, he had still strength sufficient to escape into a wood, supported by two of his faithful followers, who determined to share his fate, and actually fell dead in succession at his feet, covered with wounds. On this, Travot ran up, seized the chief, and conducted him to Nantz, dressed in a short green vest, and pantaloons, disfigured by blood, with his arm in a scarf, and his countenance pale, sickly, and dejected. He however beheld the preparations for his execution with an undaunted eye. He not only surveyed the soldiers drawn up to inflict upon him the punishment of death without shrinking, but even refused to have a bandage tied across his face, and actually gave the signal for his own death. On the fall of these chiefs, all the insurgent departments readily submitted, and Hoche, who at Quiberon had acquired celebrity as a warrior, was now hailed with the appellation of pacificator of La Vendee.

Undismayed by the conquests of the French in Europe, the English persevered in their intention to capture all their remaining colonies, as well as those of their allies, between the tropics; and they were now enabled, by their strength, to obtain successes in that quarter, unknown in any former period of the war. The mortality that had occurred among our troops in the West Indies, and the alarming accounts that were received of the exploits and intrigues of Victor Hughes, rendered a new army absolutely necessary in that quarter. A naval force, with several regiments on board, was therefore prepared to act against the West Indian colonies of Holland; and very early in the year, Demerara, Iles-Quibo, and Berbice were obliged to surrender to the summons of the British commanders.⁽³³⁾ A disembarkation was next effected on St. Lucia; and the enemy retired to Morne Cabot, one of the strongest positions of the island, which was carried by the gallantry of a small body under General Moore. Morne Nortuna was next invested and taken; so that no choice was left to the French but to capitulate, and two thousand French soldiers were made prisoners, the insurgent negroes being all disarmed, and the island ceded to Britain. An expedition under General Knox, to St. Vincents, undertaken on the 25th of

(33) It is said, that from the 1st of January, 1793, to the 1st of April, 1796, not fewer than 54,000 British troops were sent to the West Indies.* The French force probably did not amount to one fourth of this number. We have thus some data by which to estimate the merit of the British victories in that quarter.

* Stephen's History of the Wars of the French Revolution, vol. ii. p. 99.

May, was not less successful; the French surrendered to the number of seven hundred; the dispersion of the Caribbs immediately followed, and peace was soon afterwards restored to the settlement. An attack was afterwards made on Grenada, which succeeded with little bloodshed. A body of seven thousand troops arrived early in the spring, at the Mole in St. Domingo; but the mortality of the yellow fever was so great, and the numbers of the free blacks and mulattoes so formidable, that the war was waged with few advantages on our side. Toussaint, with his negro army, and Regaud, at the head of the mulattoes, maintained a fierce, though desultory warfare; and the British with difficulty retained their extensive chain of posts, occupying a stretch of three hundred miles of coast.

Determined not to suffer the loss of the Cape of Good Hope, without a struggle to regain that important settlement, the Dutch government fitted out an expedition, consisting of two sail of the line, three smaller ships of war, and three armed vessels, which, sailing from Holland about the middle of the year 1796, anchored on the 2d of August in the Bay Saldanah. Just at the critical moment when General Craig, with his small army, was marching down to the coast to meet the invaders, they perceived a British fleet of two seventy-fours, five sixty-fours, a fifty gun ship, and six other vessels, advancing with a fair wind to the mouth of the harbour. The English admiral, aware of his superiority, anchored within cannon-shot of the Dutch vessels, and sent a written summons to their commander to surrender. Rear-admiral Engelbartus Lucas, knowing that resistance must be unavailing, obeyed the summons, and on the 7th of August surrendered his whole fleet without firing a shot.

The victories of France in Italy, the fame of Bonaparte among his countrymen, the intractable spirit of the inhabitants, and the arrival of a body of French under General Gazette, to co-operate with internal revolt, rendered the possession of Corsica no longer possible to the British. Seizing on the heights above Bastia, the invaders easily captured the garrison and city. Fiorenzo, Bonifacio, and the tower of Mortella, were retaken on the 20th of October, and considerable spoils fell into the hands of the victors, on the retreat of the English fleet from the adjoining bay, and the final evacuation of the island. But the island of Elba, which had been seized some months before by a detachment of our countrymen from Corsica, was still retained, and formed a useful arsenal, and a convenient station on the Tuscan coast.

The republican government of France,

perceiving a crisis in the situation of Ireland, more favourable to the success of an invasion than any which had occurred since the French revolution, seized that occasion to strike a blow of no common importance. Fifteen thousand chosen troops, under the command of Hoche, were embarked at Brest on the 15th of December; intended to act on their arrival with a body of the disaffected Irish, who were known to be considerable in numbers, and organized for insurrection by chiefs of talents and intrepidity. Every thing being prepared, Admiral Villaret Joyeuse set sail from Brest, with eighteen sail of the line, besides frigates and transports, while the general embarked with his staff on board the frigate *La Fraternité*. The wind at first was favourable; but scarcely had the expedition left the outer harbour, when a storm arose, which dispersed the fleet, and separating the frigate which carried Hoche,* obliged him to escape into the harbour of Rochelle, after weathering a dangerous cruise, and being chased by two British vessels. Of the whole fleet, only eight two-deckers reached the coast of Ireland, under Admiral Bouvet, who appeared off Bantry Bay, but was forced from that station in a few days by tempestuous weather, and compelled to return to France, without effecting a landing. In this disastrous expedition, the French lost not less than three ships of the line, and three frigates, from the adverse elements; but they had the singularly good fortune to escape Lord Bridport and Admiral Colpoys, the former of whom, with a British fleet under his command, arrived in Bantry Bay immediately after their departure.

During the course of this year, the remaining commerce of France was harassed and diminished by the indefatigable exertions of the British cruisers. On the 22d of August, Sir John Borlase Warren, with only four frigates, the *Pomona*, *Artois*, *Galatea*, and *Anson*, gallantly attacked a French squadron, consisting of one ship of forty-four guns, two of forty, one of thirty-two, and one of thirty guns, with two armed vessels, not far from the *Saintes*, and, after dispersing their convoy, captured the *Etoile*, of thirty guns.

In the Mediterranean, Captain Nelson, on board the *Agamemnon*, accompanied by the *Maleagar*, *Diadem*, and *Peterell*, performed a brilliant exploit at Loana, on the 25th of April, having boarded and cut out four French store-ships by means of the boats of his squadron, under the fire of bat-

* Besides the separation of their general from the rest of the fleet, all the vessels which carried the artillery were dispersed before their arrival at Bantry Bay.—W. G.

teries, and amidst an incessant discharge of musketry. This indefatigable officer also took possession, during the month of May, of several vessels laden with cannon and ordnance stores destined for the siege of Mantua, in the neighbourhood of Oneglia, fearlessly boarding the enemy amidst the fire of three eighteen-pounders stationed on shore, and a fourth mounted in a gun-boat.

Towards the autumn, Admiral Duncan blockaded the Texel, to prevent the sailing of the Dutch fleet, and on the 13th of October, captured a frigate and a sloop of war belonging to that nation. Captain Williams, of the Unicorn of thirty-two guns, and Captain Martin of the Santa Margareta, a ship of equal force, pursued and took two heavy frigates of forty and thirty-six guns, called the Thames and Tribune; the Dryad, of thirty-six guns, also obtained possession of the Proserpine, of thirty, twenty-six of which were eighteen-pounders, after a chase of eight hours, and a gallant action of forty-five minutes.

Captain Bowen, of the Terpsichore, carrying thirty-two guns, also distinguished himself by the capture of the Mahonessa, a Spanish frigate of thirty-four guns, near Gibraltar; he soon afterwards forced the

Vestale, a French ship, which carried the same number of guns as his own, to strike; she, however, escaped next morning into Cadiz, and was reclaimed in vain.

But one of the most gallant actions during the whole war was fought by Captain Trollope, in the Glatton of fifty-four guns: she had been formerly an Indiaman, and now carried carronades of a large calibre. Having, on the 16th of July, fallen in with six frigates, accompanied by a brig and a cutter, off Helvoet, this brave commander, undismayed either by the number or the force of the enemy, bore down upon and came up with them late in the evening; and, notwithstanding he was surrounded in such a manner as to be attacked at the same time on the lee-quarter, the weatherbow, and the stern, so incessant and severe was the fire of his battery, that the adversaries deemed it prudent to desist and retire. (35)

Amidst these successes, the navy of Great Britain did not lose a single ship of any force; while, on the contrary, upwards of seventy sail of armed vessels belonging to the enemy were either detained or captured in the course of this year; among which were five line-of-battle ships, nine of forty-four guns, and three of forty.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Foreign History; Differences between France and America—Holland declared a Republic—The Conspiracy of Flocel—Further Insurrections in France—State of the French Finances—Insurrection in the South—Daring Attempt of the Jacobins to turn the arms of the French Soldiery against the existing Government—State of the Gallican Church—Synod of the constitutional Bishops—Abolition of the National Church in Holland—Establishment of the National Institute—English Manufactures excluded from the Ports of the Continent—Death of Catharine II. of Russia.

THE new government of France under the directory had scarcely commenced its operations, when a difference arose between that country and America, originating in the treaty of amity and commerce, recently executed between Great Britain and the United States. This treaty, it was affirmed, discovered a disposition altogether inimical to France, and its provisions were asserted to be wholly incompatible with the faintest idea of neutrality. By the treaty of 1778, still in force, the United States guaranteed to France the possession of their West India colonies; but by the treaty of 1794, they consented that even supplies of provisions sent to those islands from America, should be treated as illegal commerce. (34)

(34) We have here another of those gross blunders, which are so frequently to be met with in English books, on the subject of American concerns. If it were actually believed in England that the American government was so regardless of its own dignity as to suffer such a stipulation as

The directory, however, considered it prudent to abstain from actual hostilities, but they regarded the Americans in the light of secret enemies, and made such depredations

this to form part of a treaty, it can excite no wonder that they subsequently attempted to destroy the remnant of American commerce, by means of their orders in council. The only article of the treaty of 1794, which could give any colour to the assertion in the text, is the XVIIIth, which declared that whenever provisions or other articles, not generally contraband, became so according to the laws of nations, the same should not be confiscated, but the owners thereof should be speedily and completely indemnified. No stipulation or agreement, whatever, with regard to the French West India islands, is to be found in the treaty. The French decree of July, 1796, subsequently alluded to, was, it should be remembered, preceded by many gross violations of neutral rights on the part of the English government and its allies.

(35) This is another of those extraordinary accounts of British valour, to give credit to which requires a degree of pious faith in British supremacy, unusual in America.

on their trade, under various pretences, as almost amounted to a commercial war; and a directoral arrest was issued on the 3d of July, 1796, expressly enjoining French ships of war to observe the same conduct towards the vessels of neutral nations, as they had hitherto suffered with impunity from, the English. Thus began that oppressive system, by which neutral nations were doomed to be persecuted in the future progress of the war, under the designation of Berlin and Milan decrees, and British orders in council. Towards the close of the summer, Mr. Monroe, the American ambassador at Paris, was recalled from his embassy, to the great additional dissatisfaction of the French government, who refused to receive his successor, Mr. Pinckney, in the same capacity; and M. Adet, the French resident in Philadelphia, notified to the American government on the 23d of November, that the directory had suspended him from the exercise of his functions. Such was the situation of the foreign relations of the United States in the spring of 1797, when General Washington resigned his government; (36) and, retiring to his paternal estate on the banks of the Potomac, again resumed, after an illustrious display of public virtues and talents, the character and station of a private citizen.

After long and stormy discussions between the contending parties in Holland, a national convention of the inhabitants of the United Provinces, met at the Hague on the first of March, 1796, and formed a constitution on the model of the French republic. One of the first acts of the new government was to declare war against England, which had already seized on the principal part of their colonial possessions in both the eastern and western hemisphere.

Although the public tranquillity remained undisturbed at Paris, many of the provinces of France exhibited, at this period, scenes of the most dreadful disorder. The jacobins, who boasted that the directory was of their formation, and who had hitherto filled the principal places under government, were enraged at witnessing the return of moderate and humane principles, and manifested their hostility by disturbing the public tranquillity, and exercising their power, where they still remained in office, in the most cruel and oppressive manner towards their fellow-citizens. Against this sanguinary faction, whose boldness increased in proportion to the resist-

ance they encountered, the existing government found it necessary to declare decided hostilities, and laws were enacted to punish with death seditious assemblies, having for their object either the re-establishment of royalty, of which indeed there were few, or assemblages of groups that sought to destroy the present form of government, and to substitute in its stead the democratic constitution of 1793, which was in effect the government of Robespierre.

The jacobins, against whom these laws were principally directed, and whose places of assembly had been shut up by order of the government, were at length wrought up to purposes of vengeance, and for six weeks rumours prevailed of projected insurrections, which would, if accomplished, have once more deluged the country with blood, and revived all the horrors of the early stages of the revolution; and on the night of the 9th of May, considerable bodies of cavalry were stationed by government in the neighbourhood of the Luxembourg and the Tuilleries; while the Pont Neuf was strongly guarded and prepared against sudden surprise. On the morning of the 10th, the guard of the directory and of the legislative body was tripled, the streets were patrolled, and the gardens of the Luxembourg closed against the populace. On the same day, the council of five hundred received a message from the executive directory, informing them, that a horrible conspiracy was prepared to burst forth the following morning at break of day; that the design of the conspirators was to murder the executive directory, the members of the two councils, the field officers, the constituted authorities of Paris, and to deliver up the city to pillage and massacre; that the government, informed of the place where the conspirators had assembled, had seized their persons; and they added with regret, that Drouet, one of the council, was of their number. Among the persons arrested with Drouet, was Laignelot, an ex-deputy of the national convention, and a professed atheist. The others were Chabes and Ricard, both members of the convention, and well-known terrorists; Babeuf, once the associate of Marat, giving himself the title of "Gracchus Babeuf, the tribune of the people;" Rosignol, an ex-general of La Vendee; and Julien, the confidential agent of Robespierre. To these desperate characters, were added several others of inferior note; and their mad enterprise, which had for its ostensible object the re-establishment of a government of terror, to be administered by the conspirators, was less a project of revolution than of extermination; and one idea published in the papers of the traitors, that of engaging the people to commit such

(36) It would have been more strictly correct to have said that the period for which General Washington was elected having expired, he signified his resolution of not again accepting the office of president.

crimes as would make it impossible for them to retrograde, seems worthy of the infernal regions. The trial of the conspirators, from some cause, not very satisfactorily explained, was delayed for a considerable time; and in the mean while Drouet had the good fortune to effect his escape, but Babeuf and several of his associates were at length tried by the high criminal court at Vendome, from whom they received sentence of death, and their execution followed immediately afterwards. Other insurrections and disturbances in various parts of the country followed on the discovery of this plot, which was popularly styled the conspiracy of Floreal; but they were all quickly suppressed, and the authority of the new government was, as is usually the case, more firmly established by these abortive attempts at its subversion. The jacobins and royalists throughout France joined in exclaiming against the tyranny of the directory; and the former represented this plot as a sanguinary contrivance, fabricated to intimidate and to destroy some of the most ardent friends of public liberty, and the best friends of their country.

The insurgents of Floreal were no sooner despatched, than the directory determined to submit to the operation of the law the sanguinary perpetrators of the massacres of September, 1792; and a tribunal was accordingly established for that purpose, which entered upon its functions on the 26th of May, in the present year. Of the great mass of criminals brought to trial, some were executed and others imprisoned, but a large majority were acquitted, principally on the ground, that they had been instigated to the commission of their crimes by others, who possessed sufficient influence to screen themselves from the punishment due to their atrocious enormities. The trial of the insurgents of Vendemiaire took place before the same tribunal, and an equal degree of clemency was extended towards these offenders; at the head of whom, stood General Miranda, who, notwithstanding a sentence of banishment had been passed upon him, was suffered to remain in tranquillity at Paris.

The directory having, as they imagined, taken the necessary precautions against any further popular commotions, directed their attention to the subject of finance. The rapid decline of the credit of the assignats had rendered that species of paper altogether useless; and as gold and silver, which will never circulate freely with depreciated paper, had withdrawn themselves from the intercourse of trade, it was judged expedient to employ some other means to replace the debased currency. To this

end, a law passed on the 25th of March, to sell the remainder of the national domains, at the estimate made in 1790, which was at the rate of about twenty-two years' purchase; for which property, the nation was to receive in payment a new paper fabrication, under the name of mandats, to be issued to the amount of four hundred millions of livres; of which, part was destined to withdraw the assignats from circulation, at the rate of thirty for one; and the public lands remaining unsold, were to be mortgaged for the remainder. Notwithstanding this security, the mandat, at its birth, lost one fourth of its value, nor did the depreciation stop here, for in a very few months, it sunk so low as not to maintain a currency of above one fifth of the price affixed upon it by the national treasury. In the midst of these difficulties, the committee of finance now presented a report containing a general statement of the public revenue, from which it appeared, that the expenditure during the last year amounted to one thousand millions of livres; and that the ordinary annual revenue amounted to barely five hundred millions. To make up this enormous deficiency, various resources were pointed out, but the principal expedient was to be found in the sale of the church lands, in the newly united provinces of the Netherlands.

Marseilles, so often during the revolution the scene of political discords, presented at this period a spectacle of horror and dismay. The jacobins, taking advantage of the period for the annual election of magistrates, collected bands of assassins, who ran about the streets with their necks and arms bare, armed with sabres, stilettos, and clubs, exclaiming, "Long live the Mountain!" "Long live the constitution of 1793!" and having divided themselves into different bodies, they took possession of the halls where the sections assembled, overthrew the urns which contained the ballots of the citizens, drove the presidents and secretaries of the assemblies from their places, and killed those who made resistance. These dreadful excesses were speedily suppressed, and the elections which had taken place during their existence were of course annulled. About the same time, and chiefly in the southern districts of the republic, the public tranquillity was frequently disturbed by the partizans of royalty, and by fanatics, who, under the designation of societies of the Sun, and societies of Jesus, retaliated with great severity on the agents of terrorism, by whom, in the days of the revolutionary government, they had been severely persecuted and oppressed.

The jacobins, defeated at Marseilles

soon after made another attempt to subvert the government at Paris, more violent, and more extravagant, than the insurrection headed by Babeuf. The camp of Grenille, a plain on the south side of the Seine, between Paris and the hills of Meudon, still contained numbers whom the jacobin leaders considered as their adherents; and, emboldened by the assurance of these soldiers, whom they had gained over to their party, they formed the desperate determination to attack the government, with the assistance of the camp. These desperadoes, to the number of five or six hundred, accordingly assembled at a tavern, at the village of Vaugirard; and, as their intention of visiting the camp was no longer a secret to the government, they entered it at midnight, amidst the cries of "Long live the constitution of 1793!" "Down with the councils!" "Down with the five tyrants!" Having thus proclaimed their purpose, they invited the soldiers to fraternize, to get rid of their chiefs, and to march, under the banners of freedom, to glory and to empire. The act of rebellion being now complete, a party of troops, appointed to that duty by the government, did not delay to execute the punishment due to the temerity of the insurgents; and the most forward of them were immediately put to the sword or shot; while the remainder, confounded and dismayed by this novel species of fraternity, fled in all directions. Numbers made their escape; but one hundred and thirty-two were taken prisoners, and soon afterwards tried by a military commission. Of this number, the majority were released; but the rest having been for the most part members of the revolutionary committees, were condemned to death, or banished, according to the characters they had formerly maintained. At the head of this preposterous conspiracy, were three ex-representatives of the people, and three discarded generals, all of whom were executed; and it was generally supposed that Drouet himself was of the number of the insurgents.

The directory, acting upon a more tolerant and enlightened system of policy than their predecessors in power, judged it expedient to annul the unjust and sanguinary decree, directed not merely against the ecclesiastical officers of the Gallican church, but also against the civil and political rights of the clergy; and though a detailed account of the persecutions suffered by this body, in the early periods of the revolution, would form a new martyrology, yet it may not be improper in this place to take a brief retrospect of the most prominent of the rigorous enactments to which they became subject, under the successive

governments of the constituent assembly, and the national convention. The former of these assemblies having declared that the estates of the clergy were the property of the nation, and that the ministers of the church were the servants of the state, equally with the civil functionaries, decreed on the 22d of July, 1790—"That the bishops and newly-elected vicars should take an oath to watch over the people intrusted to their care, to be faithful to the nation, the law, and the king; and to support with all their influence the constitution decreed by the assembly, and accepted by the sovereign." This oath was afterwards extended to ecclesiastics of every description; to professors of seminaries and colleges; to chaplains of hospitals and prisons; and to all who were concerned in the duties of public instruction. Hence arose the distinction between constitutional and non-juring priests; the latter of whom, regarding the interference of the state with the concerns of the church as a sacrilegious violation of religion, chose rather to resign the functions, than to yield obedience to a secular power in things spiritual; while the constitutional priests, less scrupulous, found no difficulty in taking the prescribed oath. Such of the clergy as refused to take the oath, and who were a very numerous body, were immediately deprived of their offices, and their places were filled up with the constitutional priests, who were not less numerous. The inhabitants of some of the western departments of France warmly espousing the interests of the non-juring clergy, that part of the kingdom soon became the resort of the discontented, and to this cause, more perhaps than to any other, may be traced the intestine war which so long raged, with almost inextinguishable fury, in La Vendee. The assembly, no longer satisfied with depriving the clergy of their livings, passed a still more rigorous decree against this body, in the month of May, 1792, which decree the king refused to sanction by his authority, and this refusal is recorded as one of the leading causes of the abolition of monarchy in France—an event which took place on the 10th of August following.

On the 14th of August, in the same year, it was decreed that every Frenchman receiving pension or salary from the state, should be held to have abdicated his office, if he did not within a week from the publication of the law, take an oath "to maintain *liberty* and *equality*, or to die in their defence." This decree was followed by another on the 26th of the same month, directing that all priests who had refused the constitutional oath, or after having

taken had retracted it, should depart forthwith from the French territory on pain of imprisonment; and by another law, passed on the 17th of September, all such emigrants were prohibited from residing in any country at war with the French Republic.

The convention, on succeeding the legislative body, were too much occupied in the first months of their session, to pursue this system of persecution; but on the 23d of April, 1793, they found leisure to decree, that all ecclesiastics, regular and secular, who had not taken the oath to maintain liberty and equality, should be banished to Guiana, not to return on pain of death; and this penalty was extended to all those priests whom six citizens of the same canton should accuse of *incivism*, a crime which, as it never was defined, might be fixed upon any ecclesiastic who should be so unfortunate as to incur the hostility of six of his parishioners. This was followed by a law, confirming the punishment of death against all banished priests who should venture to return to their country — against all who should evade the law by continuing in France — against all who should give them shelter — and even against those aged and infirm persons of the clerical orders who had been cast into prison, because they were unable to banish themselves. These tyrannical edicts, the forming of which had been preceded by numberless arrests and imprisonments, were proclaimed on the mangled bodies of the unfortunate victims, who, in various parts of the republic, fell a sacrifice to the savage and inhuman fury of the party, known in France by the name of Septemberers, or men of the second of September. The success of the conspiracy of the 31st of May, in the year 1793, completed, as we have already seen, the overthrow of all religion in France, and every form of Christianity was swallowed up in the cheerless gulf of atheism. After the fall of Robespierre, the convention became less hostile to religion, and while they declared that the republic protected no exclusive mode of worship, nor allowed salaries to any of its ministers, they decreed penalties against such as should disturb the people in the exercise of their religion, and authorized the different communes to make use of the churches, requiring only from the ministers of religion a declaration, before the municipality, of their submission to the laws. Thus encouraged, the non-juring priests resumed the exercise of their functions, and an attempt, made by the council of five hundred, to revive the law for the banishment of refractory priests, was rejected by the council of elders.

Although the persecutions against the priesthood had not altogether ceased, a few constitutional bishops assembled in a kind of synod, in the spring of the year 1795, to examine the state of the desolated French church, and to take measures for the re-establishment of ecclesiastical discipline, and the restoration of public worship. Lamenting the persecutions to which the church had been subject during the reign of terror, and which they considered as the most violent that had ever been directed against its holy institutions, they beheld, as they stated, in the final separation which had taken place between the church and the state, the means of destroying those abuses and evils to which this incorporation had given rise; and they regarded the present era of the revolution as affording a favourable opportunity for restoring religion to its original purity, delivered from political influence, and having no other relation with government than the reciprocal interchange of submission, fidelity, and attachment, for justice, safety, and protection; and for the purpose of preventing the introduction of innovations into the church, and maintaining the union of their religion, this assembly published a provisional code or declaration of faith, founded upon the maxims which had hitherto been adopted by the Gallican church. By this declaration, the pope was admitted to be the visible head of the church; and the whole of the doctrines taught by the apostolic and Roman church, defined by the ecumenical councils, as explained by Bossuet, were adopted as the standard of catholic belief. In the government of the church, the authority of episcopacy was the cornerstone, as being of divine origin, and the bond of union among the different churches as the supremacy of the holy see, was the common centre of Catholicism; and as the hierarchy was declared to be recognised by divine right, independent or congregational assemblies were expressly condemned.

The synod next proceeded to the examination of the clergy, who had in various ways fallen off from the faith during the storm of revolutionary persecution. The marriage of priests, and the laws respecting divorce, were subjects of their severest reprehension; and the crime of *laicism*, which they defined to be the usurpation of the priestly office by the unordained, bore in their estimation the double character of error and sacrilege. In a second epistle, published about the end of the year, these constitutional bishops avowed that the government of the Christian church is spiritual — that its distinguishing characteristic is charity — that the obedience it demands is conformable to reason — that it was com-

mitted to all the apostles, and resides in the body of bishops, and that, though the Bishop of Rome holds the first place in the community, his claim to the title of universal bishop is without foundation.

In all the controversies that took place between the conformists and non-conformists, who were now called dissenters, the government very wisely abstained from taking any part, but, apprehending that these feuds might endanger the public tranquillity, the executive power issued an order for the dispersion of a second synod assembled at Versailles in the month of March, in the year 1796.

It was not in France alone that religious establishments sunk in the vortex of revolution. The Dutch republic, with a censurable precipitancy, without waiting for the sanction of a constitutional law, abolished their protestant national church, and decreed that henceforth the state should defray the expense of no form of public worship, nor pay salaries to any of its ministers, except indemnities to such as might suffer by the present reform.

Under the auspices of the directory, a grand literary and scientific association, bearing the appellation of the NATIONAL INSTITUTE, was at this period formed in France. The first public meeting of this learned body was held in the great hall of the Louvre, on the 4th of April, 1796; when the president of the directory, in the presence of the ambassadors and ministers of Spain, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, Tuscany, and Holland, with a vast assemblage of spectators, delivered a speech, in which he declared it to be the steadfast purpose of government to revive the drooping arts, and to shield both learning and liberty from all the attacks of ferocious anarchy.

Although every power in Europe had felt in a greater or a less degree the force of the French arms, or the diplomatic influence of the republic; England had hitherto, except in the unfortunate campaigns under the Duke of York, and the accumulation of her public debt, suffered comparatively little inconvenience from the war. Various had been the plans of annoyance against this country projected by the French government, but all had hitherto been delayed, or set aside as inadequate or impracticable, till it was at length suggested that the most effectual mode of opposing England with advantage was to attack her commerce, by shutting out her manufactures from every port in Europe subject to French control, or under French influence. This new species of hostility was carried into execution with as much despatch as the jarring interests of the continental powers would allow, and British manufac-

tures soon found no legal entrance into any port on the continent, from the Elbe to the Adriatic, with the exception only of the ports of the Hanse Towns, and of Portugal.

Towards the close of the present year, the confederacy against France lost another of its members, in the person of Catharine II. Empress of Russia, who, on the evening of the 6th of November, was numbered amongst the dead. This extraordinary woman terminated a life of sixty-seven years, and a reign of forty-four, in a fit of apoplexy, attended with an extravasation of blood, and was found on the morning preceding her death in an almost lifeless state, stretched on the floor of her private closet, speechless and insensible.*

The events of the present year, though of a checkered character, sufficiently proved that the contest which had now for five years raged in Europe, and desolated some of its fairest provinces, was drawing to a crisis. Already had the coalition formed against republican France exhibited striking symptoms of decay. Some of the powers originally united in the confederacy had withdrawn from the contest, and sunk into a state of neutrality; while others

* The character of this princess will be best collected from the records of her eventful life. The means by which she ascended the throne are too well known; they are written in blood; and bear that hideous character by which the voice of God and nature has designated the most flagrant of human offences. Yet if ambition prompted her crimes, it must in candour be allowed that wanton cruelty was not one of her vices. Unfortunately for the world, ambition in sovereigns is commonly a most fruitful source of misery to subjects, and the blood which was shed by Catharine, during a reign of almost uninterrupted warfare, to extend her dominions, already too extensive, bears a most decided testimony to the natural or habitual depravity of her heart. To accomplish her ends, she seldom hesitated about the means; and her conduct towards Poland, and more especially towards the unfortunate king of that country, will leave upon her memory an indelible stain. Yet, though her authority was absolute and despotic, as that of her predecessors had been, she usually employed her authority in domestic concerns for the benefit of her subjects; in this pursuit, she civilized her people, reduced their laws to a regular system, and accomplished many of the improvements begun by her illustrious predecessor, Peter the Great. She cultivated philosophy, without suffering it to restrain her passions, or check her irregular propensities; and her thirst of amorous gratifications was as strong as her thirst of power, but it was much less pernicious to society. Upon the whole, though she was unquestionably a very immoral woman, and a sanguinary sovereign, yet her memory will long be cherished by the Russians as one of the best of their princes. On her throne, she was succeeded by her son, the Emperor Paul, whose character will be collected from the future pages of this history.

had actually gone over to the ranks of the enemy; and Austria, which alone remained to sustain the contest on the continent, had suffered so extensively in her military means during the past campaign, that it

required very little political sagacity to foresee that the emperor must avail himself of the first favourable opportunity to follow the example placed before him by some reigns of inferior constancy.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Campaign of 1797: Attempt to raise the Siege of Mantua frustrated—Signal Defeat of the Austrian Army—Fall of Mantua—Entrance of the French into the Ecclesiastical States—Correspondence between his Holiness the Pope and General Bonaparte—Treaty of Tolentino—War carried into the Hereditary States of Austria—Critical Situation of the French Army—Correspondence between the French Commander and the Archduke—The Emperor accepts the Proposal to negotiate—Suspension of Arms—Treaty of Leoben—Campaign on the Rhine—Conquest of the Venetian Territory by the French—Subversion of the Government of Venice and Genoa—Peace of Campo Formio—Bonaparte returns to Paris—Retrospect of the military Movements of the six Years' War—Charta.

THE imposing events of the last campaign had fixed the attention of all Europe upon the plains of Italy; and while the French republic rang with the fame of her youthful chieftain, the house of Austria was unremitting in her exertions to strengthen her army in Italy, the command of which was still retained by the unfortunate, but by no means disgraced Alvinzi. Accordingly, at the commencement of the year 1797, that general was enabled to take the field at the head of fifty thousand well-appointed troops, and a formidable train of artillery, by means of which he did not despair of being able to chase the republicans beyond the Alps, and to circumscribe the dominions of France within the limits prescribed to them by nature.

General Alvinzi, having formed the determination to raise the blockade of Mantua, by a rapid march through Castello Nuovo, and Valleggio, attacked and carried the French position on the 7th of January; he then suddenly passed the Brenta, stormed the town of Cortona, which had been fortified with great care, and compelled a body of troops, under the command of Joubert, to fall back upon Rivoli. Bonaparte, who had been for some time at Bologna, was no sooner apprized of this new and unexpected irruption, than he repaired to the heights of San Marco, and made so judicious dispositions, that Alvinzi, who expected an easy conquest, soon found himself surprised and defeated.

In the mean time, the village of San Martino was repeatedly seized and retaken by both armies, and the event of these operations still remained doubtful, when General Joubert, whose horse had been killed under him, rallying some battalions of infantry, which had given away, overtook the Austrians in the neighbourhood of Rivoli; while Berthier, making a charge with the cavalry, obliged them to retreat

with precipitation to the heights of Cortona.

On the 14th of the same month, four thousand troops, which had been posted between the Adige and the lake of Garda, to cut off the retreat of the French towards Verona and Peschiera, were constrained to lay down their arms; but, notwithstanding these adverse events, General Provera, who had advanced with the left wing of the Austrians, found means to pierce the division commanded by Augereau, and, having crossed the Adige at Anguiari, forced General Guieux to retreat. He then advanced towards Mantua, and, although pursued by Augereau, summoned General Miolis, who commanded the army that invested that fortress, to surrender. Receiving no answer except from the mouth of the cannon of the French batteries, and finding it impossible to raise the blockade, he made an ineffectual attack, during the same night, on the post called the Favorita, in which he was assisted by a vigorous sally on the part of the Field-marshal Wurmser, but the garrison being compelled to retire, and Provera, finding it impossible to enter the city, he and his troops were under the painful necessity of surrendering to the besiegers. While one wing of Alvinzi's army was thus obliged to capitulate, the general himself fled with the greatest precipitation, and was pursued by Massena and Joubert, who, after overtaking him and defeating him at Carpento and Arico, seized on Bassano and Trent, obtained possession of all his artillery, and forced this commander, who had within this very month commenced the campaign so brilliantly, to fly across the mountains at the head of a few fugitives. The result of these sanguinary battles, which continued for four successive days, was stated by the directory to be twenty thousand Austrians taken prisoners; among whom

were three generals, and all the battalions of the Vienna volunteers, six thousand of the enemy killed or wounded, fifty pieces of cannon, and twenty-four stand of colours taken. All the enemy's baggage seized, with a regiment of huzzars, and the whole of the convoy of grain and oxen, which it was the intention of the Austrians to throw into Mantua. As the directory predicted in the same communication, the capture of the important fortress of Mantua (an event which followed on the 2d of February) crowned the labours of the army of Italy. The gallant but unfortunate Wurmser had made frequent sallies, with various success; but at length, this siege, which is said to have cost the French twenty-two and the Austrians not less than twenty-four thousand men, was terminated by famine rather than by the sword; for on the entrance of the French army into the city, they found that the horses of the troopers had been wholly devoured, by such of the garrison as survived the numerous conflicts without the walls.

Immediately on the fall of Mantua, Bonaparte published a proclamation to his army, in which he stated that they "had proved victorious in fourteen pitched battles, and in seventy engagements; that they had taken from the enemy more than one hundred thousand prisoners, five hundred field-pieces, and two thousand large cannon; that the contributions raised in the countries conquered by them had supported, maintained, and paid the army, during the whole campaign; while thirty millions of livres had been sent to the minister of finance for the increase of the public treasure:" and, after glancing at their achievements against the kings and princes of Italy, he declared it to be his intention to carry the war into the hereditary states of Austria, and requested them to recollect "that it was liberty they were about to present to the Hungarians, whose sovereign had disgraced himself by submitting to be in the pay and at the disposal of England."

In the mean time, the papal see, which had relied with the most implicit confidence on the success of the Austrians, was menaced with sudden ruin; for Bonaparte, on the day preceding the capture of Mantua, had published a proclamation, in which, after reproaching the holy father with subterfuge and perfidy, he declared the armistice to be at an end, recalled the French minister from Rome, and threatened all those who opposed the progress of the republican columns with the most exemplary vengeance. Offers of security and protection were, however, held out to the peasantry, and even the priesthood was invited to persevere in its pious labours; but it

was intimated to the latter, "that it must act in strict conformity with the precepts of the gospel, and not intermeddle in secular affairs."

These denunciations were not uttered in vain; for General Victor, in the course of the very next day, entered the town of Imola, and beheld the pontifical army intrenched along the banks of the Setria, with the left wing at Caffiano, the centre at Faenza, and the right at Lugo. At six o'clock on the succeeding morning, his advanced guard arrived in presence of the enemy, who were defended by numerous redoubts, and a formidable train of artillery; but their chief reliance was placed in the sacred promises of the sovereign pontiff.

The invaders immediately marched against Faenza, and finding that the fugitives had shut the gates, that the alarm-bell was rung, and that a furious multitude appeared ready to defend the ramparts, they assaulted the city on the 3d of February, and ascended its walls by means of scaling ladders.

The papal army, scarcely broken, immediately abandoned the fertile plains of Romagna, and took refuge on the summits of the Apennines, towards the sources of the Arno and the Tiber; while the towns of Cesena, Forlì, and Ravenna submitted in succession. The whole march of Ancona also acknowledged the triumph of the three-coloured ensign, which was now displayed from the top of the holy chapel of the Loreto: and the votive offerings of kings, popes, and emperors became the prey of an unbelieving soldiery.

Having thus subdued all the ecclesiastical provinces situated between the Adriatic sea and the Apennines, several French columns were detached into the mountains, in pursuit of the pontifical troops; and in the course of a few days, Macerata, a town within forty leagues of Rome, had become the head-quarters of the republican army. In the mean time, the most alarming commotions prevailed in that capital; and when the French general arrived at Tolentino, and began to establish a republican form of government, his holiness, apprehensive lest he should march to the seat of government, at length determined to negotiate. He accordingly despatched four plenipotentiaries, consisting of two ecclesiastics and two laymen,* with a letter to Bonaparte† written with his own hand, in

* Cardinal Mathai, Monsignor Galeppi, the Duke Louis Braschi, his nephew, and the Marquis Camillo Massimio.

† "POPE PIUS VI.

"Dear Son, health and apostolical benediction.

"Desiring to terminate amicably our difference with the French Republic, by the retreat of the troops which you command, we send and depute

which he promised to subscribe to any reasonable conditions which he might be inclined to impose. The victorious Corsican was doubtless flattered by the compliments of a venerable pontiff, whom he had been taught to consider as the head of that religion in the tenets of which he had been educated, and in his reply expressed his perfect esteem and veneration for his holiness; yet, notwithstanding the mutual compliments that passed upon this occasion, the conditions exacted from Pius VI. by the treaty of Tolentino, executed on the 20th of February, were by no means calculated to give satisfaction to the court of Rome. By this treaty, his holiness was now obliged to renounce all claim to Avignon and the Venassin, to relinquish the three legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna; to furnish the statues, pictures, and treasure stipulated in the former convention; and to pay the sum of fifteen millions of livres towards the expenses of the war.

The recent and brilliant successes of the

to you, as our plenipotentiaries, two ecclesiastics, the Cardinal Mathai, who is perfectly known to you, and M. Galeppi; and two seculars, the Duke Don Louis Braschi, our nephew, and the Marquis Camillo Massimo, who are invested with our full powers, to concert, promise, and subscribe such conditions as we hope will be just and reasonable, obliging ourselves, under our faith and word, to approve and ratify them in special form, in order that they may be valid and inviolable in all future time. Assured of the sentiments of good-will which you have manifested, we have abstained from removing any thing from Rome, by which you will be persuaded of the entire confidence which we repose in you. We conclude by assuring you of our most perfect esteem, and presenting you with the paternal apostolic benediction.

Pius, P. P. VI."

"Given at St. Peter's, in Rome, the 12th February, 1797, the 22d year of our pontificate."

"*Bonaparte, general-in-chief of the army of Italy, to his holiness the Pope.*

"Head-quarters, at Tolentino, 1 Ventose, 5th year.

"Most holy father,

"I ought to thank your holiness for the obliging things contained in the letter which you have taken the trouble to write to me.

"The peace between the French republic and your holiness is just signed: I felicitate myself in being able to contribute to your personal safety.

"I entreat your holiness to guard against the persons now at Rome, who are sold to the courts, the enemies of peace, or who suffer themselves to be guided exclusively by the passion of hatred, which the loss of territory naturally engenders.

"Europe knows the pacific inclinations and the virtues of your holiness. The French republic will be one of the truest friends of Rome.

"I send my aid-de-camp, chief of brigade, to express to your holiness the perfect esteem and veneration which I have for your person, and to entreat you to confide in the desire which I have to give you, on every occasion, the respect and veneration with which I have the honour to be,

"Your most obedient servant,

"BONAPARTE."

176

Archduke Charles against the conqueror of Fleurus, had impressed all Germany with the most favourable opinion of his genius and valour; and the court of Vienna already imagined that this young hero was destined to restore their wonted superiority to the imperial arms in Lombardy. His highness was nearly of the same age as the French general; both of them testified a similar passion for glory, and an equal contempt of danger; but the former had to combat against troops accustomed to vanquish, while the latter had to lead those troops against an army composed principally of newly-raised battalions. It was not without great difficulty, that Francis II. was enabled to recruit his army; for the Hungarian levies had nearly all perished in the plains of Italy, and a large portion of the youth of Vienna had either been taken prisoners, or cut off by the sword of the enemy. A great and last effort was however made, and to a considerable body of recruits were added several divisions of that victorious army, at the head of which the archduke had combated during the preceding year in Suabia and Franconia. Such formidable preparations determined the directory to send a number of the battalions stationed on the frontiers of the Rhine into Italy, to encounter the very same warriors with whom they had before fought in the midst of the Black Forest.

The Austrians, on their arrival, were formed into an army, as before, between the Tagliamento and the Piava; while the French, who occupied the right bank of the latter river and the left border of the Arisio, were prepared to oppose their progress.

Three grand movements were now ordered to be made, in consequence of which General Massena advanced to Feltri on the 24th of February, while General Serrurier crossed the Piava in front of the village of Vidore, and General Guieux, who commanded the right wing, proceeded as far as Sacile, along the great road from Vicenza, to Palma la Nuova. The enemy, already obliged to act on the defensive, retired at their approach; having crossed the Tagliamento, and cut down the bridge behind them, they threw up intrenchments which extended from the passes of the mountains to the neighbourhood of Belgrado, and prepared to dispute the passage of that river.

While Massena, with his division, was employed in the pursuit of one part of the imperial forces amidst the fastnesses which separate the dominions of Venice from the Tyrol; the left of the French army, under Joubert, Delmas, and Barraguay-D'Hilliers, was ordered to penetrate along the Adige into Carinthia, and thus create a diversion in favour of the main body.

In the mean time, the commander-in-chief appeared on the banks of the Tagliamento, the deep and impetuous current of which would, at any other period, have presented a most formidable barrier; but the diminished stream could then be easily forded, in consequence of the severity of the frost in the mountainous regions. Taking advantage of this fortunate circumstance, he immediately ordered General Guieux to cross at one of the fords, so as to advance against the right of the enemy's intrenchments, while the troops which had arrived from the Rhine should execute the same operation in a different quarter.

On the 16th of March, Duphoz, at the head of one division, and Murat in presence of another, precipitated themselves nearly at the same time into the water, and gained the opposite bank, where the French infantry were repeatedly, but ineffectually charged by the Austrian horse, whom they received, without flinching, on the points of their bayonets; but it was principally to the murderous fire of their artillery that the republicans were indebted for this day's victory, as the cannon were stationed so as to shower down such terrible and incessant discharges of grape-shot on the foe, that all opposition soon became ineffectual. The imperialists however still presented an undaunted front, fearless of danger and of death; but no sooner had General Guieux penetrated to the village of Cainin, where the archduke had established his headquarters, than they fell into disorder, and fled towards the mountains, abandoning a large portion of artillery and baggage, the towns of Palma la Nuova, Civita di Fruili, Udina, Gemma, and all the Venetian territory, as far as the confines of Upper Carinthia and Carniola, to the mercy of the enemy.

In the mean time, General Joubert had penetrated to the banks of the Arisio, where he engaged the Austrians; and, after a long and bloody action, during which he took four thousand prisoners, obtained possession of the bridge of Neumark, with an intention of cutting off the enemy's retreat towards Bolsano. A second battle, equally unfortunate, was fought soon afterwards at Trames; however General Laudohn, who was well acquainted with this mountainous region, contrived for some time to arrest the progress of the invaders at a pass of the Eisach; but at length the light infantry were fortunate enough to scale a precipice, whence they rolled immense masses of rock on the opposing column, and their centre being pierced, and one of their flanks turned, nearly at the same time, the whole of the artillery, which consisted of eight pieces, with fifteen hundred soldiers, fell into the power of the republicans.

After this, the invaders took possession of Brixen, in which were found immense magazines.

On the other hand, the division under Massena, pursuing the centre of the retreating army, seized on the forts of Chiusa, forced the bridge of Carasola, and at length reached Tarvis, a town built on the summit of a mountain; while Bernadotte, at the head of a body of grenadiers, took possession of Gradisca, the capital of the Frioul. The capture of this city rendered the French masters of all the Austrian possessions, from the Alps to the sea. Goritz submitted, without making the least resistance; Trieste, the only port in the Adriatic appertaining to the emperor, followed its example; and, while scaling the Norick Alps, still covered with snow, Bonaparte endeavoured to conciliate the minds of the inhabitants by proclamations, in which he declared that the French armies were fighting for peace, and that they would not fail to extend protection to the peaceable Tyroleans.

In the mean time, the archduke, who had retired to Clagenfurt, perceiving that a division of his army was in danger of being surrounded by two columns of the enemy, sent a strong body of troops, on the 26th, against Massena, who commanded one of them; in consequence of a phenomenon not unusual in a mountainous country, a battle was literally fought upon this occasion above the clouds, and the Austrians were again beaten, and pursued by the French cavalry, first across hills covered with snow, and at last along the ice. A few days after this, the same general fell in with a detachment of the imperialists already alluded to; and, after a slight engagement, seized on all the heavy artillery and nearly the whole of the baggage belonging to the army of his highness. But the career of success did not stop here; for the whole of the French army being now put in motion, arrived, on the 30th of March, in the capital of the duchy of Carinthia, where the commander-in-chief of the Austrians had established his headquarters previous to his retreat along the banks of the Muer.

Notwithstanding that Bonaparte had beaten the Austrians in six different engagements, and destroyed one half of their army, during a campaign that had lasted only twenty-one days, his situation was critical and alarming. The natives of the mountainous districts were attached by habit to the dominion of the House of Austria; and the offer of liberty, which exhibited so many charms to the fascinated inhabitants of the valleys, possessed but few blandishments for a people whose pa-

triarchal manners were as yet undebased by tyranny, while they were still protected by their poverty from the miseries of fiscal oppression. The numerous defiles of those dreary regions; the marked enmity of the peasantry; the difficulty of obtaining supplies; the danger of being surrounded, like Moreau, or nearly cut off, like Jourdan; all these considerations operated powerfully on the mind of the conqueror, and he found it necessary for his own glory, and even for the preservation of his army, to affect the language of moderation. The French general accordingly addressed a letter to his rival, in which, after lamenting the miseries of a war which had already desolated Europe during six years, he inquired whether he was desirous to merit the title of "the benefactor of mankind, and the saviour of Germany?" by accepting overtures of peace.

The archduke, in his answer, assured General Bonaparte of "his distinguished consideration and esteem," but he exhibited no symptoms of eagerness to comply with his invitation; on the contrary, he stated "that he was not intrusted with any power on the part of his imperial majesty to treat, and that he could not enter into any negotiation whatsoever."

Thinking, by the tenor of this reply, that his highness, now encamped with his troops along the summits of the Norick Alps, was averse to peace, the French general again put his army in motion on the 2d of April, and the advanced posts of the enemy were attacked, and attempted to be carried by the bayonet: on this, the commander-in-chief of the imperialists pushed forward eight battalions of the grenadiers who had taken Fort Kehl; and, although the light infantry had gained all the rocks to the right and left of the Austrians, and the other troops assailed them at the same time in front, yet they continued to maintain the position until night, when they retired, leaving Neumark and Judenburg in possession of the assailants.

The invaders had now traversed the southern chain of the Alps; and Bonaparte, who had by this time arrived within thirty-five leagues of Vienna, threatened to cross the northern range, and plant the three-coloured standard in the capital of the emperor. The emperor, listening at length to the voice of his people, resolved to treat about the conditions of peace; and Bonaparte, who had now learned that the senate of Venice was encouraging an insurrection among the Italians in his rear, that the inhabitants of the Tyrol had risen in a mass, that General Laudohn had retaken Botzen and Brixen, and that Moreau and Hoche had not yet passed the Rhine for the

purpose of marching along the eastern extremity of Bavaria to his assistance, readily complied with the invitation. Lieutenant-general the Count de Bellegarde, and Major-general Morveldt, the imperial plenipotentiaries, accordingly repaired to his headquarters at Leoben, on the 9th, and after a short interview presented a note in the name of Francis II., to which Bonaparte returned a suitable answer. A suspension of arms for nine days immediately followed; and on the 18th of April, a preliminary treaty of peace was signed at the castle of Eckenwald, in Styria, which has since been known by the appellation of the treaty of Leoben, and which served as the foundation of the definitive treaty of Campo Formio.

The campaign on the Rhine, though by no means destitute of important events, was so much eclipsed by the military transactions on the side of Italy, as to attract little attention. The directory, acting upon the principle of never suffering an unfortunate general to remain at the head of their armies, had removed Jourdan from his command, and confided the command of the army of the Sambre and Meuse to General Hoche. Early in the spring, this general passed the Rhine, at Mulheim, and attacked the Austrian intrenchments on the banks of the Lahn with considerable success, pursuing the Austrian army, under the command of General Werneck, to the gates of Frankfort. In the mean time, General Moreau, that celebrated chief, who had acquired a greater portion of public confidence by his military retreat, than he could have obtained from a uniform succession of victories, passed the Rhine in the vicinity of Strasburg, but not without a formidable resistance from the Austrian artillery. On obtaining the German bank of that river, which had so often during the contest been defiled with blood, a fierce and sanguinary conflict ensued, in which the Austrians were in the end repulsed, and fort of Kehl (still lying in ruins) with the Austrian park of artillery, and several thousand prisoners, fell into the hands of the republicans. The Austrian army, on this discomfiture, retreated with precipitation towards the Danube and at the moment when Moreau was preparing to achieve new triumphs, he received a courier from Bonaparte, announcing the signature of the preliminary treaty of peace, near Leoben.

While the army under General Bonaparte were engaged in the defiles of Styria, and had left behind them their principal military establishments in Italy, where only a small number of battalions remained, the aristocracy of Venice, acting upon the

supposition "that it appertained to the lion of St. Mark to verify the proverb, that Italy was destined to become the tomb of the French," exhibited the most hostile indications. Taking advantage of passion-week, they armed forty thousand peasants, to which were added ten regiments of Sclavonians, with a view to interrupt the communications between the French army and their resources. To this cause of complaint, they added, according to a proclamation issued by the French general, from Palma Nuova, on the 13th of May, additional provocation, by assassinating all the republicans in Verona, several officers in Padua, and murdering two hundred French soldiers, by the poniard, in the neighbourhood of Mantua. Irritated to the highest degree by these repeated and decisive acts of hostility, the French general hastened to avail himself of the overwhelming force placed at his disposal by the treaty of Leoben; and accordingly Augereau, at the head of twenty-five thousand men, marched into Venice, and seizing on the arsenal and forts, demanded at the same time the three inquisitors, and ten principal members of the senate, accused of having instigated their countrymen to the assassination of the French soldiery. In a few days a democratic municipality was installed; the islands in the Adriatic were subdued by the navy that had hitherto protected them; and the members of the government, finding neither commiseration nor respect from the people, were happy in being allowed to retire from their native country.

In Genoa also the nobles were friendly to the Austrian cause, but the people were attached to the French interests, and desirous of a popular government. Bonaparte, in consequence, soon after the revolution of Venice, established a democratical government in Genoa; but as the nobles had never shown an active hostility, and made no material resistance to the change, they escaped exactions.

Meanwhile the negotiation between the French republic, and his majesty the Emperor of the Romans, King of Hungary and Bohemia, proceeded, and on the 17th of October, 1797, the definitive treaty was signed, on the part of the two governments, at Campo Formio, near Udina. By this treaty, the emperor "renounced for himself and his successors, in favour of the French republic, all his rights and titles to the Austrian Netherlands;" and consented that the French republic should possess in full sovereignty the *ci-devant* Venetian islands of the Levant—viz. Corfu, Zante, Cephallonia, St. Maurice, Cerigo, and the other islands dependent thereon, together

with Butrinto, Larta, Vonizza, and in general all the Venetian establishments in Albania. "The French republic consented that the emperor should possess, in full sovereignty, Istria, Dalmatia, the Venetian islands in the Adriatic, the mouths of the Castaro, the city of Venice, the Venetian Canals, and the countries lying between the hereditary states of his majesty the emperor, and the Adriatic sea;" his majesty the emperor acknowledging "the Cisalpine republic, founded on the union of the Cispadane and Transpadane commonwealths, as an independent power, which republic composed the *ci-devant* Austrian Lombardy, the Bergamesque, the Brescian, the Cremonesque, the Venetian states to the east and south of the Legner, the Modenese, the principality of Massa, and of Carara, and the three legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna." This treaty was immediately promulgated, but fourteen secret articles, highly important in their nature, were for a time concealed. By one of these it was agreed, on the part of the emperor, to use his influence, "that the French republic should, by the peace to be concluded with the German empire, retain as its boundary the bank of the Rhine, from the confines of Switzerland, below Basle, to the branching of the Nette, above Andernache, including the head of the bridge of Mannheim, the town and fortress of Mentz, and both banks of the Nette, from whence that river falls into the Rhine, to its source near Bruch." His imperial majesty also agreed to use his good offices to obtain for France the free navigation of the Rhine, the Moselle, and the Meuse; while, on the other hand, the republic was to endeavour to acquire for the house of Austria the archbishopric of Salzburg, and part of the circle of Bavaria; and the fortresses of Mentz, Ehrenbreitstein, Philippsburg, Mannheim, Konigstein, Ulm, and Ingolstadt, were to be evacuated by the imperial troops in the course of twenty days.

Bonaparte, having thus "conquered a continental peace," returned to Paris, on the 20th of November, where he was hailed with the most rapturous applause by the people, and received with every possible mark of consideration by the government. But many of the Italians, and not a few of the French, were disgusted with the fate of Venice; where the people, instead of being freed from the dominion of an arbitrary government, merely transferred their servitude by a change of masters: and all Europe beheld, with wonder and astonishment, the emperor secretly sacrificing the interests of Germany to his own security, and openly stipulating for indemnities from the dominions of an ally which had been

devoted to destruction in consequence of its attachment to the common cause.

The close of the first revolutionary war on the continent calls for a short retrospect of the operations of the armies, and the accompanying charts of the scene of operations in France, Holland, Germany, and Italy will afford the requisite facilities for tracing those movements, which in their result fixed for the present the new limits of the continental powers.

The campaign of 1792 was opened by the armies of France, then fighting under a limited monarchy, and their first operations being directed against the Austrian Netherlands, they possessed themselves, without any formidable resistance, of Courtray, Ypres, Menin, and some other places of minor importance; but these conquests were of short duration, for the allied armies, under the Duke of Brunswick, penetrating into the interior of France, took possession of Longwy, Verdun, and Stenay, and interposed between the French army and their capital. France now became a republic, and her inhabitants, animated to the highest degree of martial enthusiasm, poured immense levies into the field, which, rolling back the tide of victory, obliged the allies to surrender back Longwy and Verdun, and to retire, in the most deplorable state of famine and dysentery, into Austrian Flanders, while the French General Dumouriez, continuing to advance as the enemy receded, took possession of Spire, Worms, and even of Frankfort; and, after an arduous struggle on the heights of Gemappe, laid the foundation of the conquest of the Netherlands.

In the early part of the year 1793, the French republic having declared herself at war with the King of England, and the Stadtholder of the Seven United Provinces, the campaign was opened by an irruption into Holland, and the fortress of Williamstadt was besieged by the republicans, who soon afterwards found it necessary to retreat to Condé, before the successful armies of their adversaries, under General Clairfait and his royal highness the Duke of York, to the latter of whom the fortress of Valenciennes speedily surrendered. The fortune of war, no longer propitious to the allies, forsook his royal highness in his unsuccessful attack upon Dunkirk, which proved decisive of the campaign in that quarter; and the French, having now again become the assailants, seized upon the important stations of Werwick and Furnes. On the Rhine, the campaign terminated in the allies retreating across that river; while on the side of Spain and Italy, the war was prosecuted with various success.

The allies in the mean time had relaxed

no efforts to arrest the hand of disaster, and the campaign of 1794 opened with a force on the part of England, Austria, and Holland, amounting to one hundred and eighty-seven thousand efficient troops. The French force collected on the frontier was found altogether inadequate to oppose an army of such vast magnitude, and it was not until the allies had advanced into the heart of France, and again possessed themselves of a number of her bulwarks, that the troops of the enemy, swelled as their numbers were by the levy-en-masse, could arrest the victorious career of the invaders. The victory of Fleurus, however, was one of those decisive events which so frequently, in the course of the war, had served to revive the shattered hopes of the republicans, and the combined forces, now again retreating in all directions, left the cities of Bruges, Tournay, Mons, Brussels, and Namur, without protection. The Duke of York, participating in the unexpected disasters of the campaign, retreated from Tournay to Renaix, through Brussels into Holland, and, after sustaining with unshaken constancy all the disasters of an unsuccessful campaign in a northern climate, and during a rigorous winter, placed the shattered remains of his dispirited army on the right side of the river Waal, while the persevering enemy, favoured by the elements, passed with facility over the ice-bound rivers of the United Provinces.

The campaign of 1795, less prolific in important events than those of the preceding years, opened by the French taking possession of Luxembourg, Dusseldorf, and Mannheim; but, as if it had been determined that the result of every campaign on the German and French frontier should be at variance with its commencement, the French were afterwards constrained to raise the siege of Mentz and Mannheim; the latter of which was retaken by the imperialists, whose ardour seemed to rise in proportion to the difficulties of their situation, and who sustained the war with untarnished glory, although abandoned by Prussia, Spain, and Tuscany, and no longer supported on the continent by British co-operation. On the other hand, in Italy, so soon to become the principal theatre of hostilities, success still attended the arms of France; and the possession of Pietre, Loana, Finale, and Vado, acquired during the present campaign, opened the barriers of the Alps, and exposed the Italian states to the future incursions of the republicans.

During the campaign of 1796, General Bonaparte, now appointed to the command of the army of Italy, by a series of the most brilliant successes, advanced from

the plains of Piedmont to the gates of Mantua, while the French armies on the German frontier, under Generals Moreau and Jourdan, having advanced from the Rhine to the Danube, were arrested in their progress of victory, and compelled by the Archduke Charles to seek safety with diminished numbers on the western side of the Rhine.

In the campaign of 1797, Bonaparte, pursuing his victorious career, triumphed over the archduke in Italy, and penetrating through the defiles of the Tyrol into Styria, advanced to within sixty-eight miles of the capital of the German empire! Here the preliminary articles of peace were signed, on the 18th of April, 1797; and

the sword, which had been first drawn in the month of May, 1792, and which for six successive years had desolated continental Europe, was partially, but by no means permanently restored to the peaceful scabbard.

In the midst of these military events on the continent, the power of Great Britain was felt in the distant regions of Asia and America, and the colonial possessions of her enemies, both in the east and the west, were made to acknowledge her sway; while her natural bulwark, the ocean, at once secured her native dominions from the attacks of her enemies, extended the range of her commercial greatness, and administered to her naval renown.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

Naval Campaign of 1797: Battle of St. Vincent—Battle of Camperdown—Capture of Trinidad—Unsuccessful Attack on Porto Rico—Failure of an Attempt to capture the Island of Tenerife—Descent on the Coast of Wales—The Invaders made Prisoners of War.

THE operations of the confederated powers during the present war were doomed to misfortune, and the disasters which attended the combined armies of Austria, Prussia, and Great Britain on the continent, were not more signal than those which awaited the combined navies of France, Spain, and Holland on the ocean.

The Spanish monarch, so recently the ally, had now become the enemy of England; and the French republic, having at their disposal the navy of Spain, as well as that of Holland, proposed to their confederates, that the greatest part of the Spanish navy should sail in the early part of the year 1797 to Brest, where, being joined by the French ships of war in that port, they should afterwards form a junction with the Dutch fleet, and that this armada, then swelled to upwards of seventy sail of the line, should bear down upon England, and having humbled the lofty pretensions of her naval power, should lay the foundation for her future subjugation. This design soon became too obvious to be concealed from the British ministry, and in order to frustrate its execution, a fleet under Sir John Jervis was appointed to blockade the port of Cadiz, while Admiral Duncan was stationed off the coast of Holland, to watch the movements of the Dutch fleet in the Texel.

Sir John Jervis, having received intelligence on the 13th of February, from Captain Foote, of the *Niger*, stationed off Carthagena, that the fleet under Admiral Don Joseph de Cordova was at sea, immediately set sail in quest of it.* At the dawn of

* SPANISH FLEET.

This fleet comprehended one ship called *Santissima Trinidad*, commanded by Admiral Don Cordova, of 136 guns.

	Guns.
Six of	112
Two of	84
Eighteen of	74
Exclusive of twelve frigates of	34

the succeeding day the enemy was descried off Cape St. Vincent, but as the weather happened to be extremely hazy, it was not until ten o'clock that a signal from a Bri-

<i>Ships' Names.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>
<i>Santissima Trinidad</i>	136
<i>Concepcion</i>	112
<i>Conde de Regia</i>	112
<i>Salvador del Mundo</i>	112
Name unknown	112
<i>San Josef</i>	112
Name unknown	112
<i>San Nicolas</i>	84
Name unknown	84
<i>Oriente</i>	74
<i>Gloriose</i>	74
<i>Atlante</i>	74
<i>Conquistador</i>	74
<i>Soberano</i>	74
<i>Fisme</i>	74
<i>Pelazo</i>	74
<i>San Genaro</i>	74
<i>San Ildephonso</i>	74
<i>San Juan Nepomucino</i>	74
<i>San Francisco de Paula</i>	74
<i>San Ysidoro</i>	74
<i>San Antonio</i>	74
<i>San Paulo</i>	74
<i>San Firmin</i>	74
<i>Neptuna</i>	74
<i>Bahama</i>	74
Name unknown	74

The four ships printed in *italics* were taken. Total—2308

BRITISH FLEET.

<i>Ships' Names.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>
<i>Victory</i>	100	{ Sir John Jervis, K. B. 1st Capt. R. Calder 2d Capt. G. Grey
<i>Britannia</i>	100	{ Vice-admiral Thompson Capt. T. Foley Vice-admiral W. Waldergrave
<i>Barfleur</i>	81	{ Capt. J. R. Dacres Rear-admiral W. Parker
<i>Prince George</i>	98	{ Capt. J. Irvin T. L. Frederick
<i>Blenheim</i>	90	{ J. H. Whitshed
<i>Namur</i>	90	{ Commodore H. Nelson Capt. R. W. Miller
<i>Captain</i>	74	{ G. Martin J. Sutton
<i>Irresistible</i>	74	{ T. Trowbridge
<i>Egmont</i>	74	
<i>Culloden</i>	74	

tish frigate announced the enemy's fleet to consist of twenty-seven sail of the line. The gallant British commander, though his squadron consisted of no more than fifteen ships, resolved to bring them to action, and at half-past eleven o'clock formed in the most complete order of sailing, in two lines. "By carrying a press of sail, the British squadron was so fortunate as to prevent the two divisions of the enemy's fleet from connecting, and to cut off all that portion which had fallen to leeward. Such a moment was not to be lost, and confident in the skill, valour, and discipline of the officers and men under his command, the gallant admiral, judging that the honour of his majesty's arms, and the circumstances of the war in these seas, required a considerable degree of enterprise, felt himself justifiable in departing from the regular system; and, passing through the enemy's fleet, in a line, formed with the utmost celerity, he attacked and thereby separated one-third from the main body; after a partial cannonade, which prevented their re-union till the evening, and by the very great exertions of the ships which had the good fortune to arrive up with the enemy on the larboard tack, four of their ships of the line were captured by the British, and the action ceased about five o'clock in the evening."* (37)

<i>Ships' Names.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>
Orion	74	Capt. Sir J. Saumarez
Colossus	74	— G. Murray
Excellent	74	— C. Collingwood
Goliath	74	{ Sir C. H. Knowles,
Diadem	64	{ Bart.
		— G. H. Towry.

Total—1232

Exclusive of seven frigates, of various rates.

*London Gazette Extraordinary, March 3d, 1797.

(37) No French or Spanish account has, we believe, been published of this engagement. The English writers differ among themselves as to the force of the Spanish fleet. In his official letter, Admiral Jervis stated the force opposed to him to have consisted of 25 sail, but the list annexed to his despatch contained 4 of 112 guns, 1 of 84, and 19 of 74 guns, making only 24 in all. The proneness of some of the English writers to exaggerate the event of their naval combats, has led them to increase the number of Spanish vessels to twenty-seven, and the force of the admiral's flagship to 136 guns. It should be remembered, that in consequence of the superior skill of the English officers in manœuvring, only one-third of the Spanish fleet was engaged against the whole of the British. Notwithstanding this inferiority of force, they appear to have fought with great bravery, for we find that two of the English ships, the Captain and Culloden, were rendered unserviceable. The Spanish fleet, also, was "ill equipped, and indifferently manned, and in no respect fit for action; their flag-ship had not more than 60 or 80 seamen on board, the rest consisted of impressed landmen or soldiers of the new levies."—*New Annual Register*, 1797, p. 249.

This brilliant victory, which acquired for the British admiral the appropriate title of Earl St. Vincent, was obtained with but little loss; for only one single seaman happened to be killed on board the ship carrying the admiral's flag; and although Commodore Nelson, in the Captain, of seventy-four guns, distinguished himself greatly upon that occasion, by boarding the San Nicholas and San Josef in succession, yet he lost only one officer, twenty seamen, and three marines. Much to the credit of the commander-in-chief, to whom the Salvador del Mundo struck, only a few English ships were engaged in the contest. The slain and wounded in the Spanish ships amounted to about twelve hundred, including, amongst the former, Commodore Don Francisco Xavier Winthuisen, while the loss of the British did not exceed one-fourth part of that number. Great rejoicings took place throughout the nation on the arrival of intelligence of this well-timed victory. The fleet was honoured with the thanks of both houses of parliament; the king conferred a patent of an earldom, with a pension of three thousand pounds a year, on the admiral-in-chief; Vice-admiral Thompson and Rear-admiral Parker were created baronets; Commodore Nelson was invested with the order of the Bath; Captain R. Calder was knighted; and gold medals and chains were presented to all the commanders.

The French, indignant at the succours afforded by this country to the insurgents of La Vendee, determined to fit out an expedition against Ireland, and the directory gave orders to embark a body of troops on board the Dutch fleet in the Texel, to execute this plan of invasion. On the first intelligence of these preparations, which took place early in the year, and formed part of a combined plan of operations, the board of admiralty sent a powerful squadron to the North Sea, as has been already intimated, under the command of Admiral Duncan, to intercept the enemy. But it was not till the month of October, and not till the British admiral had returned to Yarmouth to refit, that the Dutch fleet put to sea. On this, the English commander, who had received the earliest and most accurate information of the enemy's movements, suddenly returned to his former station.

The command of the enemy's fleet, which consisted of twenty-six sail, including frigates, had been confided to Admiral De Winter, an amphibious warrior, who had distinguished himself on another element under General Pichegru. No sooner had De Winter quitted the Texel, than Captain Trollope, who had been stationed with a light squadron of observation at the mouth

of that river, gave notice of his approach, and on the 11th of October, Admiral Duncan gave orders for a general chase, and the Dutch ships were soon discovered drawn up in a line of battle on the larboard tack, between Camperdown and Egmont, the land being about nine miles to leeward.

Admiral Duncan, whose fleet, like that of his gallant compeer, St. Vincent, consisted of fifteen sail of the line, exclusive of frigates, finding there was no time to be lost, made the signal to bear up, break the enemy's line, and engage them to leeward, each ship her opponent, by which the British squadron placed itself between the enemy and the land, whither they were fast approaching. The admiral's signal being obeyed with promptitude, Vice-admiral Onslow, in the *Monarch*, bore down on the enemy's rear in the most gallant manner, his division following his example, and the action commenced about forty minutes past twelve o'clock. The Venerable soon got through the enemy's line, and a close action was begun on their van, which lasted nearly two hours and a half, when all the masts of the Dutch admiral's ship were observed to go by the board: she was, however, defended for some time in a most gallant manner, but being overpowered by numbers, her colours were struck, and Admiral De Winter was brought on board the Venerable. Soon afterwards, the ship bearing the vice-admiral's flag was also dismasted, and surrendered to Vice-admiral Onslow;* and these, with three of sixty-eight guns, two of sixty-four, two of fifty-six, and two vessels of inferior force, were taken possession of by the English. In the early part of the action, Rear-admiral Story, who commanded the centre division of the Dutch fleet, fled for the Texel in the *States-general* of seventy-four guns, with part of his division, and afterwards made a merit of having saved part of the fleet.

This action, which was gallantly contested by the principal part of the enemy's fleet, proved one of the most brilliant and decisive engagements recorded in our naval annals. (38) The British squadron suffered

much in their masts, yards, and rigging, and many of the ships lost a number of men, but in no proportion to the loss of the enemy. The carnage on board the two ships that bore the admiral's flags was beyond all description, and did not amount to less than two hundred and fifty men killed and wounded on board each ship. The total loss of the British amounted to one hundred and ninety-one killed, and five hundred and sixty wounded, while the loss of the enemy must have exceeded double that number.

The votes of both houses of parliament greeted the arrival of the gallant sailors; many of the captains were gratified by medals; the venerable admiral was rewarded by the king with the dignity of Viscount Camperdown, and a pension of three thou-

in the text,* that the Dutch fleet consisted of 26 sail, and the English only of 15. So far there appears to have been a prodigious superiority of force on the part of the former. On referring, however, to the list of vessels, in the two squadrons, in page 206, we find that the English consisted of 16 sail, besides two frigates, and six smaller vessels, making, together, 24 sail. Another English writer states, that Admiral Duncan sailed from Yarmouth in quest of the Dutch fleet, "with 16 sail of the line, and 3 frigates," and "got sight of Admiral Trollope's squadron on the 11th."† Now Admiral Trollope was in the *Russel*, of 74 guns, in company, probably, with several others. It is reasonable, therefore, to suppose that the British force consisted of at least 20 sail of the line, besides frigates. According to the English statements, the Dutch fleet was composed of only 4 sail of the line, 5 vessels of 68 guns, 2 of 64, and 4 of 56, exclusive of frigates; which, from their inferior weight of metal, are little calculated for general engagements. The disproportion appears therefore to have been on the other side. Admitting, however, the list in the text, of the comparative force of the two fleets, to be correct, it will be found that the British consisted of 14 sail of the line, and 2 of 50 guns, besides frigates. The actual number of guns, therefore, mounted in the British fleet (excluding frigates and smaller vessels, and supposing that each ship carried ten more guns than she is rated) was 1226; while the Dutch fleet (excluding also the smaller vessels from the computation) carried only 988, making a difference in favour of the former of 238 guns; which, it must be remembered, were of heavier metal. If therefore the whole Dutch fleet had been engaged, it would have been with a great inferiority of force. We find, however, that Admiral Story, in one of the 74 gun ships, disobeyed the orders of Admiral Winter, and with several others of his division, ran for the Texel, "at the very commencement of the action."‡ Admiral Winter was then left, with probably no more than two-thirds of his original forces, to engage an English fleet, carrying at least one-third more guns. In spite of these untoward circumstances, the action was maintained by the Dutch with great obstinacy, and their vessels were only surrendered to an overpowering superiority of numbers. Such was the brilliant and memorable victory of Camperdown.

* P. 204. † New Annual Register, 1797.

‡ New Annual Register, 1797.

* London Gazette Extraordinary, October 16th, 1797.

(38) The victory of Camperdown has always been considered by the British annalists as one of the brightest ornaments of their naval history. Admiral Duncan, for his services on the occasion, was created a viscount, with a pension of about fifteen thousand dollars a year; different honours were showered upon the other officers, and the whole fleet received the thanks of both houses of parliament. They must therefore have been considered by the government as having performed a very brilliant exploit. Let us see how far this supposition is borne out by the facts. We find it stated

sand pounds per annum; while Vice-admiral Onslow was created a baronet, and the Captains Trollope and Fairfax knights banneret.*

In the interval between the memorable

engagements of St. Vincent and Camperdown, Cadiz was twice bombarded by Rear-admiral Nelson, acting under the command of Lord St. Vincent. On the first occasion, on the 23d of June; and next on the 5th of

* *List and Disposition of the Dutch Fleet, on the 11th of October, 1797.*

	<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Men.</i>
VAN. Vice-admiral Reynjjes.	1. Cerberus, . . .	Captain Jacobson, . . .	68	450
	2. Delft, . . .	Captain Vendoorn, . . .	56	375
	3. Jupiter, . . .	{ Vice-adm. Reyntjes, } Rear-adm. Meuses, }	74	550
	4. Alkmaar, . . .	Captain Craft, . . .	56	360
	5. Haerlem, . . .	Captain Wiggerts, . . .	68	450
	6. Munnikkendam, . . .	Captain Lancaster, . . .	44	270
	7. Heldin, . . .	{ Captain Dumisidie } L'Estrille, }	32	230
	8. Daphne, (brig)	Lieutenant Fredericks, . . .	18	98
CENTRE. Ad. De Winter Van Roosen, Commander-in-chief.	9. Wassenaer, . . .	Captain Holland, . . .	64	450
	10. Batavier, . . .	Captain Sonters, . . .	56	350
	11. Vryheid, (the Liberty ?)	{ Admiral De Winter, } Rear-adm. Story, }	74	550
	12. States-general, . . .	Captain Munquettier, . . .	68	450
	13. Leyden, . . .	Captain Kloff, . . .	44	400
	14. Mars, . . .	Captain Nicrop, . . .	24	150
	15. Waaksamheid, . . .	Captain Eilbracht, . . .	24	150
	16. Minerva, . . .	Lieutenant Rivery, . . .	18	98
	17. Galatea, (brig)	Lieutenant Piets, . . .	18	98
	18. Atalanta, do.			
REAR. Rear-adm. Bloys.	19. Admiral Devries, . . .	Captain Zegers, . . .	68	450
	20. Hercules, . . .	Captain Van Rysort, . . .	64	450
	21. Brutus, . . .	Rear-adm. Bloys, . . .	74	550
	22. Bresehemer, . . .	Captain Hinxt, . . .	56	350
	23. Gelykheid, (the Equality ?)	{ Captain Ruysen, } Captain Hays, }	68	450
	24. Ambuscade, . . .	Lieutenant Aarkenbout, . . .	32	270
	25. Ajax, (brig)	Lieutenant Hartenfield, . . .	18	98
	26. Haasje, (adv. boat)		6	35
			Total—1966	8683

The eleven printed in *Italics* were captured.

Disposition of the English Fleet, in the order of Battle, on the 11th of October, 1797.

	<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Men.</i>
Larboard or Lee Division. Richard Onslow, Esq. Vice-admiral of the Red.	1. Russel, . . .	Captain Trollope, . . .	74	590
	2. Director, . . .	Captain Bligh, . . .	64	491
	3. Montagu, . . .	Captain Knight, . . .	74	590
	4. Veteran, . . .	Captain Gregory, . . .	64	491
	5. Monarch, . . .	{ Vice-adm. Onslow, } Captain O'Bryen, }	74	599
	6. Powerful, . . .	Captain O'Drury, . . .	74	590
	7. Monmouth, . . .	Captain Walker, . . .	64	491
	8. Agincourt, . . .	Captain Williamson, . . .	64	491
Repeaters—Beaulieu Frigate.—Cutters, Rose, King George, Active, Diligent—Speculator Lugger.				
Starboard, or Weather Division. Adam Duncan, Esq. Ad. of the Blue, Commander-in-chief.	9. Triumph, . . .	Captain Effington, . . .	74	640
	10. Venerable, . . .	{ Admiral Duncan, } Captain Fairfax, }	74	593
	11. Ardent, . . .	Captain Burges, . . .	64	491
	12. Bedford, . . .	Captain Sir T. Bayard, . . .	74	590
	13. Lancaster, . . .	Captain Wells, . . .	64	491
	14. Belliqueux, . . .	Captain Ingha, . . .	64	491
	15. Adamant, . . .	Captain Hotham, . . .	50	343
	16. Isis, . . .	Captain Mitchell, . . .	50	343
Repeaters—Circe Frigate, Martin Sloop.				
			1066	8315
The two Frigates,			68	500
			Total—1134	8815

July; and by these operations, considerable injury was inflicted upon that city, but without in any way advancing the objects of the war.

In the month of February, in the present year, the Spanish island of Trinidad capitulated to an expedition consisting of six sail of the line, and a number of troops, fitted out at Portroyal, in Martinico, under the command of Sir Ralph Abercromby and Admiral Harvey. On the approach of the English, the Spaniards, who had a squadron of four ships of the line, and one frigate lying at anchor in the gulf of Paria, set fire to their ships, and one line of battle ship only escaping the conflagration, fell into the hands of the victors; the governor and the garrison were made prisoners of war.

Encouraged by this easy conquest, the same commanders made an attempt in the month of April on the large and important island of Porto Rico. But this island being found too strong to be carried by a *coup-de-main*, the enterprise totally failed, and was attended with a loss to the assailants of upwards of two hundred men.

An attack made upon the isle of Teneriffe, by a squadron of seven ships of war, commanded by Commodore, now Admiral Nelson, and a force of one thousand marines, under Captain Trowbridge, was still more unfortunate. On the 15th of July, the British expedition arrived before the port of Santa Cruz, and having effected a landing, took possession of the town, but they discovered, when too late, that the force under their command was utterly unequal either to carry the fort of Santa Cruz, or to contend with the military force of the island, now assembled to oppose them. Preparing therefore for a retreat, they learned that the violence of the surge on the beach had staved their boats, and reduced them to a mere wreck. In this situation, they were summoned by the Spanish commander to surrender; but this the gallant Trowbridge disdainfully rejected, adding, "that while he had a man left alive he would not capitulate;" on which, the Spaniard, well disposed to be freed from the presence of such unwelcome visitors, sent a polite message to the captain, to say, that for the purpose of sparing the effusion of blood, facilities would be afforded to himself and his followers to return to their ships; and as soon as the capitulation to this effect was signed, the enemy very generously furnished them with supplies of wine and biscuits. The loss of lives in this ill-advised attempt was equal to that sustained in the battle of Cape St. Vincent; forty-four privates were killed, one hundred and five wounded,

ninety-seven drowned, and five unaccounted for; Captain Richard Bowen of the *Terpsichore*, and six lieutenants, lost their lives; Captain Thompson, of the *Leander*, Captain Freemantle, of the *Seahorse*, a lieutenant and a midshipman, were wounded, and Rear-admiral Nelson lost his arm.

Great Britain being now the only country either at war with, or formidable to the French republic, the directory, after conquering so many kings, menaced the independence of the British empire, by ordering troops to be assembled on the coast of the channel, under the designation of "the army of England;" while, as if to add some weight to their important resolves, they declared that "the conqueror of Italy" was appointed to its command. In the early part of this year, and before "the conqueror" had terminated his career in Italy, a most extraordinary and ridiculous prelude to this farce of invasion was performed on the coast of Wales, by an expedition fitted out at the port of Brest. On the 22d of February, that part of the coast of Devonshire, which lies at the mouth of the Bristol Channel, was surprised by the appearance of an enemy's force, which, entering the small port of Ilfracombe, scuttled some merchant vessels, and made an unsuccessful attempt to destroy all the ships in the harbour. This invading squadron, which consisted of two frigates, and two sloops, next steered its course for the bay of Cardigan, in Wales, where, on the 23d of February, they disembarked about fifteen hundred criminals, attired as French troops, and provided with a proportionable quantity of arms and ammunition, but without field-pieces. On receiving information of this event, the Welch peasantry, animated by the gentry of the country, flew to arms—not the arms of war, but of husbandry, and each man providing himself with a scythe, a sickle, or a pitchfork, marched forth to meet the invader. In the mean time, Lord Cawdor had assembled, in the course of a single day, a local force consisting of from six to seven hundred militia, fencibles, and yeomanry cavalry, and the French commander perceiving his situation to be desperate, despatched a letter the day following to his lordship,* and about two o'clock in the afternoon of the 26th, surren-

* "Cardigan Bay, 5th of Ventose, 5th year of the Republic.

"SIR,—The circumstances under which the body of French troops commanded by me were landed at this place, rendered it unnecessary to attempt any military operations, as they would tend only to bloodshed and pillage.

"The officers of the whole corps have therefore intimated their desire of entering into a negotiation, upon principles of humanity, for a surrender.

"If you are influenced by similar considera-

dered himself and his followers prisoners of war. To add to the disasters of this extraordinary enterprise, the two frigates that accompanied the expedition were captured

on their return to Brest, and the whole expedition proved as unfortunate in the execution as it was unaccountable in the design.

CHAPTER II.

British History: Opening of the new Parliament—Earl Fitzwilliam's Protest—Lord Malmesbury's first Negotiation—Its progress and failure—Debate on the Negotiation—Preparations against Invasion—Ominous Aspect of public Affairs at the Commencement of the Year 1797—Stoppage of the Bank—Mutiny in the Fleets—Concessions to the Seamen—Suppression of the Mutiny—Trial and Execution of Richard Parker and his principal Associates—Motions in Parliament on the State of Ireland—For the Dismissal of Ministers—For Parliamentary Reform—Prorogation of Parliament—Death of Mr. Burke—Marriage of the Princess Royal.

THE war which had so long raged in Europe, was still prosecuted between Great Britain and France with undiminished energy, but the governors of both countries began to find it necessary to remove the impression, that the contest was as interminable in its duration, as it was indefinite in its objects, and with this view his majesty, in his speech from the throne, at the opening of the new parliament on the 6th of October, 1796, declared, "That he had omitted no endeavours for setting on foot negotiations to restore peace to Europe; in consequence of which, a way was now opened to an immediate negotiation, which must produce an honourable peace for us and our allies, or prove to what cause alone the prolongation of the war was to be ascribed." For this purpose, his majesty would immediately send a person to Paris, with full powers to treat for this object, and it was his anxious wish that the negotiation might lead to the restoration of general peace. But it was evident that nothing could so much contribute to give effect to the negotiation, as a manifestation that we possessed both the determination and the resources to oppose with increased activity and energy an enemy who had openly professed a design to attempt a descent upon these kingdoms.

On the propriety of entering upon a negotiation with republican France, some difference of opinion existed between ministers and their supporters; and Mr. Burke, in inculcating hostility against revolutionary France, adhered to his original opinion, that the restoration of monarchy and the ancient orders, under certain modifications, ought to be the sole and avowed purpose

of the war; that no peace could be secure until that object was effected; and that we must either conquer the revolution, or the revolution would conquer us. These sentiments were adopted by Earl Fitzwilliam, and, after opposing the address on the king's speech on this ground, he entered on the journals of the house of lords a very elaborate protest, assigning no less than ten distinct reasons for refusing to concur in an address of approbation on his majesty's speech announcing the opening of a negotiation for peace with the French republic.

In the month of March in the present year, the English cabinet had commissioned Mr. Wickham, the British ambassador of the Helvetic states, to apply to M. Barthelemi, who was then engaged in diplomatic agencies at Basle, to inquire if the government of France was disposed to enter into a negotiation with his majesty and his allies? To which, M. Barthelemi was instructed to answer, "that the executive government of France ardently desired to procure for the republic a just, honourable, and solid peace, but an indispensable condition of any treaty entered into for that purpose was the retention of those conquests which had actually been annexed to the territory of the republic."* This reply, expressing a decided resolution not to surrender the Austrian Netherlands to the Emperor of Germany, displayed, in the opinion of the British ministry, a temper so remote from any disposition for peace, that the correspondence between the two ministers ceased, and both parties proceeded to operate the campaign: and it was not till the 6th of September in the same year, that Lord Grenville addressed a note to Count Wedel

tions, you may signify the same by the bearer, in the mean time hostilities shall cease.

"Health and respect,

"TATE, Chef de brigade.

"To the officer commanding his Britannic majesty's troops."

* By an act of the French convention, passed on the 30th of September, 1795, all the countries which the house of Austria had possessed on the French side of the Rhine, previous to the war, were incorporated with the republic of France See page 162.

Jarlsberg, the Danish ambassador in London, requesting that he would transmit, through the Danish envoy at Paris, a declaration expressive of "his Britannic majesty's desire to conclude a peace on just and honourable conditions, and demanding the necessary passports for a person of confidence, whom his majesty would send to Paris with a commission to discuss with the government there all the measures most proper to produce so desirable an end;" to which the directory replied, "That the executive government would not receive or answer any overture from the enemies of the French republic, transmitted through any intermediate channel; but that if England would send persons furnished with full powers and official papers, they might, upon the frontiers, demand the passports necessary for proceeding to Paris."

In compliance with the requisition of the French government, passports were applied for and obtained, and Sir James Harris, the negotiator, who had been lately called to the peerage, under the title of Lord Malmesbury, being nominated by his sovereign "plenipotentiary to the French republic," repaired to Paris on the 22d of October. Two days after his arrival, the negotiations were opened by a memorial from his lordship, containing a proposition for reciprocal restitution. "Great Britain," says the memorial, "from the uninterrupted success of her naval war, finds herself in a situation to have no restitution to demand of France; from which, on the contrary, she has taken establishments and colonies of the highest importance, and of value almost incalculable," but it is added, "she is willing to restore her own conquests, in lieu of the acquisitions which France has won from her allies, as a basis for a treaty, and she therefore proposes a general principle of reciprocal restitution." To this memorial, the executive directory replied, "That considering the British ambassador to be the agent of Great Britain only, and not understanding him to have a commission to act for the allied powers, they could not now enter into the concerns of other states, which could tend only to multiply the combinations, and increase the difficulties of the negotiation;" but they nevertheless declared, "that as soon as Lord Malmesbury should exhibit to the minister for foreign affairs, sufficient powers from the allies of Great Britain for stipulating for their respective interests, accompanied by a promise, on their part, to subscribe to whatever should be concluded in their names, the executive directory would hasten to give an answer to the specific propositions which should be submitted to them, and that the difficulties should be

removed as far as might be consistent with the safety and dignity of the French republic." To these observations, they added an opinion, that the British government was insincere in its overture—that its object was "to prevent, by general propositions, the partial propositions of other powers, and to obtain from the people of England the means of continuing the war, by throwing the odium of a refusal to negotiate a peace upon the republic." The British minister, disdaining to reply "to the offensive and injurious insinuations" thrown out by the directory, stated in reply, that he had not been commissioned to enter into a separate treaty, but that Great Britain proposed to make common cause with her allies. The directory rejoined, that "in a question of reciprocal restitution, the chief object of consideration was the relative condition of the respective parties; that of the original confederates, some were become the friends of France, and others observed a strict neutrality; that the remaining allies of Great Britain were weakened by their losses and the desertion of their associates; and that France could not, in a negotiation for terms, forget the circumstances in which she was placed."

Having thus admitted the principle of compensation, M. de la Croix, the French negotiator, in a note to Lord Malmesbury, dated the 27th of November, again requested him to point out expressly, and without delay, the objects of reciprocal compensations which he had to propose. But it now appeared that his lordship was totally unfurnished with any plan or *projet* of peace, and as he was again obliged to consult his court, the negotiation was suspended until the 17th of December; on which day, his lordship submitted, in two formal and confidential memorials, the terms on which a treaty might be concluded, on the basis of mutual compensation; these terms he stated to be, that France should restore all her conquests made in any of the dominions of the Emperor of Germany, or in Italy, and that Great Britain should render back all her acquisitions gained from France in the East and West Indies; that Russia and Portugal should be included in the treaty; that no obstacle would be interposed, on the part of his Britannic majesty, against Spain becoming a party to the negotiation; and that in case Holland was reinstated, in all respects, in the same political situation in which she stood before the war, the colonial possessions captured by Great Britain might be restored, and the *status ante bellum*, with respect to territorial possessions, re-established in her favour; but if, on the contrary, Holland should remain a republic, "their Britannic

and Imperial majesties would be obliged to seek, in territorial acquisitions, those compensations, and that security, which such a state of things would render indispensable."

At the time these memorials were delivered by Lord Malmesbury to M. de la Croix, a long and very animated conversation took place between the negotiators, in the course of which the French minister inquired, whether, in placing the memorials before the directory, "he was to state the disuniting of Belgium from France, as a *sine qua non* from which his majesty would not depart?" To which, Lord Malmesbury replied, that "it most certainly was a *sine qua non*, from which his majesty would not depart: and that any proposal which would have the Netherlands annexed to France, would be attended with much greater benefit to that power, and less to the allies, than the present relative situation of the belligerent powers could entitle the French government to expect." "M. de la Croix," continues Lord Malmesbury, in his report of this memorable conversation, "repeated his concern at the peremptory way in which I made this assertion, and asked if it would admit of no modification? I replied, if France could, in a *contre-projet*, point out a practicable and adequate one, still keeping in view that the Netherlands must not be France, or likely again to fall into the hands of France, such a proposal might certainly be taken into consideration. M. de la Croix by no means encouraged me to explain myself more fully; he repeatedly said, that this difficulty relative to the Netherlands was one that could not be overcome."

This assertion was shortly verified; for two days after the conversation, Lord Malmesbury received a letter from M. de la Croix, consisting of a literal copy of an arrest of the directory, requiring his lordship "to give in to him, officially, within four-and-twenty hours, his *ultimatum*, signed by himself." To which, Lord Malmesbury replied, "that to demand an *ultimatum*, in so peremptory a manner, before the two powers had communicated to each other their respective pretensions, was to shut the door against all negotiations," but "he repeated that he was ready to enter into the discussion of the proposals of his court, or of any *contre-projet* which might be delivered to him on the part of the executive directory." The directory rejoined, in a note of the 19th of December, that they "would listen to no proposal contrary to the constitution, to the laws, and to the treaties which bound the republic; and as Lord Malmesbury announced at every communication, that he was in want of the

opinion of his court, from which it resulted that he acted a part merely passive in the negotiation, his presence at Paris was rendered useless, and he was required to depart from Paris in eight-and-forty hours with all the persons who had accompanied and followed him: and to quit, as expeditiously as possible, the territory of the republic; but that if the British cabinet was desirous of peace, the executive directory was ready to follow the negotiations, according to the basis laid down in the present note by the reciprocal channel of couriers."

Lord Malmesbury hesitated not to reply that he was preparing to quit Paris on the morrow, and demanded the necessary passports for himself and his suite. On the 20th he quitted the French capital, and repaired to England; and thus terminated the first negotiation for peace between Great Britain and the republic of France.

The British ministry, professing to consider the abrupt conclusion of these overtures to have been caused wholly by the conduct of France, published a manifesto, on the 27th of December, enlarging upon the pacific dispositions of the British government, and setting forth the malignant hostility of the enemy. This manifesto being laid before parliament, ministers assumed the declaration as a text, and animated the indignant resentment of parliament and of the country against the arrogant pretensions of the enemy.

On this occasion, Mr. Pitt addressed the house in that style of splendid amplification, which his oratory was wont to assume when his object was to strike the fancy, or to rouse the passions. After a brilliant exordium, in which he lamented the failure of the attempt to restore the relations of peace, he proceeded to take a review of the circumstances that preceded and attended the late negotiations, and insisted that their rupture was wholly imputable to the government of France. The enemy demanded not as an *ultimatum*, but as a preliminary, to retain all those territories of which the chance of war had given them a temporary possession, and respecting which they thought proper, contrary to the law of nations, to pass a constitutional decree, declaring that these should not be alienated from the republic. But this perverse and monstrous claim, in virtue of which, territories acquired by force of arms were annexed to a state during the continuance of the war in which such acquisitions were made, could never be supposed to supersede the treaties of other powers, and the known and public obligations of the several nations in Europe. Yet this had been the pretension to which the French

government laid claim, and the acknowledgment of which they held out as a preliminary of negotiation to the King of Great Britain and his allies; and not content with setting up this claim to abrogate treaties previously concluded, they had offered a studied insult to his majesty, by ordering his ambassador to quit Paris, and proposing that the negotiation should be carried on by means of couriers. "The question, then," said Mr. Pitt, "is not, how much will you give for peace; but how much disgrace will you suffer at the outset? how much degradation you will submit to as a preliminary? In these circumstances, then, are we to persevere in the war, with a spirit and energy worthy of the British name, and of the British character? or are we, by sending couriers to Paris, to prostrate ourselves at the feet of a stubborn and supercilious government, to yield to what they may require, and to submit to whatever they impose? I hope there is not a hand in his majesty's councils which would sign the proposal; that there is not a heart in this house that would sanction the measure; and that there is not an individual in the British dominions who would act as the courier."

Mr. Fox, in reply, maintained that the whole amount of the minister's splendid oration was to admit, that we had been four years engaged in a war, unprecedented in expense, both in men and in money, and that we had done nothing; that in fact the enemy, instead of being humbled and ruined, as had been so often and so confidently foretold, had now become more unreasonable and dictatorial in their pretensions than ever. "Previous to the commencement of this fatal contest," said Mr. Fox, "with what earnestness did I labour to persuade this house of the propriety of sending an ambassador to Paris; who might certainly have treated with every prospect of success; but those efforts were wholly unavailing; and, when it is asserted that Lord Malmesbury was dismissed in a way altogether unprecedented, the right honourable gentleman must surely have forgotten the manner in which M. Chauvelin was sent from this country. The *sine qua non*, with respect to Belgium, was evidently the cause of the abrupt, though perhaps not the unexpected issue of Lord Malmesbury's negotiation. But are we likely, by the expenditure of a hundred thousand more lives, and a hundred millions more money, to effect the recovery of Belgium by force of arms from the French? Will the minister declare, in plain terms, that the war is continued, and peace indefinitely removed, upon that hopeless contingency? And after all, was the imperial

court a party to this demand? No; it was a *sine qua non*, made in a matter which primarily concerned the emperor, but to which he had never formally assented; and which we did not know whether he himself would insist upon." Mr. Fox concluded a most luminous and masterly speech by proposing an address to the throne, recommending "that his majesty's faithful commons should proceed to investigate the conduct of his majesty's ministers, who had involved this nation in her present misfortunes, and produced the failure of the late negotiations." This amendment was negatived by a large majority; there appearing for the original motion, two hundred and twelve; and for the amended address, only thirty-six voices. The same fate awaited a similar motion made in the house of lords by Lord Oxford.

On the 18th of October, the house of commons resolved itself into a committee, to take into consideration that part of his majesty's speech which alluded to the preparations making by the enemy to invade these kingdoms. In addition to the naval force now actually employed, and which the premier declared to be more formidable than had ever existed at any former period of our history, he proposed, first, a levy of fifteen thousand men, from the different parishes, for the sea-service, and for recruiting the regular regiments of the line: his second proposal was to raise a supplementary militia, to consist of sixty thousand men; not to be immediately called out, but to be enrolled, officered, and completely trained, so as to be ready to serve their country in a moment of danger; and his third military project was to raise a force of twenty thousand irregular cavalry—every person who kept ten horses to provide one horse and one horseman; those who kept more than ten horses, to provide in the same proportion; and those who kept fewer, to form themselves into classes, and decide who, at the common expense, should provide the horse and the horseman. These several propositions, having received the sanction of the three estates of parliament, passed into laws early in the session; but the plan for raising the irregular cavalry force being found difficult of application, the measure was superseded in a great degree by the numerous volunteer corps of yeoman cavalry, which pressed forward in the service of their country. During this session, a bill was introduced by Mr. Dundas, for raising and embodying a militia force in Scotland, which passed into an act without parliamentary opposition, but which was so much resisted in that part of the kingdom where it was meant to operate, that it could be carried into effect, in the

first instance, only at the point of the bayonet.

On the motion of Mr. Windham, one hundred and ninety-five thousand men were voted for the land service, for the year 1797; and soon afterwards one hundred and twenty thousand seamen and marines for the navy. In the early part of December, the chancellor of the exchequer made his annual financial statement, from which it appeared that eighteen millions would be wanted, by way of loan, exclusive of five millions and a half of exchequer bills, and about thirteen millions and a half of victualling, transport, and naval bills. This loan was followed by a second, during the same session of parliament, amounting to eighteen millions, comprehending a great variety of deficiencies, and including a vote of credit for three millions to be remitted to the emperor.

At no period in the history of Great Britain had the aspect of public affairs assumed a more gloomy and despirited complexion than at the commencement of the year 1797. An unsuccessful attempt had just been made to put an end to a war distressing beyond all example; national credit seemed to totter to its fall; rebellion was ready to burst out in the sister island; and while foreign invasion threatened the British shores, the defenders of Britain upon her favourite element refused to obey orders issued for her defence, and threatened to turn their mutinous arms against their native country.

The rapid and enormous increase of the national debt had created an alarm amongst many of the proprietors of the public funds; and, under this impression, sums to a great amount were sold out of the stocks, and vested in other securities. In the course of the war, the bank had advanced immense sums to the government, far beyond its usual advances to the public treasury; and as a considerable part of these consisted of remittances to foreign powers, especially to the Emperor of Germany, made in coin, and not in notes, the gold and silver in the bank were greatly diminished. The natural consequences of this procedure had been long foreseen by the directors of the bank; and as early as the year 1795 they had expressed to Mr. Pitt their expectations, "that he would arrange his finances for the year in such a manner as not to depend on any further assistance from the bank."* This remonstrance they repeated on the 9th of October, in the same year, and again reiterated in the year 1796, but they still continued to afford large accommodations to

the treasury. In the beginning of 1797, the minister requested still further advances, and intimated, at the same time, that a loan, amounting to the sum of one million five hundred thousand pounds, beyond the accommodation to the English treasury, would be wanted for Ireland. On the 9th of February, the governor of the bank informed Mr. Pitt, "that under the present state of the bank's accommodation to government here, to agree with his request, of making a further advance of one million five hundred thousand pounds, as a loan to Ireland, would threaten ruin to the bank, and most probably bring the directors to shut up their doors." This correspondence sufficiently shows the idea entertained by the bank-directors, of the danger that threatened their establishment; but besides the remittance of specie, and the advances made to government, another cause powerfully co-operated to produce the alarming derangement in the affairs of the national bank: the dread of invasion, which at this time pervaded every part of the kingdom, had induced the capitalists, as well as the more opulent farmers and traders, at a distance from the metropolis, to withdraw their money from the hands of the country bankers, with whom they had been accustomed to deposit it; and the run upon the provincial banking-houses soon extended to the capital. On Monday the 20th of February, an unusual demand was made by the holders of notes upon the bank of England for specie, and this run, which increased on the 21st, became so rapid and urgent on the four following days, as to excite the most serious alarm at the bank, and to oblige the directors to submit their situation to the consideration of the chancellor of the exchequer. On the 26th, government found it necessary to interfere; and on that day an order of the privy council was issued, prohibiting the directors of the bank from "issuing any cash in payment, until the sense of parliament should be taken."

The consideration of this momentous subject was brought with as little delay as possible before the two houses of parliament, and the first step taken was to appoint two secret committees, to ascertain the assets of the bank. These committees failed not to prosecute their inquiry with all imaginable vigour; and the public apprehension was materially allayed by their reports, delivered early in the month of March, and from which it appeared, that on the 25th of February, the last day of paying gold and silver at the bank, the amount of the demands upon the company was £13,770,390; that their assets, exclusive of the permanent debt due from govern-

* See the correspondence between Mr. Pitt and the bank-directors. *New Annual Register* for 1797.

ment, amounted to the sum of £17,597,380; so that there remained a surplus of £3,826,590; to which must be added the sum of £11,686,800, three per cent. stock lent at different times to government on parliamentary security; which, being estimated at fifty per cent. agreeable to the actual price, at that time, of the three per cent. consols, the whole of the capital vested in the corporation of the bank, after the payment of all demands, amounted to the enormous sum of £9,627,000. On these reports, Mr. Pitt grounded a bill enabling the bank to issue notes in payment of demands upon them, instead of cash, agreeably to the late order of council to that effect; and a clause of the utmost importance was introduced into the act for preventing any person from being held to bail who offered Bank of England notes in discharge of a debt, though this law, by leaving the creditor the option of demanding cash in payment instead of notes, did not actually constitute them a legal tender. From this time, the circulation of gold coin almost wholly ceased, and notes from twenty shillings and upwards, became the general circulating medium.

Several animated debates occurred in the two houses of parliament, respecting the embarrassing situation of the affairs of the bank; and the Duke of Bedford and Mr. Grey respectively moved a series of resolutions, condemning, in the strongest terms, the minister's intercourse and concerns with the bank, and attributing the embarrassments of the company to his negligence and prodigality; but the proposed votes of censure were rejected by large majorities.

It happened, by a singular coincidence, that in the same year, and about the same period of the year, that the bank of England was driven to the necessity of suspending its cash payments, the national bank of Vienna was obliged to have recourse to a similar expedient; and his imperial majesty found it necessary to issue an order, directing, that from the 5th of April, 1797, these notes should be received at their full value, as ready cash, in all payments of trade and of revenue.

No sooner had the alarm created by the stoppage of cash payments at the bank begun to subside, than an occasion of still greater apprehension presented itself in the spirit of mutiny and disaffection, which at this moment broke out among the fleet at Spithead. Great dissatisfaction had for some time prevailed respecting the pay and provisions of the sailors; and in the month of February in this year, several anonymous letters were received by Lord Howe, from the fleet, praying for his lordship's influence towards obtaining an increase of

the seamen's pay, and an improvement in the quality and quantity of their provisions; at the same time, a correspondence was going on by letter between the crews of the different ships, and a committee of delegates was appointed to obtain a redress of grievances. These proceedings were conducted with so much secrecy, that it was not until the 15th of April, when Lord Bridport made a signal to prepare for sea, that they began to be suspected amongst the superior officers of the fleet. Instead of weighing anchor, as the signal imported, the seamen of the admiral's ship all ran up the shrouds, and saluted the crews of the adjoining ships with three cheers, which being instantly answered in the same manner by the other ships, it became manifest that the spirit of disobedience had become general. The next step of the delegates was to assemble in council in the cabin of the admiral's ship, and to place the officers in custody, to prevent them from going on shore. Here, a petition to the admiral was drawn up, and presented on the spot, accompanied with an intimation that until the prayer of the petition for an increase of wages, and a regulation of the ratio of provisions took place, they should not quit their present station "unless the enemy was known to be at sea."

On the 18th, a committee of the admiralty, with Earl Spencer at their head, repaired to Portsmouth, with a view to induce the refractory seamen to resume the duty which they owed to their country; and on the 23d, the admiral returned to his ship, and after hoisting his flag, informed the crew that he had brought with him a redress of all their grievances, accompanied by his majesty's pardon for the offenders. After some deliberations, these offers were cheerfully accepted, and every man hastened to return to his duty. It was now supposed that all cause of dissatisfaction was removed; but contrary to the general expectation and hope of the country, when on the 7th of May, Lord Bridport made the signal to put to sea, every ship at St. Helen's refused to obey. This second mutiny arose, it appeared, from a groundless apprehension on the part of the seamen, that government did not mean to accede to their demands. A meeting of the delegates was again convened, to be held on board the London, but Vice-admiral Colpoys, having determined to prevent the illegal assembly from being held on board his ship, ordered the marines to fire upon the boats as they approached, and five seamen were killed in the skirmish that ensued. The crew of the London, irritated by this resistance on the part of the admiral, now turned their guns towards the stern, and

threatened to blow all aft into the water, unless the commander submitted, and Admiral Colpoys and Captain Griffiths were both taken into custody by their crew, and confined for several hours in separate cabins. In this state of mutiny, the sailors at Portsmouth remained until the 14th of May, when Lord Howe arrived from the admiralty with plenary powers to settle all differences, and as his lordship was the bearer of the act of parliament which had passed on the 9th, granting an additional allowance of pay to the seamen, and also of his majesty's proclamation of pardon, the flag of insurrection was struck, and the fleet prepared to put to sea to encounter the enemy.

The public saw with infinite satisfaction the extinction of this dangerous spirit of disaffection; but their pleasure was speedily turned into fresh alarm and consternation by a new mutiny in another quarter, which for boldness and extent is without a parallel in the naval history of Britain.

The North Sea fleet, as well as the ships lying at the Nore, imitating the dangerous conduct of the crews at Spithead, but greatly exceeding them in the extent of their demands, chose delegates from every ship, and appointed a seaman of the name of Richard Parker, a bold and enterprising man, as their president. The demands of these mutineers comprehended a greater freedom of absence from ships in harbour—a more punctual discharge of arrears of pay—a more equal distribution of prize-money, and a general abatement of the rigours of discipline. On the 23d of May, the flag of Admiral Buckner was struck on board the *Sandwich*, and the red flag, the symbol of mutiny, hoisted in its stead. To the daily conferences of this mutinous usurpation, each man-of-war sent two delegates, and besides these there was a committee of twelve in every ship, who determined not only all affairs relating to the internal management of the vessel, but instructed their delegates, and decided upon their merits: and, as if it had been determined to give *clat* to their proceedings, the delegates, with the rebel admiral at their head, were allowed to come on shore daily, and after holding their meetings, to parade the streets and ramparts with music and flags. Such a rallying point of sedition could not long be tolerated, and the arrival of Lord Keith and Sir Charles Grey at Sheerness put an end to these audacious processions.

The mutiny had now risen to the most alarming height, and as it was intimated to the seamen that no further concessions than what had already been made by the legislature would be granted, some of the most desperate of their number suggested

the idea of carrying the ships into an enemy's port; but the majority revolted at so treacherous a proceeding, alleging that a redress of grievances, as it was their primary, so it should be their ultimate object. Notwithstanding this disagreement, the crews of the respective ships still continued to prosecute their designs, and for the purpose of extorting compliance with their demands, they proceeded to block up the Thames by refusing a passage either up or down the river to the London trade, and to supply their present wants they took from a vessel three hundred sacks of flour, which they distributed throughout the fleet. On the 4th of June, the whole fleet at the Nore celebrated his majesty's birth-day by a royal salute; and on the 6th they were joined by the *Agamemnon*, *Leopard*, *Ardent*, and *Isis*, men-of-war, and the *Ranger* sloop, which had deserted from the fleet of Admiral Duncan, then in the Yarmouth Roads. This accession of strength swelled the mutinous fleet to twenty-four sail, consisting of eleven ships of the line and thirteen frigates. The appearance of such a multitude of shipping under the command of a set of common sailors, in a state of insubordination, formed a singular and awful spectacle.

Government in the mean time were not inattentive to the obligations imposed upon them by the perilous situation of the country, and a proclamation was issued, offering his majesty's pardon to all such of the mutineers as should immediately return to their duty. This was speedily followed by two acts of parliament, the former for more effectually restraining the intercourse from the shore with the ships in a state of mutiny, and the latter for punishing with the utmost severity of the law, any person or persons who should attempt to seduce seamen or soldiers into mutinous practices; but the master-stroke of policy was to be found in the removal of all the buoys from the mouth of the Thames and the neighbouring coast, by which any large ship that should attempt to sail away would be exposed to the most imminent danger of running aground; while furnaces and red-hot balls were kept in readiness at Sheerness, to repel any attack that might be made on that place by the mutineers.

The last attempt at reconciliation by treaty was made through the Earl of Northesk, "the seaman's friend," as he was called, who on the 6th of June was rowed on board the *Monmouth* at the instance of the delegates, where he found the convention in the state cabin, consisting of sixty delegates, with *Admiral Parker* placed at their head. To his lordship they communicated the terms on which alone they

would give up the ships, and requested that he would submit them to the king, and return on board with a clear and positive answer within fifty-four hours: intimating that the whole must be complied with, or they would immediately put the fleet to sea. These terms, which were in substance the same as those stated above, were accompanied by a note from Parker, in the following words;—

" *Sandwich, June 6, 3 P.M.*

" To Captain Lord Northesk,

" You are hereby authorized and ordered to wait upon the king, wherever he may be, with the resolutions of the committee of delegates, and are directed to return back with an answer within fifty-four hours from the date hereof.

" *R. PARKER, President.*"

These terms, which were submitted the next day to the king in council, were rejected, and the intelligence of their refusal was communicated by Captain Knight, of the *Inflexible*. All hopes of accommodation being thus at an end, preparations were making to enforce obedience to the laws from the works at Sheerness, but the defection of several of the ships, on the 9th, with other symptoms of disunion amongst the mutineers, rendered the application of force unnecessary. On the 10th, several of the mutinous ships, being reduced to great exigencies for want of fresh provisions and water, struck the red flag. On the 12th, all but seven of the ships hoisted the union flag, to signify their wish to return to obedience: and on the following morning, five out of the seven remaining vessels ran away from the mutinous ships, and sought protection under the guns of the fort of Sheerness. All further resistance was now in vain, and after a fruitless attempt to obtain a general pardon, the crew of the *Sandwich* steered that ship on the following morning into Sheerness, where *Admiral* Parker was arrested by a picket-guard of soldiers, along with a person of the name of Davies, who had acted as captain under him, with about thirty other delegates, and were all committed to the black-hole in the garrison. One of the delegates, of the name of Wallace, more desperate than the rest, being determined neither to outlive his power, nor to submit to the ignominy of a public execution, shot himself dead on the appearance of the soldiers. Thus, all resistance to the authority of the officers ceased, and the public mind recovered its former composure, by the entire extinction of this alarming revolt.

The trial of Parker commenced on the 22d of June, on board the *Neptune*, off Grennith, before a court-martial, consisting of captains of the navy, of which Sir T. Paisley was president. The prisoner was charged with various acts of mutiny,

committed on board his majesty's fleet at the Nore; of disobedience of orders; and of contempt of the authority of his officers. The facts being clearly established, Parker was called upon for his defence on the fourth day of his trial; after commenting upon the evidence with considerable ability, he solemnly declared that he had no hand in the commencement of the mutiny; but that two days after it had broken out, he saw that a violent spirit had spread among the men, and he then embarked in the cause, for the purpose of checking the violence of their proceedings; and he was fully satisfied, that if he had not taken an active part, the mutiny which had ended so unfortunately, would have been attended with consequences still more dreadful. The court, after some deliberation, adjudged the prisoner to death; on which, with astonishing composure, he addressed them as follows:

" I bow to your sentence with all due submission, being convinced I have acted under the dictates of a good conscience. God, who knows the hearts of all men, will, I hope, receive me. I hope that my death will atone to the country; and that those brave men who have acted with me will receive a general pardon; I am satisfied they will all then return to their duty with alacrity."

On the 30th of June, Parker was executed on board the *Sandwich*, and met his fate with fortitude. A great number of the other mutineers received sentence of death, and many of the ringleaders were executed; while some of the minor offenders atoned for their crime by undergoing a public whipping; and all those on whom sentence of death had been pronounced, without being carried into effect, experienced the royal clemency, after the splendid naval victory obtained by Admiral Duncan.

The distracted state of Ireland, at this period, engaged a considerable share of public attention, both in parliament and in the country. Ever since the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam, the discontents had continued to increase, and at the present moment several parishes, baronies, and even counties, were declared to be out of the king's peace. Impressed with the gloomy considerations which such a state of things naturally suggested, the Earl of Moira, on the 21st of March, moved in the house of lords for an address to his majesty, praying "that he would be graciously pleased to interpose his paternal interference, to remove the discontents which prevailed in Ireland, and created the most serious alarm for that country, and for the dearest interests of Britain." His lordship conceived the present motion to relate to a matter of common concern and mutual interest, upon

which both countries had a right to stand forward; and to prove the influence of the British cabinet over the councils of Ireland, if that could be a matter of doubt, he adverted to the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam, at a period when all Ireland applauded the wisdom of his measures—when that country afforded the fairest prospect of tranquillity, and the surest pledge of assistance and support to the empire. Lord Grenville, in reply, insisted that the present motion could not be adopted without tearing asunder every bond of union, and breaking the solemn contract subsisting between the two countries. Instead of remedying discontents, the motion now submitted to the house would increase them, and induce the Irish to imagine that their own legislature was regardless of their welfare. Earl Fitzwilliam could never concede to the noble secretary, that this country ought not to give an opinion upon the public situation of Ireland. Such interference, for the purpose of averting evils from both, was as proper as the right was clear; and if ever it was expedient to exercise that right, it was at this period of awful portent, when storms and tempests impended over the country, and when the legislature was called upon by their duty to exert every effort of human wisdom to avert the danger which threatened the empire. The Earl of Liverpool contended that the evils complained of, if they had really any existence, ought to be remedied by the Irish parliament, not by the British legislature, whose interference was calculated to aggravate, not to remove discontent. The Marquis of Lansdowne held that ministers were prosecuting a system in Ireland that would, in its consequences, shake the British empire to its centre. "Give," said the noble marquis, "the people of Ireland their rights, and you will require neither fleets nor armies to protect them." This debate, which was highly interesting and animated, terminated in the motion being negatived by a majority of seventy to twenty voices; and a similar motion, made two days afterwards in the house of commons, by Mr. Fox, and seconded by Sir Francis Burdett, shared a similar fate.

Notwithstanding the existence of the acts recently passed, to the prejudice of popular assemblies, the inhabitants of Westminster, and of several other cities and populous districts, assembled in the spring of the present year, and numerous petitions were voted at these meetings, praying for the removal of ministers. Encouraged by this indication of public feeling, which, it is proper to observe, was by no means general, the Earl of Suffolk

moved in the house of lords, on the 27th of March, "that an address might be presented to his majesty, humbly requesting him to dismiss from his councils the first lord of the treasury, whose pernicious measures had deprived him of the confidence of the country." This motion was followed on the 19th of May by another in the commons, moved by Mr. Alderman Combe, for an address to the king, "beseeching his majesty to dismiss from his councils his present ministers, as the most likely means of obtaining a permanent and speedy peace."

In favour of these addresses, it was urged that ministers had plunged the country into an unnecessary war, which had added one hundred and thirty millions to the national debt, and had imposed taxes to the amount of six millions and a half annually; that instead of restoring monarchy in France, they had been compelled to recognise the republic; that instead of weakening the powers, or dismembering the territories of the enemy, they had suffered them to add the Netherlands, Holland, and a great part of Italy to the republic; that they had neglected the proper opportunities of making peace, and that their negotiations for that desirable object had been conducted with insincerity; that to their profusion were imputable all the embarrassments that had so lately distressed the national bank, and to their folly and misconduct, all the insubordination that had shown itself in the navy; the discontents that prevailed among the people of England; and the spirit of rebellion which had begun to manifest itself in Ireland; that their boast of having preserved their country from jacobinical principles was suppositious, but that the evils which they had brought upon the country were real, and would be permanent as the government itself; that, in fact, ministers themselves were the most practical jacobins in the country; that they had banished gold and silver from circulation, and taken up the paper system, at the time France had laid it down; that they had had recourse to arbitrary measures, military force, and pretended plots, with every article of jacobinism that had been previously practised in France; and that it was the virtuous and enlightened juries of 1794 which defeated the Robespierian system attempted to be established in this country by his majesty's ministers.*

It was contended, on the other hand, that the country owed to ministers the three greatest blessings that a country could

* The Marquis of Lansdowne's speech on the 27th of March.

possess—liberty, internal tranquillity, and general prosperity; that, under their administration, juries had been invested with the power of judging of the point of law, as well as the matter of fact; that when Mr. Pitt came into office, the funds were at sixty-four, but, by his financial abilities, they had been raised, before the war broke out, to ninety-eight; that even during the war, our trade, manufactures, and agriculture had continued to flourish; that it was impossible for ministers to avoid entering into the war; that though the success of our allies had not equalled our expectations, yet, as for ourselves, our success as well as our exertions had been unparalleled; in a word, that we were indebted to the exertions of the present ministers, for arresting the progress of French principles amongst us, for our freedom from those miseries that France had brought upon other countries, and for the internal tranquillity that at present prevailed in our own happy island.”*

The motion for the address was negatived in the house of peers, by a majority of eighty-six to sixteen; and in the commons by a majority of two hundred and forty-two to fifty-nine.

On the 26th of May, Mr. Grey made his final motion relative to a reform in parliament, which he had so frequently, at different times, and in various modes, brought under public and parliamentary discussion. He had not, however, yet attempted that great desideratum—a specific plan of reform; at once rational, feasible, and beneficial; but such was the object of the proposition now submitted to the candour and judgment of the house. The honourable gentleman solemnly affirmed, “that he sought not to alter any part of the constitution, but merely to obtain for the people a full, fair, and free representation in parliament, to which they were incontrovertibly entitled. He proposed that the county representation should continue upon the same footing as at present, but that the number of county members should be increased from ninety-two to one hundred and thirteen; the addition to be made to the largest counties in proportion to their population; for instance, instead of two for the county of York, there should be two for each riding, and so in the other counties, where the present representation was not proportioned to the extent of the population. In order to put an end to compromises, counties should be divided into grand divisions, each of which should return one representative; the right of elective franchise to be extended to copyhold-

ers and lease-holders who were bound to pay a certain annual rent a certain number of years: the remaining four hundred members to be returned by one description of persons, namely, householders: the poll to be taken throughout the kingdom at one time; and the same person not to be permitted to vote for more than one member: the duration of parliament to be limited to three years. Upon this plan, Mr. Grey said the members would hold their seats, not indeed on the basis of universal suffrage, but of universal representation. The qualification would be so fixed, that no man, however mean, might not hope, by honest industry and fair exertion, to raise himself to this distinction.” This motion was seconded by Mr. Erskine, opposed by Mr. Pitt and Lord Hawkesbury, supported by Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan, and lost by a majority of two hundred and fifty-eight to sixty-three voices.

The session of parliament now drew to a close, and on the 20th of July the deliberations of that assembly were concluded in the usual manner by a speech from the throne, in which his majesty intimated to the two houses of parliament, “that he was again engaged in a negotiation for peace, which nothing should be wanting on his part to bring to a successful termination, on such conditions as were consistent with the security, honour, and essential interests of his dominions.”

In the miscellaneous events of the present year, the death of one of the most distinguished statesmen of the age stands recorded—a man whose talents as a parliamentary orator and a political writer were of the first order, and whose death took place in the midst of that war against “regicide France,” which his labours both in and out of parliament had tended so materially to produce and to prolong. The death of Mr. Edmund Burke occurred at his seat at Beaconsfields, on Saturday, July the 8th, 1797, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.*

* Mr. Burke was born in Dublin, on the 1st of January, 1730, and derived his descent from a respectable family; his father being by profession an attorney, in considerable practice in that city. Having received a liberal education, he repaired to London early in life, and entered himself in the Temple, where he increased his slender finances by writing for the newspapers, and other periodical publications. His first acknowledged literary production was “A Vindication of Natural Society,” and his second, an “Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful.” This latter publication gave to his talents the stamp of genius, and during the Rockingham administration he was chosen member of parliament for Windover, in Buckinghamshire, and soon distinguished himself as a decided enemy to American taxation, unattended by representation. In pursuing his parliamentary career

* Lord Grenville's speech on the 27th of March.
VOL. I. 2 E 19

During the present year, Charlotte Matilda, the princess royal of England, was married to Frederick William, the hereditary prince of Wirtemberg. The ceremony was performed, on the 18th of May, by the

Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the Archbishop of York, in presence of the royal family; and a portion of eighty thousand pounds was voted by parliament to his royal highness with his august bride.

he became an ardent supporter of religious toleration, both as it regarded the catholic and protestant dissenter; and when Sir Henry Houghton made his memorable motion in the house of commons for relieving the dissenters from subscription, and from the penal laws, Mr. Burke, in an energetic oration, exclaimed, "The dissenters enjoy liberty by connivance! and what is liberty by connivance, but a temporary relaxation of slavery?" On the dissolution of parliament, which speedily followed, he was chosen member of Malton, under the auspices of the Marquis of Rockingham, and at the same time was elected, along with Mr. Cruger, representative for the city of Bristol, for which latter place he took his seat. Having given offence to many of his constituents at Bristol, by his defence of the trade of Ireland, he declined to offer himself again to their suffrages on the dissolution of parliament, in 1780. On the admission of the Rockingham party into power, Mr. Burke came into office, and was appointed paymaster-general of the forces. This situation he held till the elevation of Lord Shelburne to the office of premier, when Mr. Burke withdrew from the administration along with his friend Mr. Fox; but on the appointment of the coalition administration, he was again reinstated in his office of paymaster-general. During the existence of this administration he remained in office; but Mr. Fox's India bill soon removed that ministry of discordant materials from power, and placed Mr. Pitt at the head of the treasury. Soon after the breaking out of the French revolution, Mr. Burke published his celebrated "Reflections," the object of which was to show that all the measures of the revolutionists tended to anarchy and bloodshed, and that the tremendous event which all Europe had viewed with astonishment, was pregnant with danger to the neighbouring states. On this point, Mr. Burke was at issue with his former political connexions, and in a debate in the house of commons, on the new constitution of Canada, he observed, that Mr. Fox and he had often differed, and that there had been no less friendship between them: "but," added he, "there is something in the cursed French constitution which envenoms every thing." Mr. Fox, in an under voice, said, "There is still not less of friendship between us."—"Yes," exclaimed Mr. Burke, "there is; I know the price of my conduct; our friendship is at an end." Mr. Fox, who had sustained with composure all the attacks of his political adversaries, was greatly agitated by this renunciation of friendship:

"This, this was the unkindest cut of all;"

but, soon recovering his self-possession, he replied, in terms full of conciliation, maintaining, however, at the same time, that Mr. Burke's former political principles were utterly at variance with his present views and declarations.

The parliamentary labours of Mr. Burke now drew towards a close; and on the termination of the trial of Warren Hastings, in which he had stood forth as one of the principal accusers, he resigned his seat in favour of his only son. This

young man, the object of his venerable father's warmest solicitude, was appointed secretary to Lord Fitzwilliam, pending his vice-royalty to Ireland, but his death, on the 2d of August, 1794, put a period to his opening prospects, and inflicted upon his father a shock from which he never recovered. On the death of his son, the king was pleased to settle upon Mr. Burke and his lady a pension for life. The last effort of his pen was entitled "Thoughts on a regicide peace;" a production that made its appearance when Lord Malmesbury was first sent to France, to negotiate with the directory. Soon after the publication of this book, his health began to decline, but his body only, and not his mind, was affected. The lamp of life was consuming fast, but it was not violently extinguished. The week in which he died he conversed freely with his literary and political friends, and dwelt particularly on the French revolution, and on the painful separation from admired friends which it had occasioned; he spoke with pleasure of the conscious rectitude of his intentions, and entreated, if he had by an unguarded asperity given offence, that they would pardon his infirmity. The last subjects of his literary attention were "the inculcations of practical wisdom, guiding to temporal and eternal happiness;" and during his last illness he frequently declared his thorough belief of the Christian religion. He appeared neither to wish nor to dread, but patiently and placidly to await the appointed hour of dissolution, and after a most interesting and tender conversation with his young friend Mr. Nagle, he faintly uttered "God bless you"—fell back, and breathed his last.

That Mr. Burke possessed abilities of the first order will be universally admitted: he had a great compass of mind, a large share of learning, and a never-failing stream of eloquence. He adorned every subject that came under his observation, and enlivened every speech he delivered, with the excursions of fancy and the charms of imagery. His quick sensibility, however, rendered his temper irritable; and his contentions in active politics called that infirmity forth much more frequently than it would have been produced in calmer situations. His invectives, both in speaking and writing, were so bitter and severe, that they seemed to argue a malignity of disposition, though they proceeded only from an ardency of feeling. His political principles were more favourable to the claims of the privileged orders than to popular freedom, and he was a tory in principle when he was a whig in political connexions. In the relations of private life his conduct was highly meritorious: an affectionate husband, a tender, judicious, and indulgent father, a sincere friend; at once fervid and active, a liberal master, and a zealous and bountiful patron. His political conduct in the early and later periods of his life was, it must be admitted, in direct opposition, but his panegyrists say, "that he preserved his consistency by varying his means to secure the unity of his ends, and that when the equipage of the state vessel was endangered by overloading it on one side, he carried the weight of his powers to the other."—*Dr. Bisset.*

CHAPTER III.

Foreign History—The French Directory announce that their Finances are approaching to a State of Ruin—Reply of the Council of Five Hundred—Royalist Conspiracy—Election of the new Third—Conduct of the Directory censured by the Council of Five Hundred—The two Bodies become decidedly hostile—The Army espouses the cause of the Directory—The bloodless Revolution of the 18th Fructidor—Pichegru's Conspiracy—Synodical Assembly—The Sect of the Theophilanthropists—Negotiation between the French Republic and the United States of America—Death of Frederick William II.—Further Encroachments made upon the Rights of the Council, and the Elective Franchise of the People—Revolutions in Holland.

No fact can be more capable of demonstration, than that all the heroism of public virtue of revolutionary France is to be found in her military annals; her civil history affords a picture of little except the violent collision of parties; and while faction supplanted faction in contests for power, almost every principle which the revolution was instituted to establish was forgotten and violated.

The constitution of France, as it existed under the directory, and the two councils, contained in itself so many jarring elements, that it required very little political sagacity to foresee that the different estates must soon be involved in contests, and that another of those struggles for ascendancy which had so often prevailed in the various stages of the revolution, was at hand. In the month of December, 1796, the directory, in a message to the councils, announced that the public finances were in a state of the utmost derangement, and that unless an effectual remedy were speedily applied, the total ruin of the republic might be anticipated. To this gloomy communication, the council of five hundred, which seemed well disposed to absorb all the powers of the directory, coldly replied, "that the alarming and desperate state of the republic existed only in the message; that a severe economy would restore the equilibrium of receipt and expenditure; and that the errors contained in the statement, were equalled only by the imprudence of the directory in making them public." This message was speedily followed by another not less alarming, in which the directory announced a royalist conspiracy, which had for its object to seize upon the city of Paris; to overturn the government, and by help of England, to place Louis XVIII. upon the throne of France. The particulars of this conspiracy were laid before the councils on the 4th of February, and the principal conspirators were said to be one Dunan, a grocer, and Brothier, a priest, assisted by two persons of the name of Lavilleurnoy and Poly. The trial and conviction of the conspirators, by a military tribunal, soon afterwards followed, and

sentence of death was passed upon them; but upon Dunan's making a confession that their object was to restore the throne by the help of the two councils, and implicating upwards of two hundred of the members of these bodies in the revolutionary design, he obtained a free pardon for himself and his associates.

In the mean time, the period approached when one-third of the legislative body was to be changed, and on the 5th of March the two councils drew the lots which were to deprive that proportion of members of their seats. On the approach of the election the whole nation was agitated by the efforts of the contending factions; and a law proposed by the directory was enacted, after violent opposition in the councils, that an oath should be taken by the electors previous to the discharge of their functions, by which they should solemnly engage to defend the republic and the constitution against the attacks of the royalist party on the one hand, and against the mountain party on the other.*

The elections for the most part were conducted with exemplary moderation, and on the 20th of May, the new third entered upon their public duties, when General Pichegru was appointed president of the council of five hundred, and Barbe Marbois president of the council of ancients. The day previous to the meeting of the two councils, the directory decided the change of one of their own body, and Le Tourneur having drawn the lot which disrobed him of the directorial purple, his place was supplied by Barthelemi, the successful and enlightened negotiator at Basle. On the 18th, a decree was proposed by the committee of finance, and passed by the council of five hundred, the object of which was to take the whole power of the purse out of the hands of the directory. The executive and the legislative bodies were now in a state of open hostility. The conduct of the

* The oath prescribed was in these terms:—"I promise attachment and fidelity to the republic and the constitution of the third year, and I pledge myself to defend them with all my power against the attacks of royalty and anarchy."

directory was severely canvassed in the councils, particularly with regard to the management of the colonies, to their treatment of the American states, and to their violation of liberty, by submitting private letters to official inspection. Nor did the conduct of General Bonaparte himself, in his proceedings towards Venice, pass without censure; and it was probably to this circumstance, that the directory was indebted for their ultimate triumph over the councils. At this period, the estates and privileges of citizens were restored to the Prince of Conti and the Dutchess of Orleans, by an almost unanimous vote of the two councils; and a decree for reinstating the relations of emigrants in the undisturbed possession of their property, and another in favour of banished priests, were introduced into the council of five hundred, and received the sanction of that assembly. These enactments gave great umbrage to the directory, while the adherents of the conflicting parties began to form themselves into clubs, and to distinguish themselves by party-coloured dresses. The large concessions made to the emigrants and priests animated the drooping spirits of the loyalists, and when combined with the dissensions which prevailed between the directory and the council of five hundred, gave them the most confident hopes of the near approach of a counter-revolution. Unfortunately for the party in opposition to the directory, the discontent and suspicion excited by their measures had reached the army; and the French troops in Italy, under Bonaparte, having led the way in addressing the directory, their example was speedily followed by all the other armies of the republic: in these addresses, "the defenders of their country lamented the violation of the constitution, the degradation of the government, the return of the emigrants, and the favoured protection afforded to non-juring priests;" and that from the division of Massena concluded in these intelligible words:—"Does the road to Paris present more obstacles than that to Vienna? No! it will be opened to us by the republicans, who have remained faithful to liberty." Matters were now approaching rapidly to a crisis; and though it might be difficult to say how the contest would end, nothing could be more clear than that another great political explosion was at hand. The directory, having placed Talleyrand Perigord in the situation of minister for foreign affairs, and being emboldened by the assurances of support, so recently received from the armies, determined to crush all opposition by the complete destruction of their opponents. The execution of this duty was confided to General Augereau, a bold and active officer, who had lately been de-

spatched from Italy by General Bonaparte, under the pretext of conveying to Paris some standards taken from the enemy.

The members of opposition were now awakened to a sense of their danger. Early on the morning of the 18th Fructidor (4th of September, 1797), the alarm-gun was fired by order of the majority of the directory; for Barthelemi, refusing to concur in these violent measures, had been put under arrest, while Carnot effected his escape. General Augereau, who had received instructions to surround the hall of the councils with a military force, first repaired to the barracks of the legislative guard, where he assured them he came only to preserve the constitution, and to save the republic from a conspiracy of royalists. The soldiers with one accord answered this artful address with shouts of "*Vive la Republique!*" and declared their readiness, in contempt of the expostulations of Ramel their commander, to obey his orders and unite in his purpose. Thus reinforced, Augereau entered the hall of the council of five hundred, where he found the chiefs of the opposition engaged in close consultation, and tardily deliberating on the steps to be taken in this emergency. With his own hand, Augereau seized upon General Pichegru, the president of the council, and, after ordering the general and eighteen others of the conspirators, as they were called, to be committed to the temple, he dissolved the assembly, and affixed seals to the doors of the hall.

A proclamation was immediately published to calm the minds of the people; and the council of five hundred was summoned to meet at the Odeon, formerly a public theatre. The next day, a committee of public safety, nominated by the directory, having been chosen, Boulay de la Meurthe, the reporter, ascended the tribune, and made a long oration, to prove "that the measures pursued by the opposition party in the council could have no other object than the restoration of royalty; that an ordinary tribunal would, without doubt, declare the conspiracy real, and punish the authors;" "but," added the reporter, "let us declare to France that not a drop of blood shall be shed, and that the scaffold of terror shall not be erected anew." Under this specious pretence of lenity, he proposed the plan of a decree, consisting of forty different articles, by which the late elections, in not fewer than forty-nine departments, were declared null and void; that the persons chosen by the electoral assemblies in these departments were no longer to occupy seats in the council; and that the vacancies occasioned by their expulsion should be filled by the directory; that the decree in favour of the relations of emigrants was revoked;

and that sixty-five persons, including forty-two members of the council of five hundred, eleven members of the council of ancients, and the two directors, Carnot and Barthelemi, should be *deported* (transported), without trial or examination, to such a place as the directory should ordain !*

The two councils, rendered obedient by their fears, tamely acquiesced in all measures proposed by the five tyrants ; who, to guard against the return of a peril so dreadful, subjected the care of the liberty of the press, for the term of one year, to the inspection of the police ; and the liberty of speech in the council was confined to the privilege still *generously* granted, of applauding the wisdom and activity of the executive government !

On the 20th of Fructidor, the council of elders, who had during the whole course of these violent proceedings acted the part of mediators between the directory and the council of five hundred, elected François de Neufchateau and Antoine Merlin, to fill the vacancies in the directory, occasioned by the expulsion of Carnot and Barthelemi.

Amidst the din of arms on the frontiers,

and the civil commotions which agitated the interior of France at this period, the fathers of the Gallican church ventured once more to assemble, in order to deliberate on a plan to repair and to cement such parts of the sacred edifice as had been shattered by the rude and savage hand of persecuting power. The past and present state of the church was submitted to this venerable body. Among other lamentable instances of apostacy, were enumerated the marriages of twelve bishops ; twelve others had abdicated their seals ; eight had perished on the scaffold ; one, the Bishop of Dol, assuming a military character, had been shot as a rebel ; and of the emigrant bishops, no less than forty had paid the debt of nature in foreign lands. The first act of this council was the publication of a synodical letter to the pastors and to the faithful, on the means of establishing religious peace ; and another to the bishops and priests resident in France, who had separated from the national communion. It was next proposed that a general oblivion should cover all former dissensions, and that the acknowledged tenets of the Catholic church should alone be the prescribed articles of belief.

These proceedings, unmixed as they appear to have been with all political matter, did not fail to excite the jealousy of the directory, who gave great encouragement to a sect of deists recently established under the name of *Theophilanthropists* ; and one of the members of the directoral board, Le Revollere Lepaux, declared himself openly a patron and protector of this community. These religionists, rejecting all revelation, confined their worship to one Supreme Being, offering in their religious services the wheat ear and the *bouquet* of flowers to the divinity : and their numbers gradually increased, till at length they took possession, by permission of the municipalities, of many of the public churches—occupied, also, at other hours of the day by Catholics.

At this period a spirit of intrigue, extravagance, and corruption pervaded every branch of the directoral government, which was distinguished only by its tyranny, its imbecility, and its rapacity ; and at a conference held in the month of October, 1797, by the American commissioners engaged in accommodating the differences which had so long existed between the two governments, a confidential friend and agent of the minister Talleyrand had the unblushing confidence to affirm “ that the directory were jealous of their own honour ; jealous of the honour of the nation ; and that this honour must be maintained, unless there could be substituted, in place of the reparations demanded, something perhaps more

* After a short interval, the directors laid before the councils and the public, the confirmatory proofs, such as they were, of the conspiracy. By far the most remarkable of these, was a paper, authenticated by Generals Bonaparte and Berthier, purporting to be minutes of a conversation, held by M. d'Entragues, an agent of Louis XVIII. at Venice, with the Count Montgaillard, an emigrant of distinction, relative to the designs at all times carrying on, with more or less activity, for effecting a counter-revolution. From this document, it appears that Pichegru, who had at that period the command of the French army, after objecting to a plan proposed by Montgaillard, for joining his army to that of the Prince of Condé, and marching forthwith to Paris, proposed to put the strong places on the frontier into the hands of the most confidential officers of Louis, to proclaim the king, to hoist the white standard, and, after uniting his army with the forces under Wurmser and Condé, to commence his march to the French capital. This proposal was declined by the Prince of Condé, because, as the author of the minutes asserts, “ the prince, equally proud and stupid, thought himself sure of effecting the counter-revolution in another way, and would not share the glory of it with the Austrian general.” But the presumption is, if any such plan ever existed, that it was the Austrian general that did not choose to share the hazard of such an enterprise with the prince. Many other papers were also produced, which had been transmitted by General Moreau to the directory, containing strong corroborative evidence that a plot of a very extensive nature was in existence, in which General Pichegru, and many other persons of great eminence, were deeply involved ; but a cloud of mystery, too impervious for time itself to penetrate, hung over this transaction, and the directory, whose object it was to confound and not to discriminate, under the pretext of a horrible plot, partly real and partly pretended, contrived to involve all their enemies—jacobins, royalists, and patriots—in one common ruin.

valuable—that was money !—*Il faut de l'argent ; il faut beaucoup de d'argent.*—There were," he added, "to the amount of thirty-two millions of Dutch rescriptions, which if the commissioners would engage to take as a security for a loan to the same amount, it would be a great accommodation. There shall," said he, "be first taken from the loan certain sums for the purpose of making the customary distributions in diplomatic affairs, and these will amount to about one million two hundred thousand livres."* With such a disgraceful proposal it was impossible to comply, and the negotiation in consequence remained wholly suspended.

In the month of November in this year, Frederick William II. King of Prussia, departed this life, after a reign of eleven years. His character may be summed up in one instance :—He was artful, intriguing, selfish, and inconstant—avaricious of territory, but regardless of true glory. This prince was succeeded by his son, Frederick William III., who was destined to experience all the vicissitudes of regal fortune—in one period of his reign to see his territories torn from him by a military despotism that shook all Europe to its centre, and in another to contribute most essentially to the restoration of the peace of the world by the total overthrow of that overwhelming tyranny.

The election of the new third in the legislative assembly took place in the spring of 1798, and produced a result so unfavourable to the directoral body, that they de-

spatched a message to the council of five hundred, complaining of the existence of an anarchal conspiracy to make the primary and electoral assemblies the nursery of future plots, and expressing a hope that the council would not permit men loaded with crimes to sit in the legislature. A committee was in consequence immediately appointed to make a report upon this message, which was brought up on the 7th of May, and by which the partizans of the two great factions, as they were styled in the report,—the anarchists and the royalists,—were excluded from the legislature. A decree for annulling the elections in several of the departments immediately followed, and the control of the press was continued for another year. So easy is it, when once the mounds of public liberty are broken down, to follow up the work of encroachment. About the same period, François Neufchâteau retired by lot from the directoral assembly, and Treillard the negotiator was appointed his successor.

In the course of this year, a series of revolutions occurred in Holland, under French agency, assisted by a portion of the four-and-twenty thousand troops from that country, which now found quarters in the Batavian republic. To enter into the details of these intrigues, which the Dutch people witnessed with their usual composure, would be uninteresting, and it is sufficient to observe, that all these revolutionary proceedings terminated in the establishment of a republican form of government, cast on the French model.

CHAPTER IV.

Congress at Radstadt—War renewed in Italy—The Pope overcome, and Rome proclaimed a Republic—The French enter Switzerland—Conquer that Country, and change the federal States into a united Republic—The Attention of the French Government turned from the Conquest of England to the Invasion of Egypt—Brilliant Theories—Bonaparte, with an Army of forty thousand Men, and a Fleet of three hundred Sail, embarks at Toulon—Conquest of the Island of Malta—The French Forces re-embark for Egypt—Description of that Country, and its Inhabitants—The French attack and carry the city of Alexandria—Rosetta taken—Battle of Chebreisse—Battle of the Pyramids—The Gates of Cairo opened to the Invaders—Curious Proclamations of the French Chief.

THE conclusion of the treaty of Campo Formio afforded well-founded hopes to France of acquiring a solid and advantageous peace ; but this bright prospect was soon obscured by the disputes which took place in the different estates of her own government, and by the conflicting interests of the German powers. Appearances, however, seemed at first to augur a final adjustment of contending claims ; a short respite from

war actually took place, and it was presumed, that on the continent of Europe, at least, a state of public tranquillity would succeed a long and bloody strife. This year, teeming with great political events, was accordingly ushered in by the congress of Radstadt, in which it was proposed to discuss and settle all the disputes between the French republic and the German empire. The emperor, as the head of the Germanic body, in his capacity of King of Hungary and Bohemia, had already acceded to the demands of the directory, to render the

* Vide "Official Narrative of the American commissioners."

Rhine the boundary of the commonwealth, and surrender Ehrenbreitstein and Mentz, and it was imagined that the system of sacrifices and indemnities might be speedily adjusted.

While this assembly was coldly discussing the terms of a pacification, so intimately connected with the prosperity of the continent, the hierarchy which had governed a considerable part of Italy, and for ages regulated the creed of a considerable portion of mankind, ceased to exist. The assassination of Duphot, *chef de brigade* in the service of the French republic, served to rekindle that spirit of hostility, which the treaty of Tolentino was supposed to have extinguished. Duphot having repaired to Rome, towards the end of the year 1797, expressly for the purpose of espousing that sister of Bonaparte who was afterwards married to General Murat, became one of the victims of the commotions which took place on the 28th of December. On that fatal day, a mob, consisting of about one hundred persons, assembled at the palace of the French ambassador, Joseph Bonaparte, and demanded the assistance of France, for the purpose of overthrowing the papal tyranny, as they designated the government, and establishing a republic in its stead. Joseph Bonaparte, being altogether indisposed to countenance so hopeless a project, despatched Duphot to disperse the insurgents, and to prevail upon the papal troops to retire from the precincts of the ambassador's court; but while the general was engaged in this service he was shot by a Roman fusilier, who discharged the contents of his musket into his body, and afterwards treated his remains with circumstances of savage cruelty. Joseph Bonaparte, after a lapse of fourteen hours, finding that no measures had been taken to avenge the late outrage, or to provide for the future security of his own person, retired into Tuscany.

No sooner were the murder of Duphot, and the retreat of Joseph Bonaparte made public at Milan, than the people exclaimed, "Death to the assassin pontiff! Vengeance for our deliverers!" Troops were immediately levied, artillery prepared, and a declaration published, in which the fate of Rome was truly and confidently predicted, and the late events not only detailed, but so far aggravated, that the odium of the murder of the French general was cast upon the pope and his counsellors. It was perfectly clear, however, from every part of his conduct, that this disastrous event produced the deepest disquietude in the breast of his holiness, and that the only crime of his officers consisted in the remissness of the general who had the com-

mand of the Roman troops, and whose duty it unquestionably was, to protect the French ambassador and his suite from excesses of the military, and the presence of a lawless mob.

The directory, feeling, or affecting to feel, a high degree of indignation at the insult offered to their ambassador, and at the loss of their general, transmitted instructions to General Berthier to march to the Roman capital. On the 10th of February, 1798, the French army arrived at that place, and the castle of St. Angelo, containing the pope and the greater part of his cardinals, surrendered on the first summons. The inhabitants, freed from restraint by the captivity of their rulers, and encouraged by the presence of the French army, assembled in the Campo Vaccino, the ancient Roman *Forum*, and at the instigation of two of the nobles, and an advocate of some reputation, planted the tree of liberty in the front of the capitol, proclaimed their independence, and instituted the Roman republic. All the splendour and magnificence of which the Catholic worship is susceptible, were employed to celebrate this memorable victory over the head of its faith; every church in Rome resounded with thanks to the supreme Disposer of events, for the glorious revolution that had taken place; and while the dome of St. Peter was illuminated without, fourteen cardinals, dressed in the gorgeous apparel appertaining to functions which they were fated soon afterwards to abdicate, presided at a solemn *Te Deum* within the walls of that superb basilic. The deposed pontiff, exiled from his country, was conveyed, by order of the directory, first to Brainçon, and afterwards to Valence in France, where the infirmities of age, and the pressure of misfortune, terminated his existence, on the 29th of August, 1799, in the 82d year of his age, and the 24th of his pontificate.

At the moment when the French plenipotentiaries at Radstadt were giving the most solemn assurances that their government panted for tranquillity, a war was suddenly declared against Switzerland; the thirteen federal republics of which, after a peace that had lasted for ages, were now condemned to experience all the horrors of the most rancorous hostility. The Swiss, attached from habit and interest to monarchical, were decidedly averse to republican, France; and some of the cantons, Berne in particular, had not only refused during a considerable interval to recognise the French republic, but had countenanced the assembling of the emigrant army; obliged the French minister to quit Soleure; and notoriously violated the principles of

neutrality. Towards the latter end of the year 1797, certain menacing demands had been made by the French directory on the Swiss cantons in general, but for the cause just stated, it was expected that the thunder would spend its rage on Berne; and the Helvetic diet, chiefly at the instance of that state, immediately determined on a levy of twenty-six thousand men, while the armed force of two cantons, under the command of Colonel de Weiss, was sent on the 14th of January, 1798, into the Pays de Vaud, to suppress a popular tumult, which had for its object the establishment of a democratic government. No sooner did the French executive learn that Berne and Friburg had despatched a body of soldiers and a train of artillery into the Pays de Vaud, than a division of French troops, which had just returned from Italy, was put in motion, and General Menard sent an *aid-de-camp* to the head-quarters at Yverdun, with an intimation, "that the inhabitants of the bailiwick must be permitted to organize a government for themselves; and in case any violence was offered to them, force would be repelled by force." But this officer and his escort, being probably mistaken for an advanced guard, were either killed or wounded, and the minds of both armies became more inflamed against each other. The Vaudois in the mean time adopted a democratical form of government, and assumed the appellation of the republic of Leman.

The cantons of Basle, Zurich, and Soleure, wisely determining to yield to necessity, restored to their subjects all their rights and franchises, and thus insured the continuance of their fidelity; but the senates of Berne and Friburg, imagining themselves still able to maintain their ancient tyranny, did not think fit to exhibit an equal degree of condescension. The management of the war being now confided to the French General Brune, he entered the territories of Berne on the 25th of January, and published a proclamation, containing professions, but too little attended to in the sequel. "Citizens," said the general, "banish from your minds all uneasiness relative to the political independence and integrity of your territories! The government, of which I am the organ, will guarantee these to you: its intentions shall be religiously seconded by my companions in arms. Be free—France invites, nature commands it: and to enjoy this precious advantage, you have only to express the wish." Some unsuccessful attempts were now made to obtain a truce, but a body of the invaders having advanced against the castle of Dornoch, seized without difficulty on that little fortress, while thirteen thousand troops sum-

moned Soleure, which immediately opened its gates. Friburg, better prepared for resistance, determined to oppose the French; but Brune, having advanced at the head of a column, notwithstanding the gallant resistance of the garrison, headed by Verrer, the avoyer, who perished upon this occasion, took it by assault; and on the 6th of March the French army entered Berne.

The French had now exacted a bloody retaliation for the insults offered to themselves, as well as for the assistance afforded by the aristocracy of Berne to their enemies; and after displacing the ruling families, changing the nature of the government, and sending the most violent of their opponents into exile, it was to be hoped, that contented with the treasures of the state, and the military contributions exacted for the supply of the invading army, they would have retired. But the directory, actuated by a selfish policy, had determined upon the subjugation of Switzerland. It was accordingly intended to change the government from the federal into a united republic, which, by means of a close and intimate union with France, might be kept in continual dependence.

The cantons of Berne, Zurich, Soleure, and Friburg, hoping to obtain an ascendancy in the government, hastened to carry into effect the wishes of the directory by choosing a legislature, and Aran was pitched upon as the scene of its deliberations: but the smaller states of Uri, Schwitz, Underwalden, Glaris, and Appenzel, attached to the government of their fathers, which had for ages guaranteed their liberty, and secured their happiness, refused to send deputies to the new assembly, or to recognise its authority. Having assembled in arms, and appointed Paravicini their leader, they seized on Lucerne and menaced Zurich; but finding it impossible to awaken the slumbering spirit of resistance among their countrymen, and by one great national effort to expel the invaders, they thought proper to retire to the fortresses of their native mountains, and took post near the lake of Zug. The French, now commanded by General Schawenburg, immediately advanced in great force against them, and commenced an attack. The leader of the confederates, perceiving that valour alone was unavailing against superior numbers, trained to the art of war, feigning to retreat, enticed the assailants into an ambushade, in consequence of which a complete defeat ensued; and thus what the aristocratical cantons with all their superior means had been unable to effect was achieved by a hardy peasantry, accustomed to the enjoyment and warmed with the love of liberty.

The career of the French was now for the first time arrested in Switzerland, in consequence of a bloody battle, during which several thousands of them had perished; and this was soon after followed by a treaty, in which although it was agreed to accept the new constitution as a bond of general union, yet an express stipulation was entered into, that the internal government of the smaller cantons should continue as before, and they were at the same time exempted from all contribution. In this arrangement Underwalden refused to acquiesce on any conditions whatever. On this the French marched a large body of troops accompanied by artillery into that canton, and after a terrible battle, commenced on the 8th and continued with little intermission to the evening of the 9th of September, during which clubs and spears were in vain opposed to muskets and bayonets, and fragments from the rocks to a regular artillery, the gallant mountaineers were overcome; the town of Standtz taken by assault; the houses in its beautiful valley destroyed by fire, the inhabitants nearly exterminated, and neither age nor sex spared by a furious and inveterate soldiery. After this, all Switzerland subscribed to the new constitution; Lucerne was chosen as the seat of government, and an alliance offensive and defensive entered into between the French and the Helvetic republics. But even this treaty did not restrain the rapacity of the French directory, who still continued to levy contributions and impose exactions with a most unpardonable severity.

Thus after enjoying the sweets of independence since the commencement of the fourteenth century, when the fortunate issue of a contest with Albert of Austria laid the foundation of the liberties, and remotely, perhaps, produced the revolutions in England, America, and France, the federate republics of Switzerland were overcome by a foreign enemy, compelled to change the form of their government, and to become in effect tributary to a neighbouring state.

As the subjugation of Great Britain appeared too arduous a task for the French "army of England," General Bonaparte, its commander, averting his eyes from the north, directed all his attention to the east; and he who dared not to rival the exploits of William the Conqueror, appeared determined to imitate the more splendid achievements of Alexander the Great. This young general, smitten with the love of glory, and imbued with high notions from his early youth, had formed plans of gigantic magnitude, which, trusting to his talents and his good fortune, he deemed himself destined to realize. In addition to these daz-

zling theories, it was doubtless suggested that the loss of the American isles might be supplied by the acquisition of the fertile plains yearly enriched by the waters of the Nile, and that the Delta and the Said would furnish a richer and more certain harvest than colonies, the productions of which were acquired by the precarious services and cruel bondage of the sable inhabitants of Africa. But though these commercial speculations might engage the attention of Bonaparte, yet the mind of the conqueror of Italy was directed chiefly to the vast acquisitions and the immense power and revenue drawn by England from the east: and he at length began to consider Egypt only as the fulcrum whence he might stretch an immense lever across the Arabian gulf to overturn the empire of Britain in Hindostan; nor would powerful allies be wanting in the native princes of the Indian peninsula, to wage an eternal war against those who had invaded their dominions, and almost annihilated their power.

The directory, eager to find employment for armies which the plunder of Piedmont and Lombardy had sharpened rather than satiated; and by no means indisposed to the removal of a general in whose presence all their power seemed to be eclipsed, at length consented to this romantic enterprise; and, although this project was founded on the spoliation of an ally, the gross injustice of the expedition was overlooked in the splendid advantages which it promised to bestow. Such are the fascinations of ambition, that although the Divan had kept its faith with the French republic inviolate, an armament was fitted out for depriving the Emperor Selim III. of his precarious but acknowledged sovereignty over Egypt, which yielded an annual tribute to his treasury, and supplied his capital with corn. In the mean time, the ports of Marseilles and Toulon were busied in refitting and launching ships, the fabrication of cordage, and the preparation of military stores; and, while all Europe, during the solemn pause that ensued, was contemplating the extent and destination of the armament, Bonaparte, accompanied by a few of his chief warriors and a multitude of artists and men of learning, hastened from Paris to the borders of the Mediterranean, where he was joined by many thousands of the army of Italy, which he now, by a bold metaphorical figure, addressed as "the right wing of the army of England."

All the preparations being now completed, Bonaparte set sail from Toulon on the 20th of May, 1798, with a formidable veteran army, consisting of nearly forty thousand men, besides an immense quantity of

artillery and military stores, and leaving Sicily on the left, was joined by a squadron of Venetian men-of-war, commanded by Rear-admiral Brueys, who had proceeded from Corfu nearly at the same time. To this officer, who had served with no higher rank than that of lieutenant in the royal navy, was intrusted the command of the fleet, and he now repaired on board the *Orient*, of one hundred and twenty guns, where he hoisted his flag, and received a general salute. After a passage of eighteen days, this formidable armament, now consisting of about three hundred sail, including ships of the line, frigates, and transports, descried Malta, and at break of day the next morning, commenced a general landing of troops and artillery upon the coast, without encountering any formidable resistance. At the dawn of the succeeding morning, the enemy had encircled the city of Valetta, and on the 12th of June, the French entered the city, and became masters of the whole island. The Grand Master Hompesch, who had ranked as a sovereign prince, finding the people destitute of the requisite union and constancy to support their independence, quitted the island, and received at his departure the sum of one hundred thousand livres, with an engagement, on the part of the invaders, to allow him a pension of three thousand livres a year from the French treasury, no part of which was ever paid. Thus, in the course of a few days, Bonaparte contrived to obtain possession of the whole island of Malta, containing a population of sixty thousand souls, and affording one of the most advantageous stations in the Mediterranean sea; while the ancient order of St. John of Jerusalem beheld itself bereaved of its territories, after possessing them during a period of nearly three centuries.

Having appointed a provisional government, Bonaparte intrusted the care of his new acquisition to General Vaubois, and again proceeded to sea. After a passage of a week, the armament arrived in sight of Candia, and in the evening of the 30th of June, the fleet anchored in the roads of Alexandria.

It may be necessary here to pause, in order to take a view of the country and of the people against whom all this force was directed. Egypt is divided into Upper and Lower: the outlines of the former are formed by two ridges of mountains, running along each side of the Nile, from Syene to Grand Cairo; beyond these mountains, on each side, are deserts, and between them lies a long plain, the greatest breadth of which is not more than nine leagues. Lower Egypt includes all the

country between Cairo and the Mediterranean on the north and south, and Lybia and the Isthmus of Suez to the east and west, bounded by sandy deserts; it contains slips of land fertile and well cultivated on the borders of the rivers and canals, and between the two branches of the Nile, that tract of land which is called Delta. It abounds in grain of all sorts, but particularly in rice; and as it was formerly the granary of Rome, so it is now the country from which Constantinople draws its principal supplies. Watered by the fertilizing streams of the Nile, the land is never fallow, but yields three harvests annually: there the traveller incessantly beholds the charming prospect of flowers, fruits, and corn; and spring, summer, and autumn at once present their appropriate treasures and delights. When the French invaded Egypt, they found the government composed of a pacha, or viceroy, sent from Constantinople, and twenty-four beys, or civil and military officers, who, being at the head of the provinces and of the armies, possessed in reality all the power of the government, and the pacha retained his office no longer than while he was subservient to their designs. The real native Egyptians are the Copts. These people, who profess a species of Christianity, and have a patriarch at Constantinople, carry on an inland trade, and are employed chiefly in hatching eggs, and in the art of raising bees, for which the inhabitants of Egypt have been for ages distinguished. The Arabs, who constitute two-thirds of the present inhabitants of Egypt, are of three classes: those who inhabit the banks of the Nile are generally marauders and pirates; but others, possessing various principalities in Upper Egypt, and governed by their shieks, are generous and incapable of disguise; while the Bedouins, a third description of Arabs, wander incessantly over the face of the country, and have no fixed residence. The Mograbians, or western Mahometans, are, next after the Copts and Arabs, the most numerous of the inhabitants of Egypt, and they devote themselves to arms and the different branches of trade. The Turks, the nominal possessors of the country, and once its acknowledged masters, constitute another race of its inhabitants: they formerly occupied the chief posts which are now enjoyed by the Mamelukes, or military slaves. The sword, the bow-string, poison, private execution, or public murder, was the fate reserved for a series of tyrants chosen by these Mamelukes in succession, and who in general were not permitted to live more than five or six years; no fewer than forty-seven having appeared during two centuries and a half. These people.

to whom is intrusted the care of restraining the Arabs, superintending the collection of the tributes, and electing the beys, in consequence of a singular paradox in natural history, cannot propagate. (39) And since the revolt of Ali Bey, they have in a great measure disowned the authority of the sublime porte.* These, at the period of which we are now treating, amounted to eight thousand in number, and constituted the principal military force of Egypt. Their chief weapon consists of a carabine, only thirty inches long, but of so large a calibre as to discharge ten or twelve balls at a time: they are mounted on horses, and from the bow of their saddle hangs a heavy mace, at the belt are suspended two pistols, and to the left thigh is attached a sabre, which they use in the field of battle with inimitable dexterity. Such was the country, and such the people against whom Bonaparte now led his veteran army. Its population amounted indeed to four millions of inhabitants, but they were unacquainted with the art of war as a science, insufficiently provided with artillery, and destitute of military discipline.

No sooner had the French admiral cast anchor on the coast of Egypt, than General Bonaparte hastened to disembark his troops, and to prepare for the attack of the once famous, but now dilapidated city of Alexandria. The summons to surrender sent by the French commander being disregarded, he commenced his attack on the 5th of July, and in a few hours carried by assault, with a loss of only one colonel and seventy soldiers, killed and wounded, a city that in the seventh century sustained a siege of fourteen months, and inflicted a loss of twenty-three thousand men upon the besiegers. In order to strike terror into the inhabitants, and to preclude all further resistance, a dreadful slaughter took place among the Mamelukes and the Arabs, after the city had surrendered; but it is urged by General Berthier, in extenuation of this enormity, "that the troops entered Alexandria in express opposition to the orders of their commanders."† This once famous

city, built by Alexander the Great, three hundred and thirty-two years before the Christian era, and which, in its highest state of splendour, contained four thousand baths, and a population equal to the first cities of Europe, with a library, in which successive kings had collected more than four hundred thousand manuscripts, presented to the disappointed invaders only a wretched and confused heap of huts, rather than houses; the streets unpaved, narrow, noisome, and filthy; and the inhabitants stupid, ignorant, and barbarous.

Possession having been obtained of Alexandria, General Dessaix, provided with two field-pieces, was immediately despatched towards Cairo. In the mean time, Bonaparte issued orders for the fleet to shelter itself from the enemy in the old port of Alexandria, but, on sounding the channel, it was found that there was not sufficient depth of water for the Orient, and the road of Aboukir was therefore chosen as the fittest anchorage.

The cannon, cavalry, and military stores, having all now been disembarked, and the chief command conferred on General Kleber, a flotilla was established in the course of a few days on the Nile; and the city of Rosetta, situated at the mouth of the western arm of that river, was subdued. On the 7th of July, the main body of the army entered the desert, and, after experiencing the most terrible privations from heat and thirst, arrived at Dementour. Allowing themselves only one day's rest, they advanced to Miniet Salame, where intelligence was received, that the beys were encamped in the neighbourhood, and that an armed flotilla had descended the Nile on purpose to attack the invaders. Next morning, the Mamelukes, to the number of four thousand, were discovered near the village of Chebreisse, situated on the left bank of the river. Here, two separate and distinct actions immediately took place, the one on the water and the other on the land. Bonaparte in the mean time, having advanced to the support of Kleber, formed his army into five squares, with the cavalry and baggage in the centre. Impelled by their natural impetuosity, the Mamelukes commenced the attack, and were suffered to approach within the reach of grape-shot, when the cannon suddenly opened, and forced the main body of the assailants to retreat: but some bolder than the rest continued to advance, and met their fate either at the muzzle of the musket, or the point of the bayonet. Immediately on this defeat of the land forces, the village of Chebreisse was carried by assault, and the flotilla belonging to the beys retired, after a desperate action, in which six hundred

(39) This extraordinary assertion has probably arisen from a mistake of Mr. Volney's meaning. His expressions are these: "During five hundred and fifty years that there have been Mamelukes in Egypt, not one of them has left subsisting issue; there does not exist one single family of them in the second generation; all their children perish in the first or second descent. Almost the same thing happens to the Turks; and it is observed that they can secure the continuance of their families only by marrying women who are natives, which the Mamelukes have always disdained."—*Travels in Egypt, &c.* vol. i. p. 107.

* Volney's Egypt, t. i. c. 7.

† Vide "Relation des Campagnes de Bonaparte en Egypte," &c.

were killed on the side of the vanquished, and only seventy on that of the victors.

The French troops, pursuing their victorious career, advanced through deserted villages to Ermbabe; where, on the 20th of July, they beheld towards the left those famous pyramids, which had braved the storms of three thousand years, and in front, about six thousand Mamelukes, Arabs, and Fellahs, intrenched in the plain. Bonaparte, after making the same dispositions as at Chebreisse, gave orders for a charge; and the Mamelukes, after making an unsuccessful attempt to break the way through a rampart of bayonets, fell back in disorder, and left the field of battle in possession of the enemy. General Dugua, availing himself of the retreat of the native troops, advanced against the village, while two divisions under Generals Rampon and Marmont were detached towards the rear, and carried the intrenchments in the face of a masked battery of forty pieces of artillery. A body of Mamelukes and Fellahs, amounting to fifteen hundred, perceiving their retreat cut off by this masterly movement, took post behind a ditch, where they defended themselves with great bravery, but not a single man escaped the fury of the French soldiery, being all either killed by the sword, or drowned in the Nile. Murad Bey, who commanded on this occasion, being forced to retreat, left behind him four hundred camels, his artillery, baggage, and provisions; and the victors, who seized on many fine Arabian horses, superbly caparisoned, found all the purses of the vanquished Mamelukes well stored with gold. This decisive victory, obtained with the loss of ten men killed, and about thirty wounded, opened the gates of Cairo to the invaders; the chief inhabitants, hastening to the camp of Bonaparte, solicited his protection, while the fortunate chieftain seized on this opportunity to visit the pyramids, and prophesied that his exploits would not be forgotten at the end of forty centuries;* and in this he was not perhaps mistaken, but it will be rather his exploits in Europe than in Africa, that, like the stupendous erections he was now contemplating, will brave the iron tooth of time.

Bonaparte, with his usual address and plausibility, having conciliated the confi-

* "Du haut de ces pyramides, quarante siècles nous contemplent." From the top of these pyramids forty centuries look down upon us.

dence of the shieks and the principal families, by proclamations admirably adapted to their prejudices,* and having organized a provisional government, marched against Murad Bey, whom he forced to take refuge in Upper Egypt, while Ibrahim Bey, taking a contrary direction, fled towards Syria; but, on the return of the French general to the capital, the dazzling visions presented to his heated imagination by uninterrupted success, were somewhat obscured on receiving intelligence of the fate that had attended the fleet of Admiral Brueys, in the bay of Aboukir.

* "You will be told," says Bonaparte in a proclamation addressed to the inhabitants of Egypt, after the surrender of Alexandria, "that I come to destroy your religion. Do not believe it. Be assured that I come to restore your rights, to punish usurpers, and that I reverence more than the Mamelukes themselves, God, his prophet Mahomet, and the Koran. If Egypt be their farm, let them show the lease that God has given them of it. There were formerly among you great cities, great canals, and a great commerce. What has destroyed them all? What but the injustice and tyranny of the Mamelukes? Cadis, sheiks, imams, and the tohisbadjees, inform the people that we are the friends of the Musselmans."

Another proclamation, addressed to his own army on landing, sufficiently showed that he had studied the Egyptian character, and that he was prepared to go any length, consistent with his main object of ambition and aggrandizement, in accommodating himself to their dispositions and institutions. "The people," says he, "with whom you are going to establish an intercourse, are Mahometans. The first article of their faith is, 'There is no God but God, and Mahomet is his prophet.' Do not contradict them. Treat their muftis and imams with respect, as you have done the rabbis and bishops. The Roman legions protected all religions. You will find here usages different from those of Europe; you will reconcile yourselves to them by custom."

It is said, on somewhat doubtful authority, that in a visit to the pyramids of Cheops, on the 13th of August, in the company of the principal muftis and imams of the city of Grand Cairo, Bonaparte, "the beloved son of the church," hesitated not to make use of the following expressions: "Glory to Allah! There is no God but God; Mahomet is his prophet, and I am his friend.... The divine Koran is the delight of my soul, and the object of my contemplation. I love the prophet, and I hope ere long to see and honour his tomb in the holy city; but my mission is first to exterminate the Mamelukes.... Adriel, the angel of death, has breathed upon them; we are come, and they have disappeared.... Be faithful to Allah, the sovereign ruler of the seven marvellous heavens, and to Mahomet his prophet, who traversed all the celestial mansions in one night. Be the friends of the Franks; and Allah, Mahomet, and the Franks will recompense you."

CHAPTER V.

Naval Campaign of 1798: Sir Horatio Nelson sent in pursuit of the French Fleet; touches at Malta; proceeds to Alexandria; and returns to Sicily without meeting with the Enemy—Sails again to the Coast of Egypt—Battle of the Nile: its glorious Termination—Influence of that memorable Event upon the Courts of Europe—The Porte declares War against France—The King of Naples invades the Roman Republic, suffers a signal Defeat, and is driven from his Dominions—The King of Sardinia obliged to abdicate his Throne—Expedition against Ostend, and its disastrous Result—Minorca captured by the British—St. Domingo evacuated—Goza taken—Summary.

WHILE the French expedition to the east attracted the attention of all Europe, England appeared to be pre-eminently interested in its destination. Positive instructions were in consequence sent out to Earl St. Vincent, then stationed at Cadiz, to select a sufficient number of line-of-battle ships to defeat this armament, whatever might be its destination; and the first lord of the admiralty, in his despatches to the earl, says, "I think it almost unnecessary to suggest to you the propriety of putting it under Sir Horatio Nelson." This appointment the gallant earl had already anticipated, and a detachment of ten sail of the line was despatched, under Captain Trowbridge, to join the rear-admiral, who had previously been despatched to the Mediterranean with a flying squadron. Rear-admiral Nelson being thus invested with the command of a fleet of fourteen ships, thirteen of which carried seventy-four, and one fifty guns, determined to proceed in quest of the enemy.

Steering his course towards Malta, with an intention of attacking the French fleet at Goza, he arrived off that island on the 22d of June, when, to his mortification, he found that the enemy had quitted that place five days before his arrival, taking an eastward direction. Conjecturing, with great plausibility, that Egypt must be the place of their destination, the British admiral sailed for the port of Alexandria, where he arrived on the 28th, but they had not been seen on the coast of Egypt, nor could any satisfactory information be obtained at that place. Still acting upon his favourite maxim, that "perseverance in the profession will meet its reward," the gallant admiral shaped his course northward for Cambrania; thence he returned to Sicily, and after obtaining refreshments and assistance of every kind for his squadron in the bay of Syracuse, sailed once more for Alexandria in quest of the enemy.

On approaching the coast of Egypt, on the first of August, he discovered thirteen sail of line-of-battle ships, moored in a strong and compact line, in the bay of Aboukir, the headmost vessel being close to the shoals on the N. W. and the rest of

the fleet forming a kind of curve along the line of deep water, so as not to be turned on the S. W. The British admiral, who, from the anxiety of his mind, had scarcely taken either sleep or food for many days, now ordered his dinner to be served, while preparations were making for battle; and when his officers rose from table, and went to their separate stations, he exclaimed—*"Before this time to-morrow, I shall have gained a peerage, or Westminster Abbey."**

The advantage of numbers, both in ships, guns, and men, was in favour of the French; they had thirteen ships of the line, and four frigates, carrying eleven hundred and ninety guns, and ten thousand eight hundred and ten men. The English had the same number of ships of the line, and one fifty-gun ship, carrying in all one thousand and twelve guns, and eight thousand and sixty-eight men. The English ships of the line were all seventy-fours; the French had three eighty gun ships, and one three-decker of one hundred and twenty guns: and the enemy's squadron was, in the opinion of the French commissary of the fleet, moored in such a situation, as to bid defiance to a force more than double their own.

The position occupied by the French had been already celebrated in history, as the scene of a famous combat between Augustus Cæsar and Mark Antony, nearly nineteen hundred years ago, which decided the empire of the world. On the present conflict depended the naval superiority of two rival nations, the immediate renewal of the war on the continent of Europe, and the eventual possession of Egypt—perhaps of Hindostan.

The moment Admiral Nelson perceived the position of the French fleet, that intuitive genius with which he was endowed displayed itself; and it instantly struck him that where there was room for an enemy's ship to swing, there was room for one of ours to anchor. Having explained to his captains his mode of attack, and given them the general instruction, first "to gain the victory—and then to make the best pos-

* Life of Admiral Lord Nelson, by Clarke and M^r Arthur, vol. ii. page 77.

sible use of it;" the engagement commenced at six o'clock in the evening of the first of August. As soon as some of our van ships approached the small island of Bequieres, the Alert French ship began to execute the orders of Admiral Brueys, which were to stand towards the British ships until nearly within gun-shot, and then to manœuvre so as best to draw them towards the outer shoal lying off that island, but the British admiral escaped this decoy, and hauled well round all the danger. On this island of Bequieres, the French had established two batteries, but their distance rendered them useless. As our squadron advanced, the enemy opened a steady fire from the starboard side of the whole line, full into the bows of our ships; and at twenty-eight minutes past 6, P. M. the French hoisted their colours. Captain Foley, who led the British van in the Goliath, had long conceived, that if the enemy were moored in line of battle in with the land, the best plan of attack would be to lead between them and the shore, because the French guns on that side were not likely to be manned, nor ready for action; acting upon this plan of attack, he darted ahead of the enemy's vanmost ship, *Le Guerriere*, doubled her larboard side, and having poured a destructive fire into the Frenchman, moved on to the Conquerant, whom he charged with tremendous fury, and in ten minutes shot away her masts; next followed the Zealous, Captain Hood, which attacked the *Guerriere* on the side next the shore, and in twelve minutes totally disabled her: third, proceeded the *Orion*, Sir James Saumarez, and took her station between the enemy's fifth and sixth ships; the *Theseus*, Captain Miller, following the same example, encountered the third ship of the enemy; the Audacious, Captain Gould, moved round to the fifth: then advanced the Vanguard, carrying the heroic Nelson, and his not less heroic Captain Berry, and anchored on the outside of the enemy's third ship, with six colours flying in his rigging, lest they should be shot away—that they should be struck, no British admiral considers as a possibility; having veered half a cable, he instantly opened a tremendous fire; under cover of which the other four ships of his division, the *Minotaur*, *Bellerophon*, *Defence*, and *Majestic*, sailed on ahead of the admiral. In a few minutes every man stationed at the first six guns, in the fore part of the Vanguard's deck, was killed or wounded; and three times in succession did the destructive fire of the enemy sweep away the seamen that served these guns. Captain Louis, in the *Minotaur*, nobly supported his friend and commander, and anchoring next

ahead of the Vanguard, took off the fire of the *Aquilon*, the fourth in the French line. The *Defence*, Captain Peyton, took his station, with great judgment, ahead of the *Minotaur*, and engaged the *Franklin* of 80 guns, the sixth ship of the enemy on the starboard bow, which ship bore the flag of Admiral Blanquet de Chelard, the second in command.

Thus, by the masterly seamanship of the British commanders, nine of our ships were so disposed as to bear their force upon six of the enemy. The seventh of the French line was the *Orient*, the admiral's ship, a vessel of immense size, carrying one hundred and twenty guns; this stupendous adversary was undertaken by the *Bellerophon*, Captain Darby; while the *Majestic*, Captain Westcott, who engaged the *Heureux*, the ninth ship on the starboard bow, received also at the same time the fire of the Tonnant, which was the eighth in the line. The other four ships of the British squadron, having been detached previous to the discovery of the French, were at a considerable distance when the action began, and the shades of night began to close in upon them before they reached the scene of action. Captain Trowbridge, in the *Culledon*, took the lead of these ships. As he came on sounding, the increased darkness of the night had greatly increased the difficulties of the navigation; and suddenly, after having found eleven foot water, before the lead could be hove again, he was fast aground, on the tail of the shoal of Bequieres, nor could all his own exertions, united to those of Captain Thompson, in the *Leander*, and Captain Hardy, in the *Mutine brig*, both of which came to his assistance, get him off in time to share in the danger and the glory of the action. It was, however, some satisfaction to the mortified spirit of Captain Trowbridge, that his ship served as a beacon to the *Alexander* and *Swiftsure*, which must else, from the course they were holding, have gone considerably further on the reef, and would inevitably have been lost. These ships, after escaping the peril to which they had been exposed, entered the bay, and took their stations, enveloped in darkness, as was the whole fleet, in a manner that is remembered with general admiration. At this juncture the *Bellerophon*, overpowered by the huge *Orient*, her lights extinguished, nearly two hundred of her crew killed or wounded, and all her masts and cables shot away, was drifting out of the line, toward the lee side of the bay, when the *Swiftsure*, which at first mistook her for a ship of the enemy, but was soon undeceived, came up, and taking her station, opened a steady fire on the quarter of the *Franklin*, and the bows

of the French admiral. At the same instant Captain Ball, with the *Alexander*, passed under the stern of the *Orient*, and anchoring within side of her larboard quarter, raked her, and kept up a severe fire of musketry on her decks. The last ship that arrived to complete the destruction of the enemy was the *Leander*, Captain Thompson, which took her station in such a position as to rake both the *Franklin* and the *Orient*. The conflict was now carried on in the darkness of the night, and the only light to guide the operations of the fleets was derived from the flashes of their cannon. The first two ships of the French line had been dismasted within a quarter of an hour from the commencement of the action, and others had suffered so severely that victory was already certain—its extent was the only remaining question. The third, fourth, and fifth ships of the enemy were taken possession of at half-past eight.

While the battle raged with its utmost fury, the British admiral himself received a wound in the head, from a piece of langridge shot, which cut a large flap of the skin of the forehead from the bone, and which, falling over his only remaining eye, left him in total darkness. Captain Berry, on whom the command of the ship during the remainder of the action devolved, was standing near his admiral when he received this dreadful wound, and caught him in his arms as he was falling. The great effusion of blood occasioned an apprehension that the wound would be mortal: Nelson himself thought so; and on being taken down into the cock-pit, he called his chaplain to deliver his dying remembrances to Lady Nelson; but the surgeon, on examining the wound, pronounced it to be merely superficial, and the gloom which had taken possession of the whole crew, under the agonizing apprehension of the loss of their commander, was dissipated and turned into expressions of joy.

The French Admiral Brueys, who sustained the honour of his flag with undiminished firmness, and had been three times wounded during the present engagement, without quitting his station, now received a shot, which almost cut him in two: still he remained upon the deck, and this hero, so well worthy of a better fate, survived his last wound only a quarter of an hour. Soon after nine o'clock, the *Orient* struck her colours, and appeared in flames. The fire spread with astonishing rapidity. By the prodigious light of this conflagration, the situation of the two fleets could now be distinctly seen from the towers of Rosetta, a distance of thirty miles. Finding it impossible to extinguish the flames, those who had escaped death in battle endeavoured to

save themselves by plunging into the sea. About ten o'clock, the ship blew up with a tremendous explosion, which was succeeded by a silence not less awful. The firing, as if by common consent, instantly ceased on both sides, and the first sound which broke the portentous stillness was the dash of the shattered masts and yards falling into the water from the vast height to which they had been cast by the explosion. It is upon record, that a battle between two armies was once broken off by an earthquake; but no incident in war, produced by human means, has ever equalled the awful sublimity of this simultaneous pause. About seventy of the crew of the *Orient* were saved by the English boats, and among the many hundreds who perished, were the Commodore Casa Bianca and his son, a brave and intelligent boy, about ten years of age: they were for a time seen in the water, on the wreck of the *Orient's* mast, seeking each other, when the ship blew up, and put an end to their hopes and their fears. The *Orient* had on board money to the amount of six hundred thousand pounds sterling.

After a lull of about ten minutes, the fire recommenced with the ships to the leeward of the centre, and continued without intermission till three o'clock the next morning. It then grew very faint till about five, when it was again resumed with redoubled fury, but it was on the enemy's part the resistance, not of hope, but of despair. At daybreak, the *Guillaume Tell*, and the *Genereaux*, the two rear ships of the enemy, were the only French ships of the line that had their colours flying, and in the forenoon they cut their cables and stood out to sea, taking along with them two frigates. The *Zealous*, worthy of her name, instantly commenced the pursuit, but as there was no other ship in a condition to support Captain Hood, he was recalled. The firing continued in the bay with some intermission until two o'clock in the afternoon, when it entirely ceased. As soon as the admiral thought the victory secure, he issued the following order:—"Almighty God having blessed his majesty's arms with victory, the admiral intends returning public thanks for the same at two o'clock this day, and he recommends every ship doing the same." The vanquished, deprived of the consolations of religion by the wild theories of their governors, had not even this solace in distress, nor could they imagine to what cause to impute the solemn stillness that prevailed through the British fleet, while the thanksgivings of the crews were presented to the Giver of all victory. During the action, thousands of the worshippers of the

Arabian prophet lined the shores of Egypt, and for three successive nights, the whole coast and the adjacent country were illuminated in honour of the victory.*

* The memorable letter sent by Sir Horatio Nelson to Earl St. Vincent, and which had been begun under the immediate impression of approaching death, and concluded amidst the dreadful scene of devastation which the surrounding ocean continued for days to display, must not to be omitted: it was in these words:†

*Vanguard, off the Mouth of the Nile,
August 3, 1798.*

MY LORD,

Almighty God has blessed his majesty's arms in the late battle by a great victory over the fleet of the enemy, whom I attacked at sunset on the 1st of August, off the mouth of the Nile. The enemy were moored in a strong line of battle for defending the entrance of the bay (of shoals), flanked by numerous gun-boats, four frigates, and a battery of guns and mortars on an island in their van; but nothing could withstand the squadron your lordship did me the honour to place under my command. Their high state of discipline is well known to you, and with the judgment of the captains, together with their valour, and that of the officers and men of every description, it was absolutely irresistible.

Could any thing from my pen add to the characters of the captains, I would write it with pleasure, but that is impossible.

I have to regret the loss of Captain Westcott, of the *Majestic*, who was killed early in the action; but the ship was continued to be so well fought by her first lieutenant, Mr. Cuthbert, that I have given him an order to command her until your lordship's pleasure is known.

The ships of the enemy, all but their two rear-ships, are nearly dismantled; and those two, with two frigates, I am sorry to say, made their escape; nor was it, I assure you, in my power to prevent them. Captain Hood most handsomely endeavoured to do it, but I had no ship in a condition to support the *Zealous*, and I was obliged to call her in.

The support and assistance I have received from Captain Berry cannot be sufficiently expressed. I was wounded in the head, and obliged to be carried off the deck, but the service suffered no loss by that event. Captain Berry was fully equal to the important service then going on, and to him I must beg leave to refer you for every information relative to this victory. He will present you with the flag of the second in command, that of the commander-in-chief being burnt in the Orient.

Herewith I transmit you lists of the killed and wounded, and the lines of battle of ourselves and the French.

I have the honour to be, &c.

HORATIO NELSON.

To Admiral, the Earl of St. Vincent,
Commander-in-chief, &c. &c. off Cadix.

ENGLISH LINE OF BATTLE.

<i>Ships</i>	<i>Commanders</i>	<i>Guns</i>	<i>Men</i>
1 Culloden	Captain Trowbridge	74	590
2 Theseus	Captain Miller	74	590
3 Alexander	Captain Ball	74	590
4 Vanguard	Rear-adml. Sir H. Nelson	74	595
5 Minotaur	Captain Berry	74	640
6 Leander	Captain Thompson	50	343

† Vide London Gazette, October 2d, 1798.

Thus ended an engagement which will ever rank amongst the most distinguished victories in the naval annals of the world. "*Victory*," said the hero of the Nile, "is not a name strong enough for such a scene—it was a *conquest*." The result was, that out of a fleet of thirteen sail, the admiral's ship of one hundred and twenty guns, and the *Timoleon* of seventy-four, were burnt; while two eighty gun ships and seven seventy-fours were captured; and it was the firm persuasion of the British admiral, that had he been more amply provided with frigates, all the enemy's transports and smaller vessels in the harbour would have shared the fate of their ships of the line. This deficiency of frigates he deeply regretted, and in his usual forcible way of expressing himself, said, "*Want of frigates*" would be found written on my heart." The British loss in killed and wounded amounted to eight hundred and ninety-five. Of the French, three thousand one hundred and five, including the wounded, went on shore by cartel, and five thousand two hundred and twenty-five perished!—constituting a loss, during that glorious but fatal night, of upwards of five hundred human beings an hour! One British officer of the rank of captain only fell; this was the brave Captain Westcott, who was killed early in the action, and

<i>Ships</i>	<i>Commanders</i>	<i>Guns</i>	<i>Men</i>
7 Swiftsure	Captain Hallowell	74	590
8 Audacious	Captain Gould	74	590
9 Defence	Captain J. Peyton	74	590
10 Zealous	Captain Hood	74	590
11 Orion	Captain Sir J. Saumarez	74	590
12 Goliath	Captain Foley	74	590
13 Majestic	Captain Westcott	74	590
14 Bellerophon	Captain Darby	74	590

La Mutine brig, T. M. Hardy.

FRENCH LINE OF BATTLE.

<i>Ships</i>	<i>Commanders</i>	<i>Guns</i>	<i>Men</i>
1 Le Guerriere	(taken)	74	700
2 Le Conquerant	(taken)	74	700
3 Le Spartiate	(taken)	74	700
4 L'Aquilon	(taken)	74	700
5 Le Sauveteur	(taken)	74	700
6 Le Franklin	Rear-admiral Blaquet	(taken)	80 800
7 L'Orient	Adml. Brueys, com-in-chief. Captain Casa Bianca	(burnt)	180 1100
8 Le Tonnant	(taken)	80	800
9 L'Heureux	(taken)	74	700
10 Le Timoleon	(burnt)	74	700
11 Le Mercure	(taken)	74	700
12 Le Guil-laume Tell	Rear-adml. Villeneuve	(escaped)	80 800
13 Le Genereux	(escaped)	74	700
<i>Frigates.</i>			
1 Le Diane	(escaped)	48	300
2 Le Justice	(escaped)	44	300
3 Le Artemise	(burnt)	36	250
4 La Serieuse	(dismasted and sunk)	36	250

whose place was supplied with great gallantry and skill by his lieutenant, afterwards appointed Captain Cuthbert.

While the renown of this "conquest" reached every part of the globe, its political effects all over Europe were instantaneous and surprising. The enemies of France everywhere recovered from the despondency with which they had been oppressed previous to this glorious event, and an evident reanimation took place in all their councils, which were now occupied in improving an event that, on the admission of Bonaparte himself, proclaimed England sovereign of the ocean.*

The events of the 1st and 2d of August were celebrated throughout England with bonfires and illuminations. His majesty conferred the dignity of Baron of Great Britain, with a pension of three thousand a year, on the admiral, who was called to the house of peers by the style and dignity of Baron Nelson of the Nile. The grand signior also transmitted a superb diamond chelengk, or plume of triumph, taken from one of the imperial turbans, and the King of Naples, at a later period, granted the title of Duke of Bronté, with an estate in Sicily. Captains Berry and Thompson received the honour of knighthood, and the other commanders were presented with gold medals. The Turkish sultan sent a purse of two thousand sequins to be distributed amongst the wounded, and the English nation did themselves the honour to raise by public subscription a much larger sum for the widows and children of those who perished in the action.

Though the sensation of this victory was felt all over Europe, and reached to Hindostan, it was at Radstadt where the effect became the most evident. The deputation of the empire had already agreed on a plan of indemnities, by means of which not less than forty-four of the secular and ecclesiastical states were to make immense sacrifices to obtain peace; but the attack on Switzerland and Rome, and the impolitic expedition of Bonaparte into Egypt, joined to the opposition he had there encountered, and the recent disaster of the French navy, rendered a new contest on the continent unavoidable. At this juncture, too, and partly from the same causes, the Turks declared war against France; and Russia, under the government of the Emperor Paul, became an efficient member

of the new coalition preparing against the French nation. This alliance was strengthened rather by the activity than the power of the King of Naples, who, after issuing a declaration of war against the republic on the 22d of November, put his army in motion against the French on the 23d of that month, and on the 29th succeeded in making himself master of the Roman capital. But this success was of short duration, for on the 15th of December the Neapolitan troops sustained a signal defeat at Civita Castellana. This disaster was followed by the immediate evacuation of Rome, and such was the hard fate of Ferdinand IV. that on the last day of the year he was obliged to abdicate all his continental dominions, and to take refuge on board an English man-of-war.

But the fate of Charles Emanuel I. King of Sardinia, was, if possible, still more deplorable. This prince, who had been lately engaged in a contest with the Ligurian republic, had become an object of suspicion to the French government, under whose control he was obliged to subscribe an act of renunciation of his power and authority, to order the Piedmontese army to consider itself as a portion of the French troops, and to surrender the citadel of Turin as a pledge that no resistance whatever should be attempted against the present act, which the unfortunate monarch was compelled to say "emanated purely from his own will!"

At no period of our history, did the natives of the British isles exhibit a greater degree of courage and constancy than at the present. Notwithstanding the increased burden of taxation, and the peculiar pressure of the triple assessed taxes, all ranks and classes of men displayed a laudable degree of vigour and patriotism: even those who doubted the justice and denied the policy of the war, were indignant at the idea of foreign domination; and an armed and united people, although not unconscious of the gigantic power, mocked the empty boasts of an enemy who threatened to invade their shores.

The offensive operations of the kingdom were as usual checkered with a variety of good and bad fortune. During the spring, an expedition was fitted out against maritime Flanders, for the express purpose of blowing up the bason, gates, and sluices of the Bruges canal, as well as destroying the internal navigation, by means of which, transport-echuyts, instead of risking a sea-voyage, were enabled to keep up an internal intercourse between Holland, France, and Flanders. An armament accordingly sailed for the purpose from Margate roads, on the 18th of May, under Captain Pop-

* In a letter to the directory, written by Bonaparte from Egypt, immediately after the battle of the Nile, he thus expresses himself:—"The destinies have wished to prove by this event, as by all others, that if they have assigned us a great preponderance on the continent, they have given the empire of the seas to our rivals."

ham, with a body of troops consisting of twelve hundred men, commanded by Major-general Coote. On the arrival of the expedition before Ostend, the necessary preparations were made for a descent, and while the *Wolvereen*, *Asp*, and *Biter*, returned the fire of the batteries, the *Hecla* and *Tartarus* bombs threw their shells with so much rapidity and precision, that the town was set on fire in several places, and the shipping did not escape without damage. On the 19th, a landing was effected to the north-west without opposition, and as soon as the soldiers had formed, they proceeded to burn several boats, demolish the sluice-gates, and effect a grand explosion, by which it was intended to destroy a great national work, which had cost the states of Bruges an immense sum of money, and had not been completed with a labour of five years. Thus having, as was supposed, rendered the Bruges canal unserviceable, the commander-in-chief attempted about noon to return on board the shipping, but he soon discovered that the wind was so high, and the surf so much increased, that the attempt was impracticable. Upon this, it was deemed proper to occupy a position upon the sand-hills, at a little distance from the beach; and by way of gaining time, the governor of Ostend was summoned to surrender; but this fate was unhappily reserved for the invaders themselves, as that officer found means in the course of the night to assemble a great force, with which he hemmed in the English early in the morning, and all resistance being in vain, they surrendered, after a gallant defence, in the course of which Major-general Coote himself was wounded. Captain Popham endeavoured without effect to obtain an exchange of prisoners; and it appears at first to have been the intention of the French government to oblige the British troops to labour at the reparation of the works they had destroyed; but it was found on inspection, that the damage was but trifling, every thing being restored to its former state in the course of a few weeks.

Early in November, a small squadron was despatched against Minorca, under

the command of Admiral Duckworth, and the command of the land forces conferred upon General Stuart, an active and enterprising officer. After a short and feeble resistance, the garrison, consisting of nearly four thousand men, under the command of Don Juan de Quesada, surrendered to the British force, which did not suffer the loss of a single man in the conquest of this important Spanish colony.

On the other hand, the British ministry, finding that no portion of the island of St. Domingo, on which so much blood and treasure had already been lavished, could be retained without immense sacrifices, determined, very wisely, to abandon that conquest. In virtue of this decision, Major-general Maitland agreed with Toussaint L'Ouverture, now commander-in-chief in that colony, where he had formerly been a slave, to leave the island, on condition that the black chief would guarantee the lives and property of all the inhabitants who might choose to remain; and these easy conditions being readily accepted, the British force sailed from the island on the 9th of May.

In another quarter of the globe, the island of Goza surrendered to the British navy, which was this year pre-eminently distinguished by its successful exertions; thirteen line of battle, and as many forty gun ships and frigates having been either captured, burnt, or destroyed. On the other hand, the English lost the *Ambuscade*, mounting thirty-two guns, after a severe action, in the bay of Biscay, with the *Bayonnaise*; the *Jason* and *La Pique*, captured near Brest; and the *Leander*, of fifty guns, which struck, reluctantly, to *Le Genereaux*, of seventy-four guns, after a battle of six hours, in which the honour of the British flag suffered no stain.

But the security of the British isles was greatly promoted by the failure of a naval and military expedition fitted out by the enemy in the port of Brest, and destined to renew the horrors of a civil war in Ireland; to record the rise, progress, and extinction of which insurrection, will be the business of a separate chapter.

CHAPTER VI.

British History: Ministers again express a wish to enter into Negotiations with the French Government—Correspondence on that Subject—The Negotiators assemble at Lisle—Progress of the Negotiation—Its Rupture—Meeting of Parliament—Secession of the Members of Opposition—Joint Address to both Houses of Parliament on the Rupture of the Negotiations—New Measures of Finance: triple Assessment; voluntary Contributions; Redemption of the Land Tax—National Defence; Motion for calling out the Supplementary Militia; for the Encouragement of voluntary Associations; for more effectually manning the Navy—Duel between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Tierney—The name of Mr. Fox erased from the Council-Books by his Majesty—Second Estimate of Supplies—Motion for the Abolition of the Slave-trade—Discussions on the State of Ireland.

In the interval between the treaty of Leoben, in the spring of 1797, and the treaty of Campo Formio, in the autumn of the same year, the British ministry, finding that the coalition against France was effectually dissolved, again declared themselves actuated by a wish to conclude hostilities, and to give to Europe the enjoyment of a general peace.

Accordingly, on the first of June, 1797, an official note from Lord Grenville to M. de la Croix, the French minister for foreign affairs, communicated the desire on the part of the British government to negotiate preliminaries, which might be definitively arranged at a future congress. The French government, pursuing their usual policy of negotiating a separate peace with each of their enemies, replied, that the directory "would receive with eagerness the overtures and proposals which should be made to it by the court of England," but required, for the purpose of avoiding delay, that the negotiations should be rather for a definitive than for a preliminary treaty. The British government rejoined, that it would depend upon the progress and turn of the negotiations, whether preliminary or definitive articles should be signed. The directory, in three days after the date of Lord Grenville's last note, transmitted the necessary passports for a minister, "furnished with full powers from his Britannic majesty, for the purpose of negotiating, concluding, and signing a definitive and separate treaty of peace;" and fixed upon the city of Lisle as the place of meeting for the respective plenipotentiaries.* On

* *Form of Passport.*

LIBERTY, EQUALITY. FRATERNITY, UNION.
In the name of the French Republic.

To all officers, civil and military, charged to maintain public order in the different departments of France, and to make the French name respected abroad.

Allow to pass freely furnished with full powers of his Britannic majesty, for the purpose of negotiating, concluding, and signing a definitive and separate treaty of peace with the French Republic, native of going to Lisle, department of the north,

the 17th of June, Lord Grenville, in a letter addressed to M. de la Croix, informed him that his majesty had made choice of the same minister to represent him on this as on a former similar occasion; to which, the French minister, in reply, signified "the consent of the directory, that the negotiations should be opened with Lord Malmesbury," intimating, however, at the same time, "that another choice would have appeared to the directory more favourable for the speedy conclusion of peace."

Early in July Lord Malmesbury arrived at Lisle, where he was met by the French plenipotentiaries, Le Tournieur, late member of the directorial council, Pleville le Pelley, and Hugues B. Maret. His lordship opened the business by submitting the plan of pacification which he had received from the British ministry: this *projet* required the cession of the colony of Trinidad, on the part of Spain; and of the Cape of Good Hope, Cochin in the East Indies, and the Dutch possessions in Ceylon, on the part of Holland: in return for which, it was proposed that Great Britain should cede all the other settlements taken from France and her allies in the course of the war: our minister further required the restoration of his personal property to the Prince of Orange, or an equivalent in money; and that France should engage to procure for him, at the restoration of peace, an indemnity for the loss of the United Provinces; that Portugal should be included in the treaty, and that no demand should be made upon that country by France.

To these proposals, the French answered,

the place appointed for the negotiation without giving, or suffering any hindrance to be given to him.

This passport shall be in force for decades only.

Given at Paris, the 23d Prairial, 5th year of the Republic, one and indivisible.

The minister for foreign affairs.

(Signed) CH. DE LA CROIX.

By the minister.

(Signed) J. GUIRADET.

that previous to entering on the main business it was necessary that three concessions should be made: first, that his Britannic majesty should resign the title of King of France; secondly, that the ships taken and destroyed at Toulon should be restored, or restitution made for them; and thirdly, that any mortgage which England might have upon the Low Countries, in consequence of money lent to the Emperor of Germany, for the purpose of carrying on the war against France, should be given up. On the first of these points, Lord Malmesbury observed, "that on all former occasions a separate article had been agreed to, which appeared to answer every purpose they required, and which it was his intention, as the treaty advanced, to have proposed as proper to make a part of this." On the second he replied, "that this claim of restoring the ships was so perfectly unlooked-for, that it was impossible for him to have been provided for it in his instructions:" and on the third, "that if the French republic had taken the Low Countries as they stood, charged with all their incumbrances, there could be no doubt what these words meant, and that if no exception was stated in the first instance, none could be made with a retro-active effect." These were the observations that occurred to him on the first mention of the subjects to which they had adverted, but he would transmit a paper stating the three claims to his government for consideration.

On the 15th of July, the French plenipotentiaries addressed a note to Lord Malmesbury, in which it was stated, "that the French government, unable to detach itself from the engagements which it has contracted with its allies, Spain and the Batavian republic, establishes, as an indispensable preliminary of the negotiation for the peace with England, the consent of his Britannic majesty to the restitution of all the possessions which he occupies, not only from the French republic, but further and formally of those of Spain and the Batavian republic." Our minister replied, "that the requisition of these terms was in effect to declare the intention of France to put an abrupt termination to the treaty, as it proposed cessions on one side, without any compensation on the other: if this were the resolution of the directory, the negotiation was at an end: and it only remained for Great Britain to persevere in maintaining, with an energy and spirit proportioned to the exigency, a war that could not be ended but by yielding to terms disgraceful and unjust."

The French plenipotentiaries, feeling the justice of these observations, expressed a willingness to apply to their constituents,

the directory, for fresh instructions; but though this assurance was given on the 23d of July, yet, at a conference held between the plenipotentiaries on the 28th of August, it was admitted that no specific instructions had arrived; but it was at the same time announced, that the delay of communication arose from the dissatisfaction of the Batavian republic, at the suggestion of their settlements being retained by Great Britain. It was however pretty notorious to all Europe, that the members of the directory were at this period tottering in their seats, and that, during the delay of the negotiation, their attentions were confined to their own preservation. For another fortnight, the procrastination continued, and during this crisis, another revolution occurred in France, which expelled two of the most able of its members, Barthelemi and Carnot, from the office of directors, and the particulars of which have been already narrated.* The events of the 18th Fructidor led to the recall of the French ambassadors, at that time at Lisle, and to the appointment of citizens Treillard and Bonnier d'Alco as their successors. This change of negotiators was not more unpleasant to the feelings of Lord Malmesbury, than it was inauspicious to the progress of the negotiations. Immediately after their first interview, on the 13th of September, Lord Malmesbury was required to inform them, whether, as a preliminary to negotiations, he was empowered to concede, on the part of his government, that England should surrender "all the possessions she had gained from France and her allies since the beginning of the war:" and his lordship was further required to return an explicit answer to this question in the course of the same day. On the 16th, his lordship addressed a note to the French plenipotentiaries, in which he intimated, that "he neither could nor ought to treat upon any other principle than that of compensation—a principle which had been formerly recognised as the basis of a treaty equally just, honourable, and advantageous to the two powers." On the same day, the French ministers apprized his lordship of "a decree of the executive directory," purporting, "that in case Lord Malmesbury should declare himself not to have the necessary powers for agreeing to all the restitutions which the laws and the treaties which bind the French republic make indispensable, he shall be required to return in four-and-twenty hours to his court, to ask for sufficient powers." The obvious answer to this imperious mandate was returned by Lord Malmesbury at eight o'clock in the evening of the same day, in a note

* Vide page 220.

demanding the necessary passports for himself and his suite to return to England within the time prescribed by the executive directory. Previous to his departure, however, another meeting took place between the plenipotentiaries, in which his lordship, without compromising his dignity, as the representative of a great nation, urged every consideration that might induce the French ministers to recall their late unwarrantable proposals, but without effect; his lordship therefore took his departure from Lisle on the morning of the 18th of September.

Whether the rupture of the first negotiation with the French republic, turning as it did upon the retention of Belgium, was imputable to Great Britain or to France, is a subject which admits of considerable doubt; but the impartial historian may safely pronounce, that the hostile conclusion of the second treaty is to be attributed to that spirit of inveterate animosity and desperate ambition which at this moment so unhappily prevailed in the councils of the latter country. It has been said, indeed, that the directory, in instructing their ministers to make the inquiry whether his lordship was empowered to concede, as a preliminary to negotiation, that England should surrender all the possessions she had gained from France and her allies, did not intend to insist upon those conditions as a *sine qua non*, but merely to ascertain whether such a power was vested in the British ambassador. But if it were not intended that Great Britain should submit to these sacrifices, and that too without any equivalent, why put the success of the negotiations to hazard by proposing such a question? and why bring upon France the universal odium that such an inquiry, so pertinaciously repeated, could not fail to produce?

On the 2d of November, parliament re-assembled, and his majesty expressed his firm conviction, "that the papers laid before the two houses would prove to them and to the world, that in the late negotiations at Lisle, every step had been taken on his part which could tend to accelerate the conclusion of peace; and that he still retained an ardent desire for the attainment of that blessing."

When the king's speech came to be taken into consideration by the commons, the house presented a singular and unpleasant appearance: the benches on the left of the speaker's chair no longer exhibited their usual occupants; and if ministers, by the secession of the opposition members from parliament, were no longer impeded in their course by the objections of their parliamentary opponents, the interests of the country ceased for the time to be advanced by that vigilant attention which political rivalry,

and a jealous watchfulness exerted over men in power, seldom fail in some degree to secure. Finding their councils rejected, their motives traduced, and their opposition unavailing, the adversaries of ministers, with some few exceptions, determined to withdraw for a time from their places in parliament, and to leave the members of administration to pursue their favourite system of policy without control. Under these circumstances, the address on the king's speech was voted in both houses without a division, but not altogether without observation, arising principally out of the late negotiations.

On the 10th of November, the papers relating to this subject were taken into consideration by the commons, and an address passed both houses, by an almost unanimous vote, highly applauding the conduct of his majesty's government in the late negotiation, and expressing a firm determination to support his majesty to the utmost, and to stand or fall with our religion, laws, and liberties.*

• JOINT ADDRESS,

Presented by both houses of parliament to his majesty, Nov. 15, 1797.

"We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled, have taken into our most serious consideration the papers which your majesty has been pleased to direct to be laid before us, on the subject of the negotiation into which your majesty had entered, with the view of restoring to your people a secure and honourable peace.—In every stage of that transaction, we have recognised your majesty's invariable and unremitting solicitude for our prosperity and welfare, while we have seen, on the other hand, the most abundant proofs of the continuance of that spirit of inveterate animosity and desperate ambition, on the part of our enemies, in which the present contest first originated. Your majesty's conduct, characterized by an unexampled moderation, openness, and consistency, has left to the enemy no means of evasion, no subterfuge of disguise or artifice. It can no longer be denied, that their conduct is actuated by a fixed determination of excluding all means of peace, and of pursuing, at all hazards, their hostile designs against the happiness and safety of these kingdoms: even the vain pretence of pacific dispositions is now abandoned, and the real purpose of all their councils, and of all their measures, at length openly and publicly avowed. It is to our laws and government that they have declared their irreconcilable hatred. No sacrifice will content them but that of our liberty; no concession, but that of our envied and happy constitution.

"Under such circumstances, we feel the duty which we owe in this great crisis to God and our country. Animated by the same sentiments which your majesty has been pleased to declare to your people, and to the world—attached to your majesty by principles of duty and gratitude, and sensible that it is only from courage and firmness that we can look for present safety, or permanent peace, we are determined to defend, with unshaken resolution, your majesty's throne, the lives and property of our fellow subjects, the government

The nation at large imbibed the sentiment that the concessions offered by England to France at Lisle, were as great as it was proper to make, and that the claims of France were highly unreasonable and unjust. Under these impressions, a great majority of the people evinced an extraordinary and sudden renewal of ardour in the prosecution of the war, and the recent victory of Lord Duncan, added to the secession of the opposition from parliament, which by many was considered as a dereliction of public duty, gave to the ministers a higher degree of popularity than it had been their good fortune for a long time previously to enjoy.

Early in the present session, a bill was introduced into parliament, and speedily passed into a law, for continuing the existing restrictions on cash payments by the bank of England; and on the 22d of November, Mr. Pitt brought forward his annual statement, relating to the public finances. According to the minister's estimates, the whole expense of the year amounted to twenty-five millions and a half; and for the purpose of furnishing a supply equal to this immense demand, he declared it to be his intention to have recourse to a perfectly new and solid system of finance." Of this sum, six millions and half would arise from the unappropriated produce of the sinking fund, exchequer bills, and unmortgaged taxes. Of the nineteen millions then remaining to be provided for, he proposed to raise seven within the year, by a new impost under the designation of a triple assessment, which would be regulated by the existing assessments—limited however to the tenth of each person's income—and

and constitution of our country, and the honour and independency of the British empire. We know that great exertions are necessary; we are prepared to make them: and placing our firm reliance on that divine protection which has always hitherto been extended to us, we will support your majesty to the utmost, and stand or fall with our religion, laws, and liberties."

ANSWER.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"Nothing could be more satisfactory to me than this unanimous declaration of the sentiments of my two houses of parliament. They are such as the conduct and declared intention of the enemy could not fail to produce. We are engaged in a cause which is common to us all, and contending for every interest which a free and independent nation can have to maintain. Under the blessing of Providence, I look with confidence to the issue of this great contest: but in every event my resolution is taken. It is such as I owe to God, to my country, and to myself; and it is confirmed by the sentiments which you have this day declared to me. I will not be wanting to my people, but will stand or fall with them, in the defence of our religion, and in the maintenance of the independence, laws, and liberties of these kingdoms."

from the application of this principle of taxation, arose, at subsequent periods, the income and property taxes. Of the remaining twelve millions, four might be borrowed without creating an additional debt; the produce of the sinking fund, old and new, appropriated to the purpose of liquidating the national debt, being equal to that amount; the remaining eight millions he proposed to pay by continuing the triple assessment till the principal and interest were discharged, which would be the operation of little more than another year. This plan, he said, would extremely damp the hopes of the enemy, and show to him, and to all Europe, that our national resources rose in proportion to the exigencies of our situation.

On the occasion of these fresh burdens being laid upon the people, Mr. Fox, at the request of his constituents, once more appeared in parliament, and made the severest animadversions on the new schemes of finance. Such a plan, he contended, came with an extremely bad grace from those who had contributed so much already to the burdens to be imposed on posterity. "Why," said Mr. Fox, "was not this plan of taxation produced at the beginning of the war?—because it was necessary to delude this house, and because it would not have served the minister's purpose to have shown the people into what an abyss he meant to lead them." After a number of very animated debates, the triple assessment bill passed the house of commons, on the 4th of January, when the opposition divided, one hundred and twenty-seven against two hundred and two. Pending the discussions on this new scheme of finance, Lord Holland, the nephew of Mr. Fox, made his first appearance as a public speaker in the house of lords, and in the course of his opposition to this measure, displayed so much ability as to draw from Lord Grenville expressions of admiration. During the progress of this bill through parliament, a clause was introduced, on the motion of the speaker of the house of commons, to admit of voluntary contributions towards the general defence of the country, now menaced with invasion by a powerful and enraged enemy; and the aggregate of the voluntary contributions thus entered into, under the sanction of parliament, amounted to one million and a half, to which the bank of England contributed two hundred thousand pounds, the king twenty thousand, and the queen five thousand, out of their private purse.

The next financial measure brought before the present session of parliament by the minister, was introduced on the 2d of April, 1798. The ostensible object of the

bill was the redemption of the land-tax, but its effect was to perpetuate the sale of that unequal impost. The revenue at that time derived from the land-tax, amounted to two millions sterling; this Mr. Pitt proposed to set up at twenty years' purchase, when the three per cent. consols were at fifty, subject to a rise in the price to purchasers, according to the rise of stocks. Forty millions sterling, the present amount of the land-tax, at twenty years' purchase, would amount to eighty millions, three per cent. stock, affording an interest of two millions four hundred thousand pounds, and leaving, by this operation, a clear annual gain to the public revenue of four hundred thousand pounds. The person who purchased his share of the land-tax would obtain a landed security of his property, and that at a rate so favourable as to render it a very desirable object. But, what was of much greater importance to the interests of the state, eighty millions of capital would be taken out of the market. As to the terms that would be given, they should, Mr. Pitt observed, be such as would induce every person who was able to become a purchaser. The proprietor was of course to have the right of pre-emption; and to simplify the operation, the purchase was to be made in stock, not in money. The bill further provided, that if the owner of the land should not be able to make the purchase within a time to be limited, his situation, or that of his heirs, should not be entirely hopeless, but a further period should be allowed to take advantage of the purchase. In the absence of the leading members of opposition, this bill passed into a law, without encountering any considerable difficulties; but from the radical defects of the plan, not more than about one-fourth part of the land-tax was, within the space of the three succeeding years, bought up, and the advantage to the public, in point of revenue, did not within that period exceed fifty thousand a year.

At the same time that the land-tax at four shillings in the pound was made perpetual, certain duties to the amount of that tax on sugar and tobacco were rendered annual; in order that the control which parliament previously possessed over the public purse might suffer no diminution.

Though a message had, early in the session, been sent to the two houses of parliament, apprizing the members of the preparations making by the enemy for the invasion of these kingdoms, and soliciting the early attention of parliament to the subject, some time elapsed before any regular plan could be matured for the national defence. At length, however, Mr. Dundas moved for the introduction of a bill to enable his majes-

ty to call out a proportion of the supplementary militia; and after an interval of some weeks, a second bill was introduced, for the encouragement of voluntary associations in defence of the country. This call was promptly obeyed; and no period in the history of Great Britain was ever distinguished by more striking manifestations of patriotic feeling and military ardour. A third bill was brought into the house by Mr. Dundas, for the revival of the suspension of the habeas corpus act, which when a rebellion was impending in one kingdom, and when another was held in daily expectation of an invasion, could not with propriety experience any opposition. During the discussions on the subject, Mr. Pitt declared, that at no former period of the war were the preparations of the enemy for a descent upon this country so ripe, so extensive, or so truly alarming, as at the present moment.

Under a persuasion that the dangers of the country were continually increasing, from the vast preparations accumulating on the coast of France, the chancellor of the exchequer, on Friday, the 25th of May, moved for a bill for more effectually manning the navy; and as his chief object was the temporary suspension of the protections of seamen, he expressed an earnest wish that the bill should pass that day through its different stages, with a suitable pause at each if required; and that it should be sent to the lords for their concurrence. Mr. Tierney said, the very extraordinary manner in which the house was called upon to adopt this measure could not fail to create great and unnecessary alarm; and if the honourable gentleman persisted in hurrying the bill through its respective stages in the manner proposed, he should feel it his duty to give it his decided negative. Indeed, from all he had lately seen, he must view the measures of ministers as hostile to the liberty of the subject.

Mr. Pitt, rising with considerable warmth, said, "If every measure adopted against the designs of France is to be considered as hostile to the liberties of this country, my idea of liberty differs widely from that of the honourable gentleman. If the measure be necessary, and as a notice of such an intention will enable those on whom it is meant to operate to elude its effects, how can the honourable gentleman's opposition to it be accounted for, but from a desire to obstruct the defence of the country?" . . . Mr. Tierney now rose, and called the chancellor of the exchequer to order: on which Mr. Addington, the speaker, with that dignified impartiality which characterized every part of his parliamentary conduct, observed, that whatever had a ten-

dency to throw suspicion on the sentiments of a member, if conveyed in a language that clearly marked that intention, was certainly irregular; of this the house would judge; but they would wait to hear the right honourable gentleman's explanation.

Mr. Pitt, rising with that lofty port which he was so capable of assuming, said:—"If the house wait for my explanation, I fear it will wait a long time. I know very well that it is not parliamentary to state the motives that actuate the opinions of the members of this house; but it is impossible to go into arguments in favour of a question, without sometimes hinting at the motives that induce an opposition to the measures proposed. I submit to the judgment of the house the propriety of what I have urged, but I will not depart from any thing I have advanced by either retraction or explanation."

This peremptory refusal to explain or to retract the obnoxious expression, was considered as at once contumacious towards parliament, and personally insulting to the individual; and under these circumstances the laws of honour, as they are falsely called, left Mr. Tierney no alternative; he immediately left the house, and the next morning sent Mr. Pitt a challenge. On Sunday afternoon, at three o'clock, the parties met on Putney-Heath, Mr. Pitt being accompanied by Mr. Ryder, and Mr. Tierney by Mr. George Walpole. After some ineffectual attempts on the part of the seconds to prevent further proceedings, the combatants took their ground, at the distance of twelve paces; a pistol was then fired at the same moment by each, without effect; to which another succeeded, but Mr. Pitt firing his second pistol in the air, the seconds interfered, and the matter was accommodated.

It was the misfortune of this distracted period of our history, to be agitated with violent political discussions, the influence of which extended themselves to the breast even of royalty itself; and on the 19th of May his majesty in council called for the council-book, and with his own hand erased the name of the Right Honourable Charles James Fox from the list of privy counsellors. So signal a mark of the royal displeasure had seldom been exhibited in this country, and this act of expulsion was considered the more extraordinary, as it was the boast of Mr. Fox, supported by indubitable facts, that during the whole time he had held the dignified office of privy counsellor, he had never given a vote by which the life of a single British subject had been sacrificed, or a single guinea of the public money unnecessarily expended. It happened, however, at a more advanced

period of his majesty's reign, and it is mentioned to the honour of both the sovereign and the subject, that not only was the name of this distinguished statesman again inscribed in the council-books, but he was also elevated, by the signature of the same hand that made the erasure, to one of the first offices in the state, which station he held until death put a period to his public services, and placed him by the side of his great political rival.

In the year 1798, as in the year that preceded it, the chancellor of the exchequer found himself obliged to lay before the house a second estimate of supplies; when he took occasion to state that the loan must be fifteen instead of twelve millions; and that the triple assessment, which was calculated at seven millions, would, it was apprehended, from the numerous modifications and abatements, be reduced to four millions and a half. The interest of the increased loan and deficiencies he estimated at seven hundred and sixty-three thousand pounds, which he proposed to provide for by additional duties on salt, tea, dogs, horses, and carriages, and by a tax on armorial bearings. The various duties on houses and windows were, at the same time, consolidated into one table, graduating according to a regular scale, and diminished in some instances where the rise was disproportioned to the value of the houses.

In the course of this session, Mr. Wilberforce again renewed his annual motion for the abolition of the slave-trade, and the result proved that the cause of truth and humanity was making gradual advances towards that consummation which was, in the end, to crown the labours of the friends of the abolition. On this subject Mr. Fox did not despair of rendering some service to his country; and, impelled by that powerful feeling of humanity which so strongly marked his political life, he again presented himself in the house of commons. After an animated debate, in which both Mr. Pitt and he spoke with their accustomed energy in favour of the abolition, the house divided; when it appeared, that in a house of one hundred and seventy-four members, the majority in favour of the continuance of the trade amounted only to four voices!

In the course of the present session the Duke of Bedford, after a very animated speech, moved an address to the throne for the removal of ministers, which, after a long and vehement debate, was negatived by a majority of one hundred voices.

The distracted situation of the sister kingdom could not fail to produce great disquietude and apprehension in the British parliament; and in an early period of the

session Earl Moira, a nobleman of great property, influence, and popularity in that island, and a member of both legislatures, called the attention of the lords to that country, and "entreated the house to take into consideration the tendency of the oppressive and cruel system now practised with the authority of government, which, instead of removing discontents, had increased the numbers of the discontented, and would, he feared, if the system was not changed, ultimately separate Ireland from this country for ever." His lordship, in conclusion, moved an address to the king, praying that the situation of Ireland might be taken into immediate consideration. This motion was opposed both by Lord Grenville and the lord chancellor, on the ground that the house was not in possession of any authentic information on the subject now under discussion; and that, supposing the evils complained of really to exist, the power to redress them was not vested in the British, but in the Irish parliament. This reasoning was deemed conclusive, and the question of adjournment was put and carried.

On the 16th of March, Earl Moira, feeling himself in a situation to obviate the objection arising out of a want of authentic information, again brought the general state of the affairs of Ireland under consideration, and stated that he had the affidavits of a hundred persons in his possession, to prove that torture had been employed in that unhappy country, in extorting confessions from individuals against themselves, and against their neighbours; and that horrible devastation had been made on the houses and property of persons accused of disaffection. The Marquis of Downshire replied, that zeal had carried the noble lord too far in his representations against the executive government. He was ready to admit that some of the army, perhaps the undisciplined troops, might have committed excesses, but he would contend that it was not in consequence of any orders they had received either from their officers or from government. With respect to coercion, he saw the necessity of it, nor would he disguise, nor was he ashamed to acknowledge, that he was one of the first to recommend the executive government to issue the proclamation for putting the county of Down under martial law. Earl Moira rose to reply, but he was called to order by the Earl of Caernarvon, and his lordship reluctantly suffered the conversation to drop, after observing that the documents he had referred to did not relate to any casual excesses of the troops.

On the 15th of June, Ireland being now a scene of carnage and horror, the Duke of

Leinster, an Irish nobleman of the highest rank, and a peer of Great Britain, after an impressive speech, during the delivery of which his feelings seemed deeply agitated, moved an address, humbly requesting "that his majesty would deign to direct the proper officers to lay before that house a full and ample statement of the facts and circumstances which led to the disastrous affairs of Ireland, and of the measures which had hitherto been pursued for the purpose of averting such momentous evils. A long and animated debate ensued, in which the motion was supported by the Dukes of Norfolk, Bedford, Devonshire, and Leeds; and by Lords Suffolk, Moira, Fitzwilliam, Besborough, and Holland; but the opposition of Lords Townshend, Carlisle, Grenville, Spencer, and the lord chancellor prevailed, and on a division there appeared, contents eighteen, non-contents fifty-one.

On the same day, Lord George Cavendish, after a short and emphatic speech, introduced a series of resolutions, recommending a system of policy to be adopted towards Ireland at once firm and conciliatory, and wherein "severity should be tempered with mercy." These resolutions were seconded by Lord John Russell; but on the motion of Mr. Canning for proceeding to the order of the day, all the resolutions were negatived by a majority of two hundred and twelve to sixty-six members. Mr. Fox, in conformity with a notice he had previously given to that effect, then rose, and moved the following proposition:

"Resolved—That this house (understanding it to be a matter of notoriety, that the system of coercion has been enforced in Ireland with a rigour shocking to humanity; and particularly that scourges and other tortures have been employed to extort confessions) is of opinion, that an immediate stop should be put to practices so disgraceful to the British name; and that our hopes of restoring tranquillity to Ireland must arise from a change of system, as far as relates to the executive government, together with a removal from their stations of those persons by whose advice such atrocities have been perpetrated, and towards whom the people of Ireland can feel no sentiments but those of resentment and terror."

These discussions on the situation of Ireland in both houses of parliament took place with closed doors; and the same system of secrecy was pursued on the 18th of June, when Lord Grenville rose to present a message from his majesty, informing the house, that the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates of different regiments of militia of this kingdom, had made to his majesty a voluntary tender of their services, to be employed in aid of the regular and militia forces in Ireland, for the suppression of the rebellion now unhappily existing in that country. A bill

was accordingly produced by Lord Grenville, and read a first time. On Tuesday the 19th of June, the address, empowering his majesty to accept the offer of such regiments as should be willing to serve in Ireland, was carried, after an animated debate.

On the 19th of June the same subject was introduced to the house of commons, in virtue of his majesty's message; on which Mr. Secretary Dundas observed, that as he was not aware of any objection that could reasonably be urged against the measure, he should content himself with moving the thanks of the house to his majesty for his most gracious communication. Mr. Nichols said, if the militia force of this kingdom were sent to Ireland, the principle of the militia bill, as originally established, would be completely abandoned. The house, moreover, he added, ought to be fully acquainted with the merits of the question before they proceeded to give their support to the measures in contemplation, and fully to ascertain the causes of the discontent which had driven that unfortunate country into the present unnatural contest. Mr. Lawrence Polk and Mr. Pierrepont, gentlemen not usually found in the ranks of opposition, contended against the measure, as a gross and flagrant violation of the constitution; and Mr. Banks moved as an amendment, that the house considered the proposition suggested in his majesty's message as of the utmost importance, and such as required further deliberation. Mr. Secretary Windham said, it had been suggested that the house ought to pause before it agreed to the address; but were they to pause while an actual rebellion existed in one corner of the empire, while the king's troops and rebels were fighting, and not assist the former to bring the latter to a sense of duty? The objection that the English militia had been raised merely for the protection of England, and never to be sent out of it, did not appear to him stronger than might be urged in the case of fencible corps, which had been raised on similar terms. Mr. Tierney declared, that when the minister had such a proposition to make as

the present, he ought to come down to the house clothed in sackcloth and ashes. There was no official communication to that house, even of the existence of a rebellion in Ireland, except in the message calling upon them to take this unconstitutional step, in order to suppress it. The militia was a part of the constitution: where was a substitute to be found for this body? The tenor of the oath was "to serve faithfully in Great Britain." Mr. Wilberforce said, he was convinced that the measure was in itself objectionable, yet he must give it his decided support, on account of necessity. On a division of the house, there appeared for the address one hundred and eighteen, against it forty-seven voices; and bills, founded upon the message, were afterwards passed through the respective stages, and received the sanction of the sovereign, previously to the prorogation of parliament, which took place on the 29th of June.

The kingdom being thus deprived of about twelve thousand of its constitutional defenders, though still under the impending and imminent apprehension of an invasion, a spirit of military ardour seemed at once to seize and pervade the whole kingdom; and all ranks and orders of men, whether friendly or adverse to the measures of the existing administration, eagerly formed themselves into volunteer corps, commanded by officers of their own choice, acting under temporary commissions from the king; until England presented to her fierce and formidable foe the glorious picture of an armed people, inspired with the magnanimous resolution of sacrificing their lives in defence of their country. From this imposing spectacle, France, which had hitherto cherished the delusive hope that she had numerous partisans and adherents in Great Britain, shrunk back, astonished and appalled. But while one part of the British dominions was rendered invulnerable by the martial spirit and patriotic ardour of the people, another part of the empire was at the same time exposed to the most imminent hazard, by that greatest of all political evils, mis-called civil war.

CHAPTER VII.

IRISH REBELLION: The predisposing Causes—Disaffection arising from exclusive Privileges and defective Parliamentary Representation—French Connexion—The Arrival of Mr. Jackson, a French Emissary—His Conduct and Fate—Progress of the Spirit of Disaffection—Trial of Arthur O'Connor and his Associates at Maidstone—Conviction and Execution of Quigley—Arrest of the Irish Directory—Arrest and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald—Arrest of John and Henry Shearés—Origin and Object of the White Boys—Of the Defenders—Of the Peep-of-day Boys—Constitution and Organization of the Society of United Irishmen—Institution of Orange Lodges—Excess of contending Factions.

At a period when France had put an end to the Vendean war, Britain unfortunately beheld an insurrection in the bowels of her empire; and as the former contest had been fomented and prolonged by the policy of the neighbouring powers, so the present appears to have assumed a formidable shape, and even in part to have originated, in consequence of the encouragement held out to the disaffected by a hostile state.

In entering upon a history of the Irish rebellion of 1798, it may be proper to premise, that from the first acquisition of Ireland, in the reign of Henry II., the Irish race of inhabitants have never been cordially reconciled to the English government; and perhaps it may with equal truth be added, that the English government have never, at any period of their history, taken the necessary steps to produce a cordial reconciliation. In consequence of the immense confiscations which succeeded the rebellions in Ireland, during the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, Charles I., and William III., almost the whole landed property of the kingdom was transferred to English settlers and their descendants, who formed in effect a distinct colony in Ireland—a nation within a nation, differing in manners, customs, language, and religion, and enjoying the whole political power and influence of the country for a long succession of ages. From the accession of the house of Hanover, however, although the laws against popery till a recent period suffered no relaxation, the government of the country was administered in the spirit of mildness; the civilization of the inhabitants, and the commercial advantages of the country increased; and the Catholics participated, though not equally, in the general prosperity. At length, towards the close of the American war, a numerous body of Catholic subjects, co-operating with their Protestant fellow-citizens, evinced a zeal and patriotism in the cause of their country, that demanded an adequate return on the part of the British government; and that reward Ireland did not fail to find in

the grant of a free trade, and the recognition of her political independence.*

It has been frequently observed, and the remark is correct with certain limitations, that in proportion as the government concedes, in the same proportion the governed continue to demand concessions. It is indeed right that the people should extend their claims till all their reasonable demands are satisfied; and it is equally proper that those persons to whom the direction of public affairs is conferred, should make a stand when they have granted all that they consider fairly compatible with

* In the year 1779, when England was involved in a war with France, Spain, and America, and when the combined squadron of those powers was riding triumphantly in the British Channel, holding forth threats of invasion, a numerous body of men arose in the sister kingdom, under the designation of "*The Volunteers of Ireland*." These patriotic bands, which were to be found in every part of the country, at first supplied themselves with arms at their own expense; and government, wishing to encourage the laudable spirit which at that period actuated the Irish nation, distributed immense quantities of arms to such as wished to share in the honour of defending their country, but were not in a situation to furnish themselves with the necessary equipments. To the immortal honour of these self-embodied men, they not only deterred the enemy from attempting an invasion, but they showed at the same time an exemplary regard for the laws, and an ardent zeal in enforcing their execution. But these military associations, excellent in themselves, and admirably calculated to answer the purpose of their original institution, soon exhibited their attendant evils: when the occasion that called them into existence was passed, the soldier became a politician; and an armed population, by their delegates, assembled in Dublin, in the year 1783, as a national congress, the representative body of one hundred and three volunteer corps, with instructions to form a plan and draw up a petition for parliamentary reform! The principle of volunteering, too, while it was productive of a social and liberal intercourse, appears to have diffused a spirit of conviviality throughout the country, incompatible with habits of industry and economy, and by which the representatives in parliament, and their most zealous friends and adherents in the country, fell into a dereliction and abandonment of public duty, while at the same time they neglected their private interests.

the just pretensions of the claimants and the general interests of the community. The difficulty consists in drawing the line, which ought at all times to pass at an equal distance from oppression and licentiousness. No sooner had the boon of unrestrained commerce and national independence been granted to the people of Ireland in general, than the Catholics began to urge their peculiar claims of an equal participation in the honours and emoluments of a state, of which that body constituted at least two-thirds of the whole number. The Irish parliament, however, viewed their application with the highest degree of jealousy and aversion, from an apprehension that if the elective franchise were extended to the Catholic body, the commons house of parliament would soon consist of a large majority of Catholic members. In support of these claims, combined with a radical reform in parliament, a society was formed in Ireland, soon after the breaking out of the French revolution, under the designation of the "Society of United Irishmen:" and as it now became of the utmost importance to the British government, that the spirit of discontent in Ireland should not be suffered to rise to disaffection, the memorable Catholic toleration bill was, as has already been related, introduced into the Irish parliament in the session of 1793, under the sanction of government, and at the express recommendation of the sovereign. This bill, which in its original shape was ample in its provisions, became so much narrowed in its principle, and limited in its operation, by the Irish legislature, as to afford satisfaction neither to the Catholics of Ireland, nor to the government of England; and at the close of the year 1794, Earl Fitzwilliam was in consequence appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, with full powers, as he himself imagined, and as the whole kingdom of Ireland understood, to carry the plan of emancipation into effect. His lordship, more distinguished for political integrity than for skilful intrigue, did not hesitate to dismiss from his councils the adversaries of Catholic emancipation, and to substitute in their stead the ardent friends of those measures which it was the object of his appointment to carry into effect. The consequence of this procedure was his immediate recall, and the appointment of the Earl of Camden to the vice-regal office. These events took place in the early part of the year 1795; and in the month of March, 1796, the spirit of disaffection had spread to so alarming an extent, that it was found necessary to pass the insurrection act, empowering the magistrates to pro-

claim any country or district out of the king's peace, and to subject the inhabitants to the operation of military law. At the same time, the oppressive monopolies of land, entails, and settlements, with the payment of tithes, which in Ireland are so unfortunately modified as to fall with a very unequal pressure upon tillage, formed so many distinct sources of disaffection; and the agitators of revolt did not fail to remind the miserable cottager that the establishment of a commonwealth necessarily included the abolition of tithes, and would in its consequences relieve him from the grinding exactions, which, in the shape of douceurs, were so frequently practised by the agent of his landlord.

It had now become evident, that a dark and dangerous connexion was carrying on between the heads of the society of United Irishmen and the French government, which a short time matured into a treasonable conspiracy, and which had for its aim nothing less than the subversion of the government of Ireland, and the entire dissolution of its connexion with the sister kingdom. So flagitious an act of treason may be palliated, but it can by no means be justified. It is true, indeed, that all had not been granted to the people of Ireland which a large body of the nation had seen proper to require; but it can as little be denied, that the present reign had been a reign of indulgence and concession. The last act of toleration, imperfect as it might be considered, restored the Catholics of Ireland to many of the privileges and immunities of their fellow-subjects; and as the current, upon the whole, ran in their favour, there is sufficient ground to believe, that had they conducted themselves with temper and moderation, they would ultimately have succeeded, by peaceable and constitutional means, in their attempts to obtain all their political and civil rights. It is due, however, to the Catholics to observe, that the conspirators were by no means exclusively of that community; and that reform and Catholic emancipation were, by the leaders of the malcontents, used rather to entrap the unwary, than as the true object of those under whose banners the great mass of the disaffected were preparing to shed their blood, and to sacrifice every enjoyment, personal and domestic. It must be obvious, too, that Ireland, had she succeeded in divesting herself of her dependence upon Great Britain, must soon have become a province of France; and the example of Belgium, Lombardy, Venice, and even Holland, might have served to show her how much was to be gained by French fraternization.

So early as the year 1794, the French government had sent an agent, a clergyman of the established church of England, and a native of Ireland, into these kingdoms, to acquire intelligence; and Jackson, the agent of the republic, at first took up his residence at the house of a British merchant, of the name of Stone, at Olford, near London. Stone, whose vanity outran his discretion, applied to Mr. Sheridan on a plea of rendering some great service to his country, to which the eloquent senator very properly replied, "that he would neither receive any information, nor give any opinion on the subjects to which Mr. Stone obscurely alluded; and that whatever he had to disclose ought to be addressed to the secretary of state, Mr. Dundas, who was the best judge of its importance." Jackson, finding that the project of an invasion of England was hopeless, repaired to Ireland, from whence he carried on a correspondence with his friend the English merchant; but they both were soon afterwards apprehended, and tried on a charge of high-treason, when Stone was pronounced not guilty; but Jackson, less fortunate, was convicted, and at the moment when sentence of death was about to be passed upon him, he fell down suddenly, and expired in the court.* The conviction of Jackson served as an intimation to Mr. Theobald Wolfe Tone, a barrister-at-law, and the reputed founder of the society of United Irishmen, to abscond to France, along with Mr. Hamilton Rowan, and some other distinguished members of that dangerous association.

In the year 1795, and soon after the departure of Earl Fitzwilliam from Ireland, the society of United Irishmen received an important accession of men of talents and influence, among whom are to be enumerated Mr. Arthur O'Connor, late member of the Irish parliament, a nephew and the presumptive heir of Lord Longueville; Dr. Mc'Nevin, chairman of the Catholic committee; Mr. Oliver Bond, an opulent Dublin merchant; and Mr. Thomas Addis Emmet, a barrister. About the close of the year 1795, a regular communication was opened by the leaders of the society with the French directory, through the medium of Mr. Tone and other Irish refugees; and early in the following year, a proposition was received from the French government, and accepted by the secret committee of the society of United Irishmen, to send over an army to Ireland, to assist in the projected effort to subvert the monarchy, and to separate Ireland from her British con-

nexion. The first agents of the insurgents demanded from France any number of troops not more than ten, nor less than five thousand; but the French showed a decided inclination to send an army sufficient to conquer and to retain possession of the country—fifty or sixty thousand at least. Three armaments, one from Spain, a second from France, and a third from Holland, were destined to sail for the coast of Ireland, in the same year; but the defeat of the Spanish fleet by Earl St. Vincent, and that of the Batavian fleet by Lord Duncan, entirely disconcerted this plan of invasion. These disasters by no means discouraged the insurgents, who had their expectations buoyed up by an assurance, on the part of the French directory, that such succours as circumstances would admit should arrive in Ireland from France in the month of April or May, 1798. At the commencement of this year, a grand effort was resolved upon:—In the month of February, a military commission was appointed by the executive council of the insurgents, and nocturnal assemblies were held in various parts of the kingdom, where the people were trained to the use of arms, to be directed in open warfare against government. At the same time, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, one of the executive directory (for the United Irish, following the example of their Gallic allies, had chosen a directory), repaired to London with an intention of proceeding to France, in company with Mr. John Binns, a very active member of the London Corresponding Society; James Quigley, an Irish priest; and two attendants of the names of Allen and Leary. Attempts had been recently made, with some success, to form a society of United Englishmen on the model of the United Irish, and Quigley and Binns were the chief promoters of this design. In and about the town of Manchester only, the association had extended itself to no fewer than eighty divisions, containing from fifteen to thirty-six members each, and an association of the same nature was established also in Scotland, both maintaining an intimate intercourse with the original Corresponding Society* in London, and acting upon the system marked out by the affiliated societies of Ireland.

Government having received accurate intelligence relative to the motions and designs of O'Connor and his associates, these conspirators were taken into custody at Margate, in the attempt to obtain a passage to France, on the 28th of February. After being confined some time in the Tower, they were removed to Maidstone, where they were tried by a special commission.

* From the effects of poison, which he had taken in the prison.—W. G

* Vide Report of the Secret Committee

on the 21st and 22d of May, two days before the breaking out of the rebellion in Ireland. Quigley, on whose person was found a paper, purporting to be an address "from the secret committee of England to the executive directory of France," was capitally convicted; and such was his devotion to the principles he had espoused, that he died with heroic fortitude, in what he considered the cause of his country. No evidence appearing against Allen and Leary, they were immediately set at liberty; but O'Connor and Binns, notwithstanding their acquittal, were detained on another charge of high-treason, preferred against them by the British government.* (40)

* As soon as the verdict of acquittal was pronounced, and before Mr. O'Connor was formally discharged, he was preparing to quit the bar with more than usual precipitation; on which Rivett, the police officer, who had been directed to detain the prisoner on a second charge of high-treason, rushed forward to prevent his escape, and a violent commotion instantly arose in the court, which did not subside till Mr. O'Connor was secured. On the 25th of April, 1799, Sackville, Earl of Thanet, and Robert Fergusson, Esq. barrister-at-law, were tried and convicted in the court of king's bench, on a charge of promoting this riotous proceeding, and of conspiring with others to rescue the prisoner. In virtue of this conviction, the defendants were brought up for judgment on the 1st day of June in the same year; when his lordship was sentenced to pay a fine of one thousand pounds, and to be confined one year in the Tower; and Mr. Fergusson to pay a fine of one hundred pounds, and be confined one year in the king's bench prison.

(40) The above statement is not exactly correct. Mr. O'Connor only was detained on a charge of high-treason. Mr. Binns was not imprisoned until some months after the Maidstone trials; and then upon a charge of treasonable practices, predicated on a report made to the British house of commons, by a secret committee, which had been appointed with power to send for persons and papers.†

† Mr. O'Connor had been a member of the Irish house of commons, where he was an eloquent and powerful advocate of Catholic emancipation. Immediately after his acquittal at Maidstone, he was sent a prisoner to Ireland, and thence, under a special act of parliament, he and twenty-two other state prisoners were sent to Fort George, in Scotland. On the ratification of the treaty of Amiens, in 1802, the state prisoners confined in Fort George were sent to Hamburg by the British government. Thence, Mr. O'Connor went to Paris. Soon after his arrival, he was appointed, by Napoleon, a major-general, in the service of France, in which country he has continued to reside, enjoying the rank and half-pay of the station to which he was appointed in 1802. He never, however, served as a military man, but was employed chiefly in conducting a periodical journal at Paris, called the *Argus*. Mr. Binns, under this report, was imprisoned nearly two years, without being brought to trial. The act for the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act, not having been re-enacted in the session of the British parliament for 1800-1, the prisoners confined in England for treasonable practices were liberated. Mr. Binns

The period had now arrived, when the great revolutionary *dénouement* was to be developed; and while, on the one hand, the insurgent chiefs proceeded in their plans, with a resolution to defer, if possible, the breaking out of the insurrection till the arrival of their French auxiliaries, the government, on the other, was determined to disorganize their system, and either to crush the incipient insurrection in the bud, or to force the disaffected into a premature effort. After the proclamation of many districts in the southern and midland counties, the imprisonment and transportation of several persons implicated in the conspiracy, and other acts of power, a very severe wound was inflicted on the 12th of March upon the union, by the arrest of the thirteen members composing the provincial committee of Leinster, with other principals of the conspiracy, at the house of Mr. Oliver Bond, in Dublin. This arrest was grounded on the information of Thomas Reynolds, a Roman Catholic gentleman of Kilkea Castle, in the county of Kildare, colonel of a regiment of United Irishmen, treasurer of the county in which he resided, and provincial delegate for Leinster.* In these arrests, were included the most active and efficient leaders of the union; and among others, Thomas Addis Emmet, Doctor William James McNevin, and Oliver Bond. At the same time, a warrant was issued against Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and a thousand pounds offered for his apprehension; but his lordship for some time eluded the vigilance of the police, and remained for several weeks concealed in the city of Dublin. At length, however, he was discovered, on the 19th of May, in the house of Nicholas Murphy, a merchant, in Thomas street, Dublin, in consequence of a hint given by Murphy's servant maid to a military suitor.† On the police officers entering the room, the infatuated nobleman made a desperate effort to effect his escape, in which he wounded Mr. Justice Swaz, and Captain Ryan, dangerously, the latter mortally; and was himself so desperately wounded in the shoulder by the shot of a pistol from Major Sirr, that, after languishing till the third of the following month, he died, in extreme agony. This young nobleman, who was brother to the Duke of Leinster, and married to a French lady of

immediately came to the United States, and settled in Pennsylvania. He is now, and for some years has been, one of the aldermen of the city of Philadelphia.—W. G.

* This Reynolds was a traitor to the cause which he had solemnly sworn to support.—W. G.

† The source from which the government derived the information as to the place of his lordship's concealment, is still involved in mystery.—W. G.

the royal blood of the Capets, an illegitimate daughter of the late Duke of Orleans, was eminently qualified for the excitement and direction of revolutionary commotions, being a man of daring courage, a most active spirit, considerable powers of mind, and of a family highly respected for its ancient greatness by the lower classes of the Irish: the loss of such a man to the insurgent cause, and at such a juncture, cannot be estimated.

The vacancies created in the directorial and other departments, by these arrests, were supplied without difficulty, but with men much less fit for the arduous task of overturning a monarchy, fenced round by civil and military power, and substituting in its stead a commonwealth, grounded on the suffrages of an ignorant sanguinary multitude. Among the members of the new directory were two brothers of the name of Sheares, barristers by profession, and politics apart, of unsullied reputation. To these new directors, a government agent of the name of Captain Armstrong found ready access, and by a show of great zeal in the cause, he had the address to obtain the confidence of the leaders, from whom he learned, "that a general rising must immediately take place; that the impatience of the people since the criminal prosecution could no longer be restrained; and that it was become necessary to make a great and immediate national effort, and to relinquish the original plan of waiting for French succours." The project proposed was to seize the camp of Loughlin's-town, the artillery at Chapelizod, and the castle of Dublin, all on the night of the 23d of May: and it was further determined that a simultaneous rising should take place at Cork. But, on the 21st of that month, the two brothers John and Henry Sheares, with some others of the principal conspirators, were apprehended; the city and county of Dublin were declared by the lord-lieutenant and council to be in a state of insurrection; the guards at the castle, and at all the great objects of attack, were trebled; and the whole city was in fact converted into a garrison.

Among the precautions taken on this occasion by government, was the augmentation of the several corps of armed yeomanry, a species of force that was first embodied, in the month of October, 1796, in a kind of independent companies. These yeomanry corps were each composed of about fifty men, mostly cavalry, with a much smaller body of infantry attached to them, and were generally commanded by a captain and two lieutenants; the infantry being armed like a regular army, and the cavalry furnished with a pistol and sword

each, to which sometimes a carbine was added. In six months from their first establishment, the numbers increased to thirty-seven thousand; and during the rebellion, the yeomanry force exceeded fifty thousand.

Here it may be proper to pause, for the purpose of taking a review of some of the parties by which Ireland, now on the eve of a civil war, had for years been agitated; and whose inveterate animosities had conspired, more perhaps than any other cause, to render this one of the most sanguinary contests, for the period of its duration, that ever disgraced the world, not excepting even the wars that raged among the rival factions of France at the breaking out of the French revolution.

In the year 1759, and under the administration of the Duke of Bedford, an alarming spirit of insurrection appeared in the south of Ireland, which manifested itself by numerous and frequent risings of the lower class of Roman Catholics, dressed in white uniforms, whence they were denominated "*white boys*." The object of these illegal proceedings was, as they alleged, to prevent the enclosure of commons, the extortions of tithe proctors, and the exorbitant fees exacted by their own clergy.

No sooner had the excesses committed by these disturbers of the public peace begun to subside, than two rival factions arose in the year 1784, and became distinguished by the appropriate names of "*Defenders*," and "*Peep-of-day boys*." These associations, originating in a violent quarrel between two obscure individuals, soon assumed a religious distinction, and as the Roman Catholics, or defenders, showed uncommon zeal in collecting arms, the Presbyterians, or peep-of-day boys, began to disarm them, by visiting the houses of their antagonists at an early hour in the morning, when they often committed the most wanton outrages. The excesses on both sides at length became so intolerable, that it was found necessary to interpose the strong arm of the law. In the autumn and winter of 1792, so many barbarous outrages were committed by the defenders, whose numbers had enabled them to triumph over their adversaries, that at the spring assizes in the county of Louth, in 1793, twenty-one defenders were sentenced to die, twenty-five to be transported, twelve to be imprisoned a certain time, for having conspired to murder different persons, thirteen indicted for murder traversed their trials, and bench warrants were issued against eighty other offenders, who had all absconded.* Nor

* Vide Sir Richard Musgrave's "*Memoirs of the Insurrections in Ireland*," second edit. p. 63.

were the crimes or the punishments all confined to one party, for at the assizes of Armagh, in the year 1795, three defenders and two peep-of-day boys were all tried before Baron Power, and being convicted of the crimes laid in the indictment, his lordship awarded against the whole number the punishment of death, which was promptly executed.

But the time was now approaching when these minor societies were to be absorbed in a great and powerful community, which, embracing the disaffected of all sects and parties, was to serve as a general rallying point to rebellion, and by its able organization, and extensive combinations, to spread over the whole face of the country, and ultimately to contest the meed of power with the existing government itself. The society of United Irishmen, which for some time was quite of a civil nature, is represented as having commenced in the spring of 1792, and as formed on the suggestion of Mr. Theobald Wolfe Tone. The organization of this society was completed in Ulster, on the 10th of May, 1795; and it was not till the autumn of the following year, when Catholic emancipation and a reform in parliament, the ostensible wish of all, and with some the real object, were regarded as not otherwise attainable than by force, that the association began to assume a military form. But such was its rapid progress, that in April, 1797, the number of men in Ulster alone, enrolled for insurrection, amounted to nearly one hundred thousand, provided, some with fire-arms, others with pikes, a store of ammunition, and a number of cannon.

The spring of action with the defenders was religious animosity. The main object of the United Irishmen, when they became an organized military body, was to combine all sects and parties in an alliance, for the purpose of overturning the existing government.

About the period when the society of United Irishmen began to assume a military character, another community arose, the object of which was declared to be "the preservation of public order, of the existing system of government, and the protection of all persons who conduct themselves with loyalty, without regard to difference of religion." Between the United Irishmen and this society, which was founded by the protestants of Armagh, in the year 1795, and took its name from William III. Prince of Orange, the zealous supporter of the reformed religion in Ireland, mortal animosities almost instantly arose; and it must be admitted that for some time previous to the breaking out of the rebellion, both parties

had disgraced themselves by the commission of the most dreadful excesses.*

* ORGANIZATION OF THE SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN.

"The Society of United Irishmen," says the Rev. James Gordon, in his history of the rebellion in Ireland, "consisted of a number of smaller associations, linked closely together, and ascending in gradation like the component parts of a pyramid or cone, to a common apex or point of union. The lowest or simple societies consisted originally each of thirty-six, afterwards at most of only twelve men, as nearly as possible of the same neighbourhood, that they might be mutually under the inspection of each other. An assembly of five secretaries, severally elected by five simple societies, formed a lower baronial committee, which had the immediate superintendence and management of these five societies. Ten delegates, elected one from each of ten lower baronial, composed an upper baronial committee, which in like manner directed the business of these ten lower committees. With the same superintendence over their constituent assemblies, delegates from the upper baronial, one deputed from each, formed in the counties, county committees, and in populous towns distinct committees; and the provincial committees, one for each of the four provinces, were composed of delegates from the district and county committees, two from each, sometimes three, when the extent and population of the district seemed to require a more numerous representation. The supreme and uncontrolled command of the whole association was committed to a general executive directory, composed of five persons unknown to all excepting the four secretaries of the provincial committees; for they were elected by ballot in these committees, the secretaries of which alone examined the ballots and notified the election to none except the persons themselves on whom it fell. The orders of this hidden directing power were conveyed through the whole organized body, not by easy discoverable chains of communication. By one member only of the directory were carried the mandates to one member of each provincial committee, by the latter severally to the secretaries of the district and county committees, by these secretaries to those of the upper baronials, and thus downwards through the lower baronial to the simple societies.

"The military was grafted on the civil organization of this artfully-framed union; and to complete the scheme of warlike preparation, a military committee, instituted in the beginning of the year 1798, and appointed by the directory, had its task assigned to contrive plans for the direction of the national force, either for the purpose of unaided rebellion, or co-operation with an invading French army, as occasion should require. Orders were issued, that the members of the union should furnish themselves, where their circumstances allowed it, with fire-arms; where not, with pikes. To form a pecuniary fund for the various expenses of this great revolutionary machine, monthly subscriptions, according to the zeal and ability of the subscribers, were collected in the several societies, and treasurers appointed by suffrage for their collection and disbursement.

"From this fund were supplied the demands of the emissaries commissioned to extend the union. Of these, considerable numbers were despatched into the southern and western counties

To enumerate all the acts of violence and outrage perpetrated by the conflicting parties, previous to the breaking out of the insurrection, would far exceed the limits prescribed in this work to the period of history now under consideration, but it is incumbent upon the historian to record, with a frequent reference to authorities, a few of the most flagitious of their number.

in the beginning and course of 1797, where, though many had been sworn into the union, little progress for the effectual promotion of the system had been made before the autumn of 1796.*

From the first institution of the society of United Irishmen, every individual on his admission into the Union had a Test Oath to the following effect administered to him; and after the breaking out of the rebellion, "the council for directing the affairs of the people of Wexford," ordered that all the soldiers of the united army should take either the officers' or privates' oath, according to their respective stations:

TEST OATH.

"In the awful presence of God, I, A. B., do voluntarily declare, that I will persevere in endeavouring to form a brotherhood of affection among Irishmen, of every religious persuasion, and that I will also persevere in my endeavours to obtain an equal, full, and adequate representation of all the people of Ireland—I do further declare, that neither hopes, fears, rewards, nor punishments, not even death, shall ever induce me, directly or indirectly, to inform or give evidence against any member or members of this, or similar societies, for any act or expression of theirs, done or made collectively or individually, in or out of this society, in pursuance of the spirit of this obligation.—*So help me God.*"

OATH OF A PRIVATE.

"I, A. B., do solemnly and sincerely swear, and take God, and his only son, our Lord Jesus Christ, witness, that I will at all times be obedient to the command of my officers—that I am ready to lay down my life for the good of my country—that I have an aversion to plunder, and the spilling of innocent blood—that I will fight courageously in the field, and give mercy where it can be given—that I will avoid drunkenness, as tending to disorder and ruin—that I will endeavour to make as many friends and as few enemies as possible—that above all, I detest a coward, and that I will look upon him as an enemy who shall stand back in the time of battle.—*So help me God.*"

OATH OF AN OFFICER.

"In the awful presence of God, who knows the hearts and thoughts of all men, and calling my country to witness, I, A. B., officer in, &c. do solemnly swear, that I do not consider my life my own when my country demands it—that I consider the present moment calls for a proof of the sincerity of that sentiment; and I am ready and desirous to stand the test; and do aver that I am ready to die, or lead to victory; and that all my actions shall be directed to the prosperity of the common cause, uninfluenced by any inferior motive: and I further declare my utter aversion to all alarmists, union-breakers, and cowards, and my respect and obedience to the commands of superior officers.—*So help me God.*"

By order of the council,

B. HARVEY, President.

NICHOLAS GRAY, Sec.

Done at the Council-chamber

Wexford, June 14th, 1798.

It appears from the reports of the secret committees of the two houses of parliament, from which the subsequent information is principally derived, that it was determined in the councils of the insurgents, "that all persons who, from their principles or situation, might be deemed inimical to the conspiracy against the government, should be massacred; and the first proscription was calculated, by one of their leaders, at thirty thousand persons."† The main object of the system of terror, which the United Irishmen endeavoured to establish by their midnight attacks, was to drive country gentlemen from their houses, or to enforce their connivance or support—a course which was pursued with fatal effect in France;‡ and in furtherance of this purpose, dreadful outrages still continued to be committed in all the northern counties. In the month of March, 1797, the Rev. Mr. Hamilton, who had retired on a living at Donegal, was murdered at Sharon, in the house of the Rev. Dr. Walker, in that county, with horrid circumstances of barbarity, by a party of armed ruffians, who fired wantonly into the windows, by which they shot Mrs. Walker, and afterwards having compelled the servants of the Doctor to force Mr. Hamilton out of the house, they mangled his body with wounds.

In the beginning of the year 1797, the county of Kildare was dreadfully convulsed by the United Irish, who committed robbery and assassination on Protestants almost every night; and during this year the defenders were so formidable in the counties of Meath, West Meath, Kildare, and Longford, that many families were obliged to fly to the metropolis for protection. In the counties of Dublin, Kildare, and Wicklow, and in many parts of Munster, assassinations and the robbery of arms were constantly perpetrated, while the disaffected continued to form traitorous combinations,‡ which extended even to the military.

Accordingly, we find that, in the year 1797, the practice of seducing the king's troops so much prevailed, that in the space of one month, four of the Monaghan militia, two of the Wexford regiment, two of the Kildare, and two of the Lowth militia, were tried by court-martials, and shot for treasonable practices. In the same year, Mr. William Orr, a respectable farmer, was hanged at Carrickfergus, for high-treason.

* Report of the Secret Committee, Appendix No. iii. p. 49.

† Report of the Committee of the House of Lords, for 1796.

‡ Sir Richard Musgrave's Memoirs second edit. p. 167.

Of the means accumulated by the disaffected for carrying their revolutionary enterprises into effect, some estimate may be made from the following facts: A paper, in his own handwriting, was given by Lord Edward Fitzgerald to Reynolds, the informer, which purported to be a return made by a national committee meeting, held the 26th of February, 1798, from which it appeared, that the number of armed men in Ulster, Leinster, and Munster, amounted to two hundred and sixty-nine thousand eight hundred and ninety-six! and that the sum of £1485 4s. 9d. was in the hands of the treasurer.* Another return made by a meeting of colonels, held on the 28th of March, 1798, reported, that their adherents, even among the king's troops, were in the proportion of one in every three, and that the insurgents were in sufficient force to disarm all the military within the bounds of their own counties†—fatal delusion!

That the armoury of the rebel forces was at one time most extensive cannot be doubted, when it is stated, that the following number of arms was seized by the different general officers in the year 1797, in the provinces of Leinster and Ulster alone; guns 49,109; bayonets, 1756; pistols, 4463; swords, 4183; blunderbusses, 248; musket-barrels, 119; sword-blades, 106; ordnance, 22; pikes, 70,630; exclusive of many arms seized or surrendered, which are not included in this return.‡§ In the same year, fourteen thousand nine hundred and seventy-three pikes were surrendered in the county of Kildare alone, in consequence of the pardon offered by government to the repentant. And on the 11th of May, 1798, five pieces of cannon and five hundred pike-handles were seized in Dublin.

On the 12th of December, 1797, Sir Ralph Abercrombie was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in Ireland, and his first step in the discharge of his public duty was to make a tour of observation throughout the whole island. The excesses committed by the military in the provinces had, it appears, called down the general's severe reprobation, and on his return to the capital he caused it to be notified in general orders, "that the irregularities of the troops in Ire-

land had too unfortunately proved the army to be in a state of licentiousness, which must render it formidable to every one but the enemy."* The general, after the publication of his general orders, and under the influence of the observations he had made in his recent view of the country, endeavoured to impress the minds of those in power with his own well-founded opinions, that coercive measures to the extent determined upon were by no means necessary in Ireland. But not having succeeded in producing the effect he intended by these representations, and unwilling to tarnish his military fame, or to risk the loss of his humane and manly character, by leading troops to a scene of civil desolation abhorrent to his nature, he resigned the chief command of the army in Ireland on the 29th of April, 1798, after holding that appointment little more than four months, and was succeeded by General Lake. In the month of March, orders were issued to the army by the lord-lieutenant, to proceed into the disturbed counties; and a manifesto, dated from head-quarters at Kildare, was on the 3d of the ensuing month addressed to the inhabitants, requiring them to surrender their arms in the space of ten days from the notice, on pain of large bodies of troops being distributed among them to live at free quarters; promising at the same time rewards to such as would give information of concealed arms or ammunition, but denouncing exemplary severities if the country should continue in a disturbed state. On the advance of the military into the other counties, a similar notice was given to the inhabitants, and the troops in the county of Kildare, and part of those in the counties of Carlow and Wicklow, were quartered in the houses of the disaffected or suspected, in numbers proportioned to the supposed guilt and ability of the owners. Great numbers of houses with their furniture were burnt, where concealed arms were found, or whose occupants had been guilty of the fabrication of pikes, or other illegal practices for the promotion of the conspiracy. Many of the common people, and some in circumstances of life superior to this class, particularly in Dublin, were scourged, some picketed, and others tortured by different means, to extort from them a confession of plots, or of concealed arms.†

Many irregularities were of course committed by common soldiers, without the approbation or knowledge of their officers, and many other acts of severity by persons

* Report of the Secret Committee of the Commons, p. 141.

† Report of the Secret Committee of the House of Lords, p. 120.

‡ Report of the Secret Committee Appen. No. xxxix. p. 298.

§ The United Irishmen had no armoury; and a vast number of the arms here detailed were seized indiscriminately from persons, without any knowledge of their political principles.—W. G.

* Vide General Orders, dated Dublin, 26th February, 1798.

† Gordon's History, second edition, page 65.

not in the army—some from an unfeigned zeal for the service of the crown, and others to promote sinister purposes, or to gratify a spirit of personal animosity. Even the necessities of life did not escape the destructive operations of the contending parties, and the destruction of corn and other provisions was so extensive, that its effects were felt in dearth and famine for two years after the extinction of the rebellion.

In these turbulent times, persons with short hair, and therefore called *croppies*, by which appellation the United Irishmen were designated, were frequently seized and brought into a guard-house, where a cap, either of coarse linen, or of strong brown paper, besmeared in the inside with pitch, and previously well heated, was compressed upon the head of the unfortunate victim, who was then turned into the streets amidst the acclamations of his merciless tormentors. The pain occasioned by disengaging this cap from the head was of course excruciating; the hair was generally torn up by the roots, and not unfrequently parts of the skin were so scalded and blistered by the heated pitch, as to adhere, and was separated from the head with the cap of torture. Another expedient equally cruel was frequently resorted to; a quantity of moistened gunpowder, being rubbed into the hair, was set on fire, and it sometimes happened that both the nose and ears of the supposed conspirator were severed from his head, during the operation of cutting the hair, which generally took place previous to the application of the gunpowder.

To revenge these brutal outrages, some malignant wretches, probably among the United Irish, made it a practice to seize violently such persons as they thought proper, and to crop off their hair, which rendered them liable to the punishment of the pitch cap or moistened gunpowder, and frequently brought upon them those excruciating tortures. Green, in allusion to the shamrock, was adopted in these unhappy times as the revolutionary colour, and such was the frenzy of party, that every woman who happened to exhibit in her dress any portion of this obnoxious colour, either by accident or design, was in danger of having herself disrobed in the public streets.*

These and innumerable other disorders, some of them unavoidable in such a state of affairs, increased with the alarm of the approaching insurrection. Men, imprisoned on suspicion or private information, were sometimes half-hanged (as the act was termed), or strangled almost to death, before their guilt or innocence could be ascertained by trial; and the reflecting loyalist was deeply concerned at the permission or impunity of such barbarities, which tended strongly to confirm the prejudices already so laboriously excited, and to give to the approaching contest the most diabolical character. Under such circumstances, man is no longer connected in the way of civil society; his lacerated feelings drive him to desperation, and a fever of the mind ensues, that banishes all hope of calm circumpection.

CHAPTER VIII.

IRISH REBELLION: Insurrectionary Movements in Dublin; in the Counties of Kildare and Carlow—Attacks on Naas, Killeullin, Rathfarnham, and Prosperous—Defeat of the Rebels at Carlow, Hackestown, and Tara—Surrender of two thousand Insurgents to General Dundas—Insurrection in the County of Wexford—The Insurgents vanquished at Kiltomas, Victors at Oulart—Fall of Ennisecorthy and Wexford into the hands of the Insurgents—Attack on Bunccludy—Defeat of the rebel Force at Ballycanoo—Pathetic Incident—Defeat of Colonel Walpole, and Retreat of General Loftus—Signal Victory obtained by General Johnson at Ross—Massacre at Scullabogue—Defeat of the Rebels at Arklow—Their Retreat to Vinegar-hill—General Lake advances with an Army of thirteen thousand Troops against that Station—Recapture of Ennisecorthy, and Battle of Vinegar-hill—Murders on the Bridge of Wexford—Wexford abandoned by the Rebels—Bloody Friday—Expiring Efforts of the Wexford Insurgents—Defeat of the Revolters in Ulster and Munster—Surrender of the Chiefs—Extinction of the Rebellion.

It now became evident, that nothing short of one of those tremendous convulsions which shake states to their centre, could clear the political atmosphere of Ireland. The rebel chiefs had decided on open war, and the 23d of May was the day appointed for the general rising of the country.

After the arrest the Lord Edward Fitzgerald, the command of a part of the rebel

army devolved upon Mr. Samuel Neilson, who meditated an attack upon Newgate, in the city of Dublin, for the purpose of res-

* Many excesses of this kind took place, and in one instance, two young ladies, found guilty of wearing green garters, were, by order of an officer on duty, tied back to back in the streets of Dublin, in which situation they were compelled to remain for several hours under a guard.—*Gordon's History*, p. 68.

cuing Lord Edward. With this view, he assembled, at a house in Church-lane, fifteen of the insurgent colonels, on the night of the 22d of May, and having produced a map of the city, he assigned to each of them the post which they and their regiments were to occupy. In this operation, Neilson was to have been seconded by a large body of rebels, headed by a chief of the name of Seagrave, by whose division a constant fire was to be kept up in front of the prison, while another party scaled the walls in a different quarter. Having carried the prison, the vice-regal residence, usually called the castle, was marked out as the next object of attack. This venerable edifice was to be assailed in front and rear by different parties, while a select band was to ascend, by ladders, into the apartments of the principal members of government, and to secure their persons. Nor was it intended that the insurrection should be confined merely to the metropolis; the plan embraced the whole kingdom, and the signal for the general rising was to be the stoppage of the mail coaches. This part of the project was indeed carried into effect, for on the 23d, the Belfast mail coach was detained and burned at Santry, the Cork mail at Naas, and that travelling in the direction of Athlone, at Lucan; but the rebels, not satisfied with detaining the Limerick mail, barbarously murdered both the guard and coachman, near the Curragh of Kildare.

Early in the morning of the 23d, all the yeomen in the city, amounting to about three thousand five hundred, and the few military in the garrison, were ordered by General Lake to repair to the respective alarm posts, while the Lord-mayor, Alderman Thomas Fleming, placed the city of Cork militia, with two battalion guns, at the north side of Stephen's-green. It fortunately happened, that the royal canal and the grand canal, each fifty feet broad, and twelve feet deep, formed a complete fortification on the north and south sides of the city, and all the bridges of the city being occupied by military, the communication with the disaffected from without was in a considerable degree cut off. This operation was not however carried into complete effect, as nearly three thousand men entered the city to the north, on the evening of the 23d, for the purpose of joining the insurgents. A large body of rebels, armed with pikes and muskets, assembled in Eccles street and its environs, as well as in various other parts of the city, and great numbers were advancing towards Dublin, with an intention of rushing into the city as soon as the insurgents had carried the castle.

At this crisis, Neilson, the rebel chief, was apprehended in the streets by Mr. Gregg, the keeper of Newgate, after a desperate struggle; and on their leader being committed to prison, several thousand rebels, who were waiting with impatience the signal of attack, dispersed in various directions. By this means the city was saved from the horrors of the impending struggle, for it appeared, on the evidence of two United Irishmen, extorted from them, indeed, by flogging,* that they were waiting for the orders of Neilson, to rise in arms that night, with some thousands of the disaffected, to liberate the prisoners in Newgate and Kilmainham, and to surprise the castle and the city. On the information of the same men, a great quantity of pikes was discovered, together with a travelling forge, on which was inscribed a disloyal and inflammatory motto. The plan of the rebels was, it appeared, to assemble by beat of drum; and it is well known, says Sir Richard Musgrave, "that, in another hour, the fate of the city and its loyal inhabitants would have been decided; for the mass of the people, armed with pikes and other weapons, were lurking in lanes and by-places, ready to start forth on the first beat of their drums, and would have occupied all the streets, and assassinated the yeomen before they could have reached their respective stations." This calamity was however averted by the vigilance of government, and the ardent zeal of those patriotic bands, to whom the defence of the metropolis was confided.

On the night of the 23d, and during the following day, several skirmishes were fought in the counties adjoining the seat of government, and the towns of Naas, Clane, Prosperous, Ballymore-Eustace, and Killcullen, were attacked by the insurgent force; and Carlow, Hacketstown, and Monastereven had to withstand similar assaults on the two following days. These feeble and unconnected efforts were not countenanced by a general rising; for Ulster, in which province alone one hundred and fifty thousand United Irishmen are said to have been enrolled and mustered, wisely declined the contest, in consequence of the unpromising state of their affairs; and the progress of rebellion, unsanctioned even by the formality of a manifesto, had hitherto rather resembled the capricious freaks of a discontented mob, than the united efforts of a large portion of the nation.†

* Sir Richard Musgrave, p. 216.

† For the purpose of illustration, it is proper to remark, that the insurrection of 1798 prevailed principally in the counties of Kildare, Wicklow,

At Naas an assault was made by a half-armed rabble, amounting to about one thousand in number, on the 24th; but as the intention had already been communicated to the military on that station, consisting of the Armagh militia, the 4th dragoon guards, and the ancient British fencibles, the insurgents were repulsed with a loss of about one hundred and forty killed on the spot, exclusive of three of their leaders, who were hurried to execution. A more numerous party was defeated by General Dundas, near Killcullen; and on the preceding day a small detachment, consisting of between four and five hundred, which had ventured to advance as far as Rathfarnham, was dispersed by only thirty-five dragoons, under Lord Roden, many being put to death in their flight, and Ledwich and Keough, two of their chiefs, reserved for public execution. The attack on Prosperous, a small town in the county of Kildare, seventeen miles from Dublin, was made on the 24th, about one o'clock in the morning, by a large body of men, supposed to be conducted by John Esmond, first lieutenant of a troop of yeoman cavalry. Less fortunate than the king's troops at Naas, this small garrison was assailed by surprise, the barracks set on fire, and twenty-eight of the city of Cork militia, with the commander, Captain Swayne, perished in the flames or by the pikes of the enemy. Nine of the ancient Britons were slaughtered in the houses where they had been billeted, and five made prisoners. Here, as in other places where the insurgents had a transitory but delusive success, loud shouts were heard, especially from multitudes of women, of "*Down with the Orangemen!*"

War being now openly commenced by the conspirators, the lord-lieutenant issued a proclamation on the 24th, giving notice

that orders were conveyed to all his majesty's general officers in Ireland, to punish according to martial law, by death or otherwise, all persons acting, or in any way assisting in the rebellion. The day following presented an opportunity for carrying into effect these heavy denunciations. On the 24th of May, an unusually large assemblage of the insurgents in the neighbourhood of Carlow, forty miles south-west of Dublin, indicated that an attack upon that place had been decided upon. On the 25th, the garrison, consisting of about four hundred and fifty regular militia force, under the command of Colonel Mahon, was attacked at two o'clock by a body of the insurgents, amounting to a thousand or fifteen hundred men. The rebels had assembled at the house of Sir Edward Crosbie, a mile and a half from Carlow, and on their advance into the town, they received so destructive a fire from the garrison, that they recoiled, and endeavoured to retreat, but finding their flight intercepted, numbers took refuge in the houses, which being immediately fired by the soldiery, they met a miserable fate. About eighty houses were consumed in the conflagration; and for some days the roasted remains of human beings were falling down the chimnies, in which many of them had perished. The total loss of the rebels, on this occasion, could not be estimated at fewer than five hundred; while not an individual on the side of the loyalists was even wounded. After the defeat the executions commenced, and about two hundred of the insurgents were hanged or shot. Among the earliest victims of the civil war, was Sir Edward Crosbie, at whose house the rebel column had assembled, but who had certainly taken no part in the attack, and against whom no criminal charge was satisfactorily established.*

The defeats of the rebels at Monastereven and Hacketstown were nearly as bloodless on the side of the loyalists. The garrison of the former consisted of eighty-five yeomen, who had not been embodied three weeks; and this small party was assailed by about a thousand insurgents. The infantry, under Lieutenant George Bagnot, had advanced against the main body of the enemy, on the bank of the grand canal, where the town is situated; while the cavalry, under Captain Haystead, skirmished with another party in the streets. The result was, that the rebels were driven from the town with a slaughter of sixty-eight of

Carlow, and Wexford, in the province of Leinster, and to the south of Dublin.

Maynooth, Clane, Prosperous, and Naas, all in the county of Kildare, and none of them at a greater distance than 17 miles from the metropolis.

Tinehaly and Arklow, in the adjoining county of Wicklow, are each about 35 miles from Dublin.

Continuing the route southward, Hacketstown, Carlow, and Tullow, in the county of Carlow, are all within about 40 miles of that city.

And passing into the still more southern county of Wexford, the principal seat of insurrectionary warfare, Gorey, in the N. E. and Newtownbarry or Buncludy, in the N. W. are each about 45 miles S. of Dublin, and 15 miles N. of Enniscorthy, which latter place, situated in the centre of the county of Wexford, at the western base of Vinegar-hill, is 58 miles S. of Dublin, 15 miles N. E. of New Ross, and 11 miles N. of Wexford, where the standard of insurrection was so long unfurled. Wexford, the shire town of the county of that name, is 3 miles to the E. of the rebel station of Three Rocks, 19 miles E. of New Ross, and 67 miles S. of Dublin.

* Vide "A narrative of the apprehension, trial and execution, of Sir Edward William Crosbie, Bart. in which the innocence of Sir Edward, and the iniquity of the proceedings against him, are indubitably and clearly proved."

their number, whose bodies were collected and buried by the victors; while of the loyalists nine only were slain.

The incaution and vain confidence of the insurgents were nowhere more strongly exemplified than in the attack on Hacketstown, in the county of Carlow, where a force, from two to three thousand in number, attacked a detachment of the Antrim militia, under Lieutenant Gardiner, and a body of yeomen, under Captain Hardy.

The rebels, on observing the retreat of the troops into the barracks, raised a vehement shout of victory, and, rushing forward in the utmost confusion, were charged with so much spirit and address, as to be completely put to the rout, with the loss of about two hundred men, while not one of the loyalists was even wounded. At Tara, in the county of Meath, a large body of the rebels was defeated on the 26th, by a fencible and yeomanry force not exceeding four hundred men, with a loss of nine killed and sixteen wounded, on the part of the victors, and three hundred and fifty killed, on the part of the vanquished. As this victory laid open the communication between the metropolis and the northern part of the kingdom, so the successful operations of the king's forces in the village of Rathangan, in the county of Kildare, from which the rebels were dislodged with a loss of sixty men, produced the same effect in the west. Discouraged by these repeated defeats, a rebel force, consisting of two thousand men, posted on an eminence called Knockawlin-hill, under a chief of the name of Perkins, surrendered their arms on the 31st, and disbanded, on being allowed by Lieutenant-general Dundas to retire unmolested to their habitations, leaving behind them thirteen cart-loads of pikes. This disposition to surrender, which a sense of humanity and sound policy ought to have encouraged, was blasted three days afterwards by military ardour which, when it exceeds the salutary restraint of discipline, and is exerted against an unresisting object, ceases to be laudable. Major-general Sir James Duff, who had made a rapid march from Limerick, with six hundred men, to open the communication to the metropolis, received intelligence of a large body of men, assembled at a place called Gibbit-rath, on the Curragh, for the purpose of surrendering, to which they had been admitted by General Dundas. Unfortunately, as the troops advanced, one of the insurgents discharged his gun with the muzzle upwards, swearing that he was determined to deliver it empty. The soldiers, pretending to consider this foolish bravado as an act of hostility, fired on the unresisting multitude, who fled with the utmost preci-

pitation, and were pursued with slaughter by a company of fencible cavalry, denominated Lord Jocelyn's fox-hunters. About two hundred of the insurgents fell upon this occasion, and a far greater number would have shared their fate, if a retreat had not been sounded with all possible despatch, agreeable to the instructions of General Dundas, who, foreseeing the possibility of such an occurrence, had done all in his power to provide against it.*

While, by the various successful operations of the loyalists, the communication was laid open between the various parts of the kingdom and the capital, which had for some days actually sustained a species of blockade, an insurrection burst out in a part of the kingdom where it was least expected, and in a few days the county of Wexford was in a flame. On the night of the 26th of May, the standard of rebellion was hoisted between Gorey and Wexford, and Father John Murphy, a Romish priest, of Boulavogue, placed himself at the head of the insurgents. This disgraceful metamorphosis was frequently made in the times now under consideration, and it was no uncommon occurrence to find men whose peculiar duty it was to inculcate the principles of peace, assuming the habiliments of war, and inciting their infatuated votaries to swell the ranks of insurrection.†

Unfortunately for the public tranquillity, government, influenced by the representations of Earl Mountmorris, had not placed more than six hundred troops in the county of Wexford. This force, small as it was, might have sufficed, had not the practice of flogging and half-hanging, which was resorted to in this as well as in other districts, driven the people to a state of desperation, and determined them to take part in the sanguinary struggle by which the circumjacent counties were at that moment agitated. On the 27th of May, being Whitsunday, two large bodies of the insurgents, both men and women, were collected, one on the hill of Oulart, midway between Gorey and Wexford, the other on Kiltomas-hill, an inferior ridge of Slyieve-Beeve mountain, about nine miles west of Gorey. On the morning of the 27th, a body of yeomanry, not exceeding three hundred, attacked the insurgents on the hill of Kiltomas, amounting to from two to three thousand, and commanded by the Rev. Michael Murphy, a Romish priest, and who, like Father John, had suffered

* Vide Gordon's History of the Rebellion in Ireland, p. 100.

† The same metamorphosis was exhibited on the side of the government, by hundreds of the clergy of the established church, who assumed the command of yeomanry corps.—W. G.

himself to be drawn into this insurrectionary vortex. The infantry of the loyalist army, flanked at a considerable distance by the cavalry, advanced intrepidly up the hill, when the rebel force, notwithstanding their superior numbers, became panic-struck, and retreated in disorder, leaving one hundred and fifty of their companions dead on the field. The assailants, not satisfied with a victory so honourable to their skill and courage, tarnished the laurels of the day by burning two Romish chapels, and about one hundred cabins and farm-houses, belonging to persons of that community, in their line of march.

Very different from the battle of Kiltomas was the result of another action, fought on the same day, on the hill of Oulart, where Father John Murphy commanded in person. A detachment of one hundred and ten chosen men of the North Cork militia, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Foote, marched from Wexford, and attacked the rebels on the south side of the hill, while the Shilmalier cavalry took a circuitous route round the hill on the left, with the intention of preventing a retreat, but the effect of which was to make many face about and attack the infantry who would otherwise have decamped on the approach of a serious engagement. The insurgents, finding their retreat cut off, attacked the infantry with an impetuosity that overthrew all opposition, and so successful were all their efforts, that the whole detachment of the North Cork militia was slain, with the exception of Colonel Foote and four of his men; while the loss of the rebels, on this occasion, was only three men killed and six wounded. The body of cavalry which had alarmed the rebels into this feat of courage, retreated to Gorey as soon as the fate of the infantry was made known to them, and in their way killed some old men who had remained in their houses, and several unarmed stragglers.

While the country exhibited a scene of distress and consternation—houses in flames and families flying on all sides for an asylum, the body of rebels under Father John marched from Oulart, flushed with victory, and perpetually augmented on its way by new accessions. Passing through Camolin and Ferns, they advanced to Enniscorthy, and that place was attacked about one o'clock in the afternoon of Monday, the 28th of May, by a rebel force amounting to seven thousand, of which about eight hundred were armed with muskets. The town, situated on both banks of the river Slaney, was garrisoned by about two hundred and ninety men, consisting of militia and yeomen, besides some volunteers. The

rebels, driving before them a number of horses and other cattle, to disorder the ranks of their opponents, a stratagem of ancient warfare, and practised by other bodies of insurgents at Tara-hill and elsewhere, made an irregular but furious onset at the Duffry gate, which dislodged their adversaries from their station, and obliged them, after a few discharges of musketry, to retreat to the market-house. In the mean time, a disorderly fight was maintained in the town, which was rendered untenable by the disaffected part of the inhabitants setting fire to the houses, while others of the same description stood at their windows and fired upon the garrison. The assailants in a short time extended themselves along the northern bank of the Slaney, and made dispositions to ford that river, but the galling fire from the bridge, which had now become the principal point of defence, obliged them at first to desist, and afterwards to proceed as high as Blackstoops, whence they at length gained the opposite shore. Victory, which had fluctuated for three hours, and had in that interval frequently induced the trembling inhabitants alternately to hoist the *orange* and the *green*, now took her stand in the rebel ranks, and the military, having no cannon to support them, were at length so completely overpowered as to be driven to the necessity of sounding a retreat. In these circumstances it was proposed to Captain Snowe to put the prisoners in the castle to death before the town was finally evacuated; but the captain, like a truly brave man, rejected the diabolical proposal with scorn and abhorrence. On this disastrous occasion, the loss of the garrison, including volunteers, amounted to about ninety, among whom were Captain John Pounden, of the Enniscorthy supplementary infantry; Lieutenant Hunt, of the Enniscorthy yeomanry; and Lieutenant Carden, of the Scarawalsh infantry. The loss of the rebels is differently estimated, but the probability is that at least three hundred of them fell in this day's engagement. Most of the loyal inhabitants of Enniscorthy, and a multitude of others, who had repaired to that place for protection, following the route of the military, fled through the flames towards Wexford, a distance of eleven Irish, or fourteen English miles. The terror, consternation, and distress of these fugitives is not to be described—flying for their lives in a confused multitude, without distinction of rank, sex, or age, almost all on foot, and leaving all their effects in the hands of the enemy; and some who found not the opportunity of escape were butchered in the streets, or imprisoned, and reserved for future vio-

lence.* It is proper, however, to observe, in justice to the rebels, that the fair sex was respected, even by those who did not hesitate to commit acts of robbery and murder, and that only one well-authenticated instance is to be found of a female being injured or violated, even among the wives, sisters, and daughters of their great enemies.

The next movement on the part of the insurgent force was to Vinegar-hill, near Enniscorthy. While they halted at this place on the 29th, Mr. John Henry Colclough, of Battyteig, and Mr. Edward Fitzgerald, of Newpark, who, along with Mr. Beauchamp Bagnel Harvey, of Bargycastle, had previously been committed by the loyalists to the prison at Wexford, on suspicion of having favoured the rebel cause, were despatched with a commission to endeavour to prevail on them to disperse. This unpromising mission, as might have been anticipated, entirely failed; and Mr. Colclough was ordered to return to Wexford, while Mr. Fitzgerald was detained by the enemy; and so prompt were the rebels in their movements, that before the evening of the same day, their advanced guard was pushed forward to Three Rocks, within three miles of Wexford, and fixed upon that eminence as one of their future military stations. On the approach of the enemy, the consternation of the inhabitants of Wexford became extreme: suspicion haunted every bosom; and as a measure of precaution, orders were issued to extinguish all the fires, even those of the bakers, and to unroof all the thatched houses in the town, to prevent the incendiary operations of the disaffected. In this extremity, multitudes repaired for refuge on board the ships in the harbour; the shops were all shut, and many of the affrighted inhabitants sought security in flight. The military force at this time in Wexford, consisted of three hundred of the North Cork militia, commanded by Colonel Foote; two hundred of the Donegal militia, under Colonel Maxwell; and five troops of yeoman cavalry; which, with two hundred armed inhabitants, principally Roman Catholics, amounted in the whole to about twelve hundred men. The command of this force devolved, by common consent, rather than by previous appointment, upon Colonel Watson, of the Shilmalier cavalry, who had formerly filled the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, and who discharged the arduous duties of his present situation with activity and skill. The whole of the 29th was employed in preparation for the ex-

pected attack of the rebel force, amounting in number to at least fifteen thousand men, and now assembled at the Three Rocks station. In the course of the evening of that day, it was announced to the garrison, that General Fawcett was marching to Wexford from the fort of Duncannon, and that his arrival with a strong reinforcement of troops might be hourly expected. The general, having arrived in the night at Taghmon, pushed forward a detachment of eighty-eight men, including eighteen of the artillery, with a howitzer, under the command of Captain Adams, of the Meath militia; but this detachment was unfortunately intercepted on the morning of the 30th, near the camp at Three Rocks, and, after a sharp engagement, in which a majority of their number was killed, the survivors fell into the hands of the enemy, along with their howitzer. The general, who had halted in the mean time at Taghmon, on receiving the account of this disastrous affair, retreated precipitately towards Duncannon, leaving the town of Wexford to its fate. The defeat of this detachment, and the subsequent retreat of the force under General Fawcett, remained unknown to the troops in Wexford for several hours; and Colonel Maxwell, acting upon the supposition that the general would be able to take the rebels in the rear, while he attacked them in front, sallied forth from the town on the morning of the 30th, taking with him the principal part of the regular force at that time in the garrison: but this operation proved altogether unsuccessful, and the colonel was glad to secure his retreat, with the loss of Lieutenant-colonel Watson killed, and two privates wounded.

On the return of the military from this unfortunate enterprise, a council of war was hastily assembled, at which it was determined to evacuate the town, and Mr. Counsellor Richards and his brother were appointed to proceed to the enemy's camp, for the purpose of informing their chiefs that the town would be surrendered into their hands without further resistance, on condition that the persons and property of the inhabitants should be respected. In the mean time, the military, without apprizing the inhabitants of their intention, had commenced their retreat, taking the route for Duncannon fort; and the insurgents, after some further parley, poured into the town over the wooden bridge by thousands, shouting, and exhibiting every mark of extravagant exultation. Their first step was to proceed to the prison, from whence they instantly liberated Mr. Harvey, and insisted that he should become their commander. The inhabitants, rendered hospitable by their fears, entertained

* Gordon's History of the Rebellion in Ireland, second edition, p. 116.

the rebels with great profusion; and every house in the town, not previously deserted, soon became decorated with green. After various scenes of disorder naturally attendant on such an occasion, parties were despatched in boats to bring on shore all the men, arms, and ammunition they could find in the ships and other vessels in the harbour. Among the persons brought on shore, was Mr. John Boyd, the brother of Captain James Boyd. This unfortunate gentleman being immediately recognised, he was piked upon the beach; and a butcher of the name of George Sparrow, who had in some way rendered himself obnoxious to those sanguinary wretches, shared the same fate. The retreat of the military from Wexford might also be traced in blood. Irritated by their recent disasters, and suspecting every man not dressed in military uniform to be a rebel, they pursued the unoffending peasantry in every direction, and great numbers of them fell a sacrifice to a species of frenzy, that neither military discipline nor the calls of humanity had sufficient force to restrain. These acts of cold-blooded and unmanly cruelty were resented by the people upon the stragglers in the retreat; and it frequently happened that the enraged and merciless cottagers imbrued their hands in the blood of such of the soldiers as had remained behind the main body, to afford assistance to their wives or children!

The fatigue occasioned by the exertions of the day, gave to the inhabitants of Wexford a temporary repose on the night of the 30th, which passed in comparative tranquillity; but early on the morning of the 31st the streets were again crowded, and the confusion and plunder of the preceding day recommenced. The insurgents were much discontented with the inhabitants, for not detaining for their use the arms and ammunition of the garrison, as the whole military store of the camp amounted only to three barrels of gunpowder, found in the barracks, and some hundred cartridges, with a few small casks and papers of powder found in the shops and gentlemen's houses. It is, indeed, an extraordinary fact, that the insurgents did not possess, in the whole course of the insurrection, as much gunpowder as would be deemed necessary by any military man for the supply of a single battle, and that their gunsmen, so little used to warfare, never retired till they had fired their last charge.

In Wexford, attempts were made to manufacture gunpowder, to supply the scarcity of that article, but these experiments failed, for, though the composition produced would explode, it was not of sufficient force to propel the ball.

After much entreaty, the insurgent force was induced to move out of the town, and encamp on Windmill-hills, where they divided into two bodies, one division taking the road to Taghmon, and the other directing their march towards Gorey; committing on their way excesses from which, in a time of tranquillity, the minds of the multitude would have turned with abhorrence. After the main body had quitted the town, there still remained a kind of rebel authority in the place, which assumed the office of supplying the camps, and issuing proclamations.* These self-appointed commissaries, having put all the necessaries of life in requisition, began to search the houses; and in the prosecution of this survey, did not fail to plunder them of every article that might serve to administer either to the wants of their associates or to their own. Great abuses were in consequence committed, and the town and neighbourhood were rescued from actual famine by the intervention of a number of gentlemen in the place, who, after a lapse of some days, undertook to regulate the distribution of provisions. The office of military commander of the town was now confided to Captain Keugh; and each of the wards had a company of guards, who performed the garrison duty of the place, and held a regular morning and evening parade.

The insurrection had now become general throughout the country, except where the people were kept down by the presence of the military; all the forges, both in the town and country, were in consequence continually employed in fabricating pike-blades; and timber of every description, fit

* PROCLAMATION.

Erin Go Bragh!

"To all Irishmen and soldiers who wish to join their brethren in arms, assembled for the defence of their country, their rights, and liberties.

"We, the honest patriots of our country, do most earnestly entreat and invite you to join your natural Irish standard. This is the time for Irishmen to show their zeal for their country's good, the good of their posterity, and the natural rights and liberties of Ireland. Repair, then, to the camps of liberty, where you will be generously received and amply rewarded. We know your hearts are with us: and that all you want is an opportunity to desert those tyrants who wish to keep you as the support of their oppressive and hellish schemes to enslave your country.—Done at Wexford, by the unanimous voice of the people, 14th of June, 1798.—*God save the people.*"

The rebel authorities seem to have dealt very sparingly in proclamations, as the above, and a kind of notice for the apprehension of "James Boyd, Hawtry White, Hunter Gowan, and Archibald Hamilton Jacob, late magistrates of the county of Wexford," are the only documents of that kind that appear to have been issued in the name of the "Sovereign People."

for handles, was procured for that purpose wherever it could be found. At the same time, four oyster-smacks were fitted out in the harbour, and manned with five-and-twenty men each, to cruise off the bay, and to bring in vessels laden with provisions, to supply the markets, which were totally deserted by the farmers. All specie seemed to have vanished during the insurrection, and bank-notes were held in such low estimation, that great quantities of them were destroyed in lighting tobacco-pipes and in wadding for firelocks. So much, indeed, was the value of paper money depreciated, and of specie advanced, that a pound of beef was regularly sold in the market of Wexford for one penny in cash, when a bank-note of the nominal value of twenty shillings would not purchase the same weight of that commodity.

While the southern parts of the county of Wexford were in this horrible state of commotion, the northern baronies towards Gorey were all frightfully agitated. The retreat of the yeoman cavalry from Oulart to Gorey, early on the morning of the 27th of May, was followed by multitudes of people hastening to the town for protection. As Gorey was garrisoned by no more than thirty of the North Cork militia and a number of yeomen, assisted by an undisciplined crowd, orders were issued on the 27th to abandon the town at five o'clock on the following morning, and to retire to Arklow. This order was executed at the time appointed; but previously to quitting the town, eleven men, suspected of disaffection to the government, were dragged out of their beds, and shot in the public streets.

On the morning of the 1st of June, the beautiful little town of Buncloghy, situated three miles north-west of Enniscorthy, was attacked by a detachment of rebels, from the camp at Vinegar-hill, amounting to about five thousand in number, and commanded by Father Kern, a man of extraordinary stature, strength, and ferocity. The garrison, including yeomen and volunteers, consisted of about five hundred, of whom three hundred were militia, under Colonel Lestrang, of the king's county regiment. After a sharp engagement, during which the loyalists were at one time obliged to quit the town, the rebels were at length defeated, with a loss of about two hundred slain, while the loss on the side of the victors amounted only to two privates. This victory was of no small importance, as a different result would have opened a way for the Wexford rebels into the county of Carlow, the rising of whose inhabitants to co-operate with those of Wicklow and Kildare, already in arms, must, in the existing circumstances of the country,

have given great embarrassment to government.

Hills of commanding prospect were always chosen by the rebels for their camps or posts, and from this circumstance, the camp at Vinegar-hill became permanent during the existence of the insurrection in the county of Wexford. These stations were destitute of tents, except a few for their chiefs, and the people remained in the open air, in vast multitudes, men and women, promiscuously, some lying covered with blankets at night, and others destitute of all covering, except the scanty clothing worn by them in the day. This mode of warfare was favoured by the continued fine weather, and numbers of them pronounced, with oracular confidence, that not a drop of rain would fall till the existing government was destroyed, and the dominion of Ireland was committed to better hands. On the other hand, the serenity of the elements—so opposite to the conflicting passions by which unhappy Ireland was at this period agitated—enabled the fugitive loyalists, whom the ruthless hand of internal discord had deprived of their habitations, to repose without injury to their health under the open canopy of heaven. In nothing were the rebels more irregular than in the cooking of their provisions: many of them cut pieces at random out of cattle scarcely dead, without waiting to slay them, and roasted the steaks on the point of their pikes, together with the part of the hide that adhered to them. The heads of cattle, which were seldom eaten, were left to rot on the surface of the ground, as well as large portions of the dead carcases, a practice which must soon have added the miseries of pestilence to the horrors of civil war.

The station chosen by the rebels when they directed their force towards Gorey, was the hill of Corrigrua, seven miles to the south-west of that town. A considerable detachment from that station was sent to take possession of the little village of Ballycannoo, four miles to the south of Gorey: and having effected this operation, they advanced, on the evening of the 1st of June, to the hill of Ballymanaan, where they were met and totally routed by the garrison of Gorey. In this engagement, as in all others at the beginning of the rebellion, the rebels elevated their guns so much, that the balls passed over the heads of their antagonists, and to this cause, in part, is to be attributed the great disparity of loss between the contending forces. In the affair of Ballymanaan, the number of slain on the part of the rebels exceeded sixty, while the king's forces had only three privates wounded.

An interesting occurrence, that will find

its way to the heart of every man of feeling, is narrated by the Rev. Mr. Gordon, as descriptive of the state of the country at that distracted period:—"Two yeomen (says he) coming to a brake, or clump of bushes, and observing a small motion, as if some persons were hiding there, one of them fired into the bush, and the shot was answered by a most piteous and loud screech of a child. The other yeoman was then urged by his companion to fire; but he being a gentleman, and less ferocious, instead of firing, commanded the concealed persons to appear, when a poor woman and eight children, almost naked, one of whom was very severely wounded, came trembling from the brake, where they had secreted themselves for safety."

The rebel force at Ballycannoo remained from the 1st to the 4th of June in a state of unaccountable inactivity; and in the mean time, the long-expected army under Major-general Loftus arrived at Gorey. The sight of fifteen hundred troops, well appointed, and provided with five pieces of artillery, filled every loyal breast with confidence, and promised the total dispersion of the rebel force in this quarter. The plan of operations was to march the army in two divisions, by different roads, to the post of Corrigrua, and to make a combined attack upon the enemy. The army being put in march, the first division under General Loftus, and the second under Colonel Walpole, proceeded by their appointed routes towards the enemy's camp. It happened, however, by a strange coincidence, that the rebel force had quitted Corrigrua on the same day, and about the same hour, that the king's forces had left Gorey, and in their advance towards that place, met the division under Colonel Walpole, at Tubberneering. An action instantly commenced, and the rebels pouring a tremendous fire from the fields, on both sides of the road, into the ranks of the loyalists, they were thrown into disorder, and the colonel himself shot dead upon the spot. His troops, being thus left without a leader, commenced a disorderly retreat, and their cannon, consisting of two six-pounders and a small piece of ordnance, fell into the hands of the enemy. Following up their success, the rebels pursued the retreating army to Gorey; and the unfortunate inhabitants, who a few minutes before had considered themselves in a state of perfect security, were obliged to fly with the retreating army to Arklow. While Colonel Walpole's division was engaged with the enemy, General Loftus detached seventy men to his assistance; but this small detachment was intercepted by the rebels, and almost all either taken or killed. Meanwhile, the general, finding that the rebels had posted

themselves on the hill of Gorey, and conceiving that he could not attack them in that position with any prospect of success, retreated, first to Carnew, and subsequently to Tullow, in the county of Carlow, leaving the whole of the northern part of the county of Wexford in possession of the insurgents.

While one division of the Wexford army, under Father John Murphy, were thus prosecuting their victorious career in the north; the other division, under Beauchamp Bagnel Harvey, advanced to the west, for the purpose of attacking New Ross, and took up their station on Carrickbyrne-hill, within six miles of that place. From Carrickbyrne, they advanced on the 4th of June to Corbet-hill, an eminence about a mile and a half from Ross, and formed on its summit with some appearance of regularity. But the capture of this town was an object of considerable difficulty, as the garrison, which was commanded by Major-general Johnson, consisted of twelve hundred effective men, exclusive of one hundred and fifty yeomen, who had been for some time prepared for the attack, and were all judiciously stationed. About five o'clock in the morning of the 5th, thirty thousand insurgents advanced against the town in an irregular manner, uttering hideous yells: of this motley phalanx, about one-fourth part was armed with muskets, and the remainder with pikes, in addition to four small field-pieces, and a few swivels. One of the crowd, waving a handkerchief in his hand, preceded the rest, and was the bearer of a summons from the rebel commander to the garrison to surrender, but from a species of incomprehensible policy, he was shot dead before he reached the place, and his summons was not found till the fate of the day was decided. The rebels, having marched up to the place with great bravery, drove in the advanced guard, and took possession of the alarm-post. The first onset was furious, but they were repulsed at the Three-bullet gate, and charged with impetuosity by a detachment of the fifth dragoons: they, however, instantly rallied, and seized on a piece of artillery, which they immediately turned against the troops. Having succeeded in this enterprise, they entered the town in great force, and, notwithstanding cannon were planted at the cross lanes, so as to sweep the streets as they advanced,* yet such was the weight and impetuosity of the column formed by the assailants, that the

* It has been confidently asserted that a barber among the insurgents, either unacquainted with the nature of artillery, or rendered insensible to fear by intoxication, crammed his hat and wig into the mouth of a cannon, and cried out to his companions, "Come on, my boys, her mouth is stopped;" but the gunner, by the application of his match, soon convinced him of his error.

main body of the garrison, overpowered by numbers, and intimidated also perhaps by the late success of the rebels, fled over the bridge with great precipitation, to the right bank of the Barrow, taking the road to Killkenny. The commanding officer, who had served during the war on the Transatlantic continent, indignant at beholding the success of the revolt, and the sudden panic of his own troops, rode up to the fugitives, and demanded if they meant to forsake their leader and their country? Being received with three cheers, he placed himself at their head, and advanced towards the Three-bullet gate, where a post was still maintained by the English. Having thus reanimated his men, he advanced against the dissipated column of the enemy; and that nothing might be wanting to secure the fortune of day, he contrived to turn their rear, at the same time manning the trenches on the outside so far as to prevent the arrival of reinforcements.* The assailants, who had not improved their first advantage, but consumed that time in drunkenness and plunder which they ought to have employed in securing their victory, were now dispersed and overcome; and as raw troops can never be rallied, they retreated with the utmost speed, first to Corbet, and then to Carrickhyrne-hills, leaving two thousand six hundred dead behind them. Nor was this signal success obtained by their adversaries without loss, for Lord Mountjoy, colonel of the Dublin militia, fell in the first onset, and in the course of the battle, which was of ten hours' duration, one ensign, four sergeants, and eighty-four of the king's troops were killed, and one captain and fifty-seven men wounded.

The day after the victory of New Ross, several of the thatched houses that remained unburnt, being the only places in which the rebels could take refuge, were closely searched, and not a man discovered in them was left alive. Other houses of the same description were set on fire, though so crowded with the disaffected, that the corpses of the suffocated within them could not fall to the ground, but remained crowded together in an upright posture, until they were taken off to be interred.†

The alliance of cowardice and cruelty cannot perhaps be more strongly exemplified than in some of transactions of the 5th of June. Some dastardly rebels, who had not dared to hazard their persons in the battle of Ross, turned their fury against objects equally void of criminality, and incapable of resistance. During the encamp-

ment of the rebels at Carrickhyrne-hill, a party of them were posted at Scullabogue within half a mile of the camp, where a barn, thirty-four feet long and fifteen feet wide, had been converted into a jail for the confinement of their prisoners. In this horrible receptacle, were immured one hundred and eighty-four prisoners, both Catholics and Protestants, but chiefly of the Protestant persuasion. When the rebel army began to give way at Ross, an express was sent, but by whom it is not ascertained, to put the prisoners to death. This sanguinary mandate, John Murphy, the captain of the rebel guard, refusing to obey, it was repeated again and again; till at length the rebels set fire to the barn, while the wretched prisoners, consisting of men, women, and children, shrieking and crying out for mercy, crowded to the back door of their prison, which they forced open for the purpose of admitting air, or of effecting their escape; but the merciless assassins, some of whom continued to feed the flames by casting straw and other combustible matter into the barn, piked or shot the victims as they appeared in succession at the door; till at length their moans and cries gradually subsided in the silence of death, and every soul in the prison perished.* It is proper to mention here, that the bodies of the unfortunate sufferers who perished in this indiscriminate massacre, were buried by a subscription raised by the rebel chiefs, and that Mr. Harvey, their commander, issued a proclamation on the following day, denouncing the punishment of death against "any person or persons who should take upon them to kill or murder any person or prisoner, burn any house or commit any plunder, without special written orders from the commander-in-chief."†

The rebel troops, dissatisfied with the military conduct of their general, Harvey, appointed Father Philip Roche his successor: but whatever might have been the military talents of this new commander, his activity was not conspicuous, for seven days after the battle of Ross, he remained on the hill of Lacken without having undertaken any operation of importance, while his troops continued to regale themselves on the slaughtered cattle, and with the liquors which were procured in plenty from the country in their possession.

Nor was this state of unaccountable inactivity confined to the army of General Roche. After the defeat of Colonel Walpole's division at Tubberneering, on the

* Sir Richard Musgrave's *Memoirs of the Rebelions in Ireland*, p. 411.

† Hay's *History of the Insurrection in the County of Wexford*, p. 155.

* Evidence of Richard Silvester, on the trial of Phelim Fardy.

† See Proclamation signed B. B. Harvey, countersigned Francis Breen, Sec. and Adj., dated June 6, 1798.

4th of June, the army under Father Michael Murphy, instead of advancing to Arklow, and pushing forward with continually increasing numbers to the capital, where many thousands were waiting to take up arms in their favour, spent their time in burning the town of Carnew, and plundering the houses in the circumjacent country. At length, collecting their force at Gorey, they advanced to the attack of Arklow on the 9th, the first day in which that post had been prepared for defence. Their numbers amounted to from twenty or thirty thousand men, of whom nearly five thousand were armed with guns: the rest, being principally armed with pikes, exhibited in some points of view, as they advanced to the attack, the appearance of a moving forest. This army was supported by two six-pounders, formerly taken from the regulars, and preceded by an advanced guard composed of horse and foot. All their motions were evidently intended to outflank and overpower the garrison, which was commanded by General Needham, and consisted of dragoons, fencibles, and yeomen, amounting in the whole to about sixteen hundred men, part of whom had been brought from Dublin to Arklow in jaunting cars, and other carriages, put in requisition for that purpose. The attack, which commenced at four o'clock in the afternoon, and continued for upwards of two hours, was as usual fierce and irregular; but the steady continuance and incessant fire of the troops, together with the destruction occasioned by the cannon, rendered all their efforts abortive, and they were never able to penetrate into the place. One body was soon defeated, and charged by the cavalry under Colonel Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, who appears to have given no quarter; but the other, which had advanced to the side of the Charter-school, and was led by the rebel chief, made a number of successive but abortive attacks on a barricade, whence they were driven by showers of musketry and grape-shot. At length Father Michael, after haranguing his followers, advanced with a standard on which a cross had been emblazoned, but though he had represented himself to be invulnerable, he was killed by a cannon-shot, on which his troops instantly dispersed, and retreated, about eight o'clock at night, in a disorderly manner, towards Coolgreency.*

* Father Michael Murphy, priest of Ballycanoo, had been supposed by his followers to be proof against all kinds of weapons, and even to be impervious to cannon-shot. To favour this delusion, he frequently exhibited musket-balls, which he said he caught in his hands as they flew from the guns of the enemy! Some soldiers of the ancient British regiment, says Mr. Gordon, cut open

This battle, though not altogether the most bloody, was perhaps the most important of the revolutionary war, since it probably decided the fate of Ireland. As the rebels were not pursued, their loss was not accurately ascertained, but it could not amount to less than three or four hundred, while the loss of the Durham fencibles, under Colonel Skerret, which supported the weight of the action, was only twenty privates killed and wounded.

After the defeat of the rebels at Arklow, the insurgent army, now placed under the command of Garret Byrne, and anxiously awaiting the long-promised succours from France, retreated to Limerick-hill, where they meditated an attack on Hacketstown, but the approach of General Lake compelled them to abandon that design, and to commence their retreat, on the 20th, for Vinegar-hill.

The army, under General Needham, moved from Arklow to Gorey, on the 19th, and from thence towards Enniscorthy, on the 20th, for the purpose of co-operating with others of his majesty's forces in a plan formed by General Lake for surrounding the rebel station at Vinegar-hill. For this purpose, different armies moved at the same time from various quarters—that under Lieutenant-general Dundas from Balinglass; another, under Majors-general Sir James Duff and Loftus, from Tullow: that from Arklow, under General Needham, and a fourth from Ross, under Majors-general Johnson and Eustace. The march of the army from Ross served to surprise the rebel band under Father Philip Roche, on Lacken-hill, who fled in the utmost confusion on the approach of the king's troops, leaving their tents and a great quantity of plunder. This army separated into two bodies, one of which directed its march to Wexford, and the other to Vinegar-hill, where the Wexford insurgents were concentrating their force.

This famous eminence, with the town of Enniscorthy at its foot, and the country for many miles in circumference, had been in possession of the rebels ever since the 28th of May, during which period, continual apprehension of death had attended the hapless loyalists who had not succeeded in effecting their escape. Wherever they were found, they were seized, and some of

the dead body of Father Michael, after the battle of Arklow, took out his heart, roasted his body, and oiled their boots with the grease which dripped from it! And Mr. George Taylor, in his historical account of the Wexford rebellion, adds, that Lord Mountnorris ordered the dead body of Murphy to be thrown into a house that was burning, exclaiming at the same time—"Let his body go where his soul is!"

them put to death on the spot, but others were dragged to Vinegar-hill, where, after a sham trial, often without the form, they were shot, or transfixed with pikes, and many of them barbarously scourged before their execution. The exact number of men thus butchered on this fatal spot, it is not possible to state, but it appears from unquestionable documents, that at least one hundred human beings were immolated weekly at this sanguinary shrine of religious rancour and political animosity.

The army commanded to march from different quarters, to surround the rebel post at Vinegar-hill, consisted, in the whole, of a force amounting to about thirteen thousand effective men, with a formidable train of artillery. With such a strength, judiciously directed, the whole insurgent army, estimated at twenty thousand, might have been taken or destroyed. The mode of attack adopted on this occasion was well calculated to affright new levies, always diffident of themselves, and in continual apprehension of being surrounded. The troops, being divided into four distinct columns, advanced, early in the morning of the 21st, against the insurgents, while a fifth, under General Johnson, having carried the town of Enniscorthy, scaled the heights in different directions. But notwithstanding these formidable preparations, the revolvers were enabled, from the strength of their position, to defend the line during an hour and a half, and it was not till they were outflanked, and nearly surrounded, that they gave way, leaving behind them thirteen light field-pieces: as intestine are always more bloody than foreign wars, the slaughter was immense, for no quarter seems to have been given upon this occasion, and those who escaped the musket, when overtaken, perished by the bayonet, whilst so insignificant was the loss on the part of the king's troops, that not above one hundred were either killed or wounded. The only person in the rebel ranks, of any note, who fell upon this occasion, was Father Clinch, a priest of Enniscorthy, who was singled out on account of his large white horse, huge cimier, and broad cross-belts. The action itself was less bloody than might have been supposed, as the troops under General Needham, being unable to reach the position assigned them, left an opening through which the rebels retreated, and which from that circumstance was ludicrously called "*Needham's gap*." Through this opening an immense column retreated by the east side of the Slaney, part of which entered Wexford; while another, and more numerous detachment, headed by the chiefs, Murphy and Roche, reached the Three Rocks, and having held

a hasty council of war, marched across the mountains to the county of Kilkeany. Excesses, as might be expected in such a state of affairs, were committed by the soldiery, particularly by the Hessian troops, who co-operated with the British on this occasion, and who made no distinction between loyalists and rebels. The most remarkable act of this kind, was the setting fire to a house which had been used as an hospital for the rebels, wherein a number of men, fourteen at least, who by wounds and sickness were unable to escape from the flames, were burned to ashes; but as a palliation of this sanguinary enormity, it is said, on the authority of the surgeon, that the firing of the hospital was not intentional, but accidental, the bed-clothes having been set on fire by the wadding of the soldiers' guns, who were shooting the patients in their beds!*

The town of Wexford was relieved on the same day as Enniscorthy. Brigadier-general Moore, whose troops had on the preceding day fought and vanquished a rebel force of five or six thousand men at Goffs-bridge, near Horetown, received, on the morning of the 21st, a proposal from the inhabitants of Wexford to surrender the town, and to return to their allegiance, provided he would guarantee their lives and property. This proposal General Moore felt it his duty to transmit to General Lake, and marching directly for Wexford, he stationed his army within a mile of that place.

The loyalists of Wexford, like those of Enniscorthy, had, since the fall of that place into the hands of the insurgents, been in a state of incessant apprehension and suffering. Of this description of persons two hundred and sixty were confined in the jail and other places of imprisonment, while the rest were prisoners in their own houses, under perpetual dread of being shot, piked, or famished. Several of the leaders of the rebellion exerted their utmost endeavours to prevent violence being offered to the prisoners, but there were others of their number that instigated, rather than restrained the sanguinary disposition of the rabble. Of the latter description appears to have been Thomas Dixon (the brother-in-law of General Edward Roche), who, from a captain of a trading vessel, had become a chief in the rebel army. This Hibernian Robespierre, like his French prototype, would probably, in case of success, have endeavoured to wade to eminence through seas of blood. During the occupation of the town by the revolvers, a general slaughter of the prisoners was twice attempted in vain by this monster. Still persisting in his bloody

* Vide Gordon's History, p. 173.

design, and choosing a moment of extreme agitation for its accomplishment, he contrived on the 20th of June to set on foot a great massacre. The prisoners, being brought from the prison, were led to slaughter in successive divisions, surrounded by a guard of inhuman butchers; and preceded to the place of execution by a black flag, marked with a white cross, where they were put to death by various means, but principally by four men at once, who standing two before and two behind each victim, thrust their pikes into his body, and elevating him from the ground, held him writhing in the air till all signs of life were extinguished. Some of the prisoners were slaughtered at the jail, and others at the market-house, but the great butchery was on the bridge—a magnificent wooden fabric, ill adapted for such a hideous exhibition. This horrible spectacle was, it is said, regarded by a multitude of wretches assembled on the occasion, the greater part women, as a gratifying sight, and the congregated multitudes rent the air with shouts of exultation on each fresh arrival of victims at the fatal spot! The slaughter, which had commenced at two o'clock in the afternoon, continued till ninety-seven men had been deliberately massacred, and till the news arrived, at seven o'clock at night, that the post of Vinegar-hill had been carried by the king's troops. Father Curran, having in vain supplicated the assassins to desist, commanded them to pray before they proceeded further in this work of death; and when he had thus brought them to their knees, he ordered them to cry, "*O God! show to us the same mercy that we show to these surviving prisoners!*" Lord Kingsborough, colonel of the North Cork regiment of militia, who had been taken prisoner in the harbour of Wexford at the breaking out of the rebellion, and detained ever since, narrowly escaped from swelling the number of the victims, through the strenuous and humane endeavours of Dr. Caulfield, the Romish bishop. The only charge urged by Dixon and his bloody associates against the objects of their diabolical fury, was, that they were Orangemen, and the proof of their guilt rested upon the evidence of two wretches of the names of Jackson and O'Connor, who were themselves confined in the jail at Wexford, and became informers to save their own lives.

The Wexford insurgents, in the hope that their offer of surrender would be acceded to by General Lake, and conscious that it was impossible to oppose any effectual resistance to the overwhelming force brought against them, liberated Lord Kingsborough, and on the 21st surrendered the town into his hands. Contrary to their hopes, Gene-

ral Lake insisted upon the unconditional surrender of the place, and in his answer to the proposal of the 21st, informed the inhabitants that no terms could be granted to rebels in arms against their sovereign.*

On the evacuation of the town by the main body of rebels, part of them, under Messrs. Fitzgerald, Perry, and Edward Roche, passed over the bridge to the eastern side of the river Slaney, and the rest, under Father Philip Roche, in an opposite direction into the barony of Forth. About five o'clock in the afternoon of this day, Captain Boyd, anxious to rescue his amiable consort, who, with all the rest of his family, was among the prisoners in Wexford, galloped into the town with only eight yeomen of his troop, and happily found it abandoned by the rebel force. Soon afterwards, other small detachments of the army followed, and the surviving prisoners, to the number of about one hundred and forty, were all set at liberty, to their inexpressible joy.

General Moore, whose firmness and humanity were above all praise, on consulting with Lord Kingsborough, thought it most advisable not to let his troops into the town, which it had been determined to annihilate

* PROPOSAL TO SURRENDER.

"That Captain M'Manus shall proceed from Wexford towards Oulart, accompanied by Mr. Edward Hay, appointed by the inhabitants of all religious persuasions, to inform the officer commanding the king's troops, that they are ready to deliver up the town of Wexford, without opposition, to lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance, provided that their persons and properties are guaranteed by the commanding officer; and that they will use every influence in their power to induce the people of the country at large to return to their allegiance; and these terms, it is hoped, that Captain M'Manus will be able to procure.

(Signed by order of the inhabitants of Wexford.)

MATTHEW KEUGH.

Wexford, June 21st, 1798.

ANSWER.

"Lieutenant-general Lake cannot attend to any terms proposed by rebels in arms against their sovereign: while they continue so, he must use the force intrusted to him with the utmost energy for their destruction. To the deluded multitude he promises pardon, on their delivering into his hands their leaders, surrendering their arms, and returning with sincerity to their allegiance.

(Signed) G. LAKE."

Enniscorthy, June 22d, 1798.

This reply was not anticipated, for the Rev. Philip Roche, in full confidence that the offer on the part of the rebels to lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance, would be acceded to, and that protection would be afforded both to himself and to his followers, left his forces at Sledagh, on the 22d, to proceed to Wexford; and so little apprehensive was he of danger, that he advanced, undisguised, within the lines of the king's forces; but no sooner was the rebel chief recognised, than he was dragged from his horse, and instantly conveyed to the prison at Windmill-hills.

previous to the negotiation, and in consequence of this circumstance, of which the army was perfectly aware, it required the utmost precaution to prevent its being plundered, sacked, and destroyed, with all the attendant atrocities.

While the loyalists of Wexford were rejoicing in their deliverance, a most tragic scene was acting in Gorey. On the 20th of June, a party of the Gorey cavalry, about seventeen in number, on their return home to that place, in resentment for the injury the town had suffered, killed about fifty men, whom they found in their houses, or straggling home from the rebel army. On the 22d, a body of about five hundred rebels retreating from Wexford, and directing their march to the mountains of Wicklow, on hearing of this slaughter, and being informed of the weakness of the party by whom it was perpetrated, determined on vengeance. With this view, they marched towards Gorey, where a smart skirmish took place, which terminated in favour of the rebels, who, in pursuing the military, overtook a number of refugees flying from the place, and slaughtered thirty-seven of them upon the road, exclusive of some others who were dreadfully wounded, but afterwards recovered. On this sanguinary day, which is yet remembered in Gorey, under the designation of *Bloody Friday*, no women or children were injured, because, as the rebels, who affected to act on a system of retaliation, said, no women or children had, on the 20th, been hurt by the adverse party.

In the mean time, the body of rebels which had retreated from Vinegar-hill, and penetrated into the county of Kilkenny, by the Scullagh gap, which separates the counties of Carlow and Wexford, burned the village of Killedmond, and proceeded to Goresbridge, under the command of Father John Murphy, of Ballavogue. Having advanced in column, they were opposed by Lieutenant Dixon, who was posted there with a party, composed chiefly of dragoons; but he was at length obliged to retreat, as they had brought a swivel, and several pieces of cannon, to bear on his post, which he in vain endeavoured to maintain against so overwhelming a disparity of force. But their success was of short duration, for they were pursued by General Dunn and Sir Charles Asgill, and totally defeated on the 26th of June, at Kilcomney-hill, with a loss of from two to three hundred slain, and ten light pieces of cannon taken, with seven hundred horses, and all the rest of their plunder. Murphy, the commander-in-chief, who fled from the field of battle, was taken soon afterwards, and being conducted to the head-quarters of General Sir James Duff, at

Tullow, was hanged the same day. After the body of this sanguinary priest was burned, his head, with indiscreet zeal, was placed on the market-house—a savage and horrid custom, tending little to intimidate, but admirably calculated to render a disaffected people more savage and ferocious, by making them familiar with barbarity, and accustoming them to the violation of the rite of sepulture.

On the 25th, the united forces from Gorey, and those under Garret Byrne, appeared at Hacketstown at five o'clock in the morning, and after a long engagement with the garrison at that place, which continued for many hours with various success, they were at length repulsed, with the loss of two hundred men, among whom was Michael Reynolds, the chief who had led the rebels to Naas, on the first morning of the rebellion, and who thus, like the great majority of the insurgent chiefs, paid the forfeit of his life as the price of his military elevation.

A body of insurgents, who assembled soon afterwards at Whiteheaps, in the county of Wexford, was dispersed by General Needham, assisted by General Duff and the Marquis of Huntley, the latter of whom acquired great credit, during his residence in Ireland, by uniting humanity with courage, and compassionating the failings of a deluded multitude, at the same time that he rendered their fury ineffectual.

The spirit of rebellion in the south, which had assumed in its progress much of the appearance of a war of religion,* was now happily approaching to its termination; and in the north, this revolutionary contest never exhibited a very formidable shape, for the disaffected Protestants in that quarter, shocked at the enormities perpetrated, and the intolerance displayed, and scandalized by the pretended miracles wrought by the blood-stained priests, Roche and Murphy, determined to resist the seduction. They indeed found means to keep possession of Antrim for a few days, though, on being attacked with cannon and musketry, on the 7th of June, they were driven out of the town, with the loss of about two hundred slain, but not till Lord O'Neill, who commanded a regiment of Irish militia, had been mortally wounded. They were also repulsed in an ill-concerted attack on Carrickfergus; and at Ballinahinch, where they had determined to make

* "Of ten protestant clergymen," says Mr. Gordon, "who fell into the hands of the insurgents, in the county of Wexford, five were put to death without mercy or hesitation; namely, Robert Burrows, Francis Turner, Samuel Haydon, John Penland, and Thomas Troke, all men of regular conduct and inoffensive disposition."

a stand with six thousand men, under Munroe, the northern chief, they received a total overthrow.

On the subsiding of this minor rebellion in Ulster, another local rising took place in Munster, much inferior in vigour, and much more easily suppressed than that in the north. The principal action, and indeed the only one of which government thought fit to make a report to the public, took place in the county of Cork, on the 19th of June, near the village of Ballynascarty. At this place, a division of two hundred and twenty men, of the West Meath militia, provided with two six-pounders, and commanded by Sir Hugh O'Reilly, were attacked on their march from Cloghnakilty to Bandon, by a body of about three or four hundred rebels in ambush, principally armed with pikes. After a smart engagement, during which

the rebels were joined by two reinforcements, and the West Meath militia by about one hundred men of the Caithness legion, the assailants dispersed, with a loss of from fifty to one hundred men, while the loyalists lost only a sergeant and one private.*

After a predatory warfare, carried on between the 26th of June and the 10th of July, in the counties of Carlow and Wicklow, in which several vigorous, but ineffectual efforts were made, to reanimate an expiring cause, the insurgent chiefs, Fitzgerald and Byrne, surrendered to Generals Dundas and Moore; and this sanguinary insurrection, which broke out on the 23d of May, and raged with intense fury till the 22d of the following month, threatening, in its alarming progress, the existence of government itself, was, on the 12th of July, finally extinguished.

CHAPTER IX.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE IRISH REBELLION: Trial and Execution of several of the rebel Chiefs—The Marquis Cornwallis called to the Vice-regal Office in Ireland; adopts an enlightened and humane System of Policy—The principal Conspirators obtain the royal Clemency, on condition of making certain Disclosures to Government—The Object of the Rebellion, as explained by its Instigators—Ireland still scourged by Bands of Marauders, "The Babes in the Wood"—Military Excesses—Estimate of the Loss sustained by the Country from the Rebellion—General Humbert invades Ireland, obtains a Victory at Castlebar, but is subsequently obliged to surrender himself and his Forces prisoners of war to the Marquis Cornwallis—Description of the Battle of Killala, by an Eyewitness—Napper Tandy, attended by General Rey, lands from a French Brig on the small Island of Rutland, and after an ineffectual Attempt to excite the People to rise in Arms, re-embarks for France—A French Fleet equipped for the Invasion of Ireland—Defeated by Sir J. B. Warren—The closing Scenes of the Insurrection.

THE capital of Ireland having escaped the horrors of that insurrection, which, in its first revolutionary burst, approached to the precincts of her jurisdiction, now became the theatre of public justice: and the first person brought to trial was a rebel chief, of the name of Bacon, a citizen of Dublin, in an extensive line of business, and of the Protestant persuasion; this unfortunate man was apprehended on the 2d of June, disguised as a female, and proceeding in a chaise to the country, to join the insurgents. Being found guilty of high-treason, he was executed on the 14th, on the same scaffold with Lieutenant Eamond, a Roman Catholic, convicted of leading the rebel forces, in the attack on Prosperous. Henry and John Sheares, the sons of a banker at Cork, and both of them members of the bar, were tried in Dublin on the 12th of July, condemned on the clearest evidence, and executed in the front of Newgate. The trial of John McCann, secretary to the provincial committee of Leinster, followed on the 17th, and he suffered with Michael William Byrne, delegate for the

county committee of Wicklow. Oliver Bond, a merchant in extensive business, and one of the principal conspirators, at whose house the Leinster delegates had been arrested on the 12th of March, was arraigned for high-treason on the 23d of July, and his trial continued till seven o'clock on the morning of the 24th, when he was convicted.

These trials in the metropolis were all decided by jury; but in Wexford, and other parts of the country, the government resorted to the more summary tribunals of court-martial. On the 25th of June, Matthew Keugh, the rebel governor of Wexford; the Rev. Philip Roche, the general; and seven others, having been previously tried and convicted by a court-martial, were all brought to the bridge at Wexford, and executed. Among the persons who suffered for high-treason on the same bridge, were Beauchamp Bagnel Harvey, John Henry Colclough, and Cornelius Grogan. Gro-

* See the Duke of Portland's Official Communication, dated June 26, 1796.

gan died possessed of an estate of eight thousand a year, and had so far misconceived the state of affairs, as to imagine his property more secure under the protection of the United Irishmen, than of the existing government—miserable delusion! It is generally supposed, that in taking a part in the rebel cause, he acted under constraint, and Mr. Harvey, in taking his final farewell of Mr. Grogan, on the morning of their execution, said, in the presence of an officer, and several of the guards—"Ah! poor Grogan, you die an innocent man." On the evacuation of Wexford by the rebels, Mr. Colclough, who, up to the period of the rebellion, was a man of the first consideration in the country, had taken his amiable wife and only child to one of the Saltee islands, and sought concealment in a cave, where he was in hopes to have remained till the tempest had subsided. Mr. Harvey, acquainted with the place of his friend's retreat, repaired thither also for security, but on the 23d they were brought, by the vigilance of Dr. Waddy, a yeoman, from their cave to the jail at Wexford; and, in these dismal times, short indeed was the passage from the prison to the grave.

Among the leaders of the rebellion executed at the time of its suppression were John Hay, the rebel general, who was found concealed in his own shrubbery, on the 22d of June, by General Dundas's troops, and executed the day following; Kelley, the chief of Kill-ann, who penetrated into the town of New Ross; and Father John Redmond, of Clough. Besides the persons already enumerated, a great number of others paid the forfeit of their lives to the injured laws of their country, and in the town of Wexford alone, not fewer than sixty-five persons were executed for the crimes of rebellion and murder.*

A mode of proceeding against imputed rebels more summary still than that of trial by court-martial, was practised, from the commencement of the rebellion, by soldiers, yeomen, and supplementaries, who frequently executed, without the formality of a trial, such as they judged worthy of death. This practice augmented for a time the number of the rebels, and would, on their dispersion, have in a great measure depopulated the country, if it had not been restrained by the enlightened and humane policy of government, on the appointment of the Marquis Cornwallis, in the place of Earl Camden, to the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland.

On the 20th of June, the Marquis Cornwallis made his unassuming entrance into

the capital of the country, and at the expiration of a few days, Earl Camden took his departure in a very splendid style for England. On the 3d of the following month, a proclamation from the new viceroy appeared in the Dublin Gazette, authorizing his majesty's generals to afford protection to such insurgents, as, having been simply guilty of rebellion, should surrender their arms, abjure all unlawful engagements, and take the oath of allegiance. The necessity of this act of clemency was perfectly obvious to all who understood the Irish character, and who considered what numbers had been seduced into the fatal conspiracy by artifice, and forced into the rebel ranks by an unfortunate combination of adverse circumstances.* To give the full sanction of law to this measure of consummate wisdom, a message was delivered from his excellency to the Irish parliament, on the 17th of July, on which was grounded an act of amnesty to all who, not being leaders, had not committed manslaughter, except in the heat of battle, and who should comply with the conditions of the proclamation.

This act was followed by a treaty between the government and the chiefs of the United Irishmen, negotiated by Counsellor Dobbs, a member of the house of commons, bearing date the 29th of July, and expressed in the following terms:—

"That the undersigned state prisoners, in the three prisons of Newgate, Kilmainham, and Bridewell, engage to give every information in their power of the whole of the internal transactions of the United Irishmen; and that each of the prisoners shall give detailed information of every transaction that has passed between the United Irishmen and foreign states; but that the prisoners are not, by naming or describing, to implicate any person whatever; and that they are ready to emigrate to such country as shall be agreed on between them and government, and to give security not to return to this country without the permission of government, and not to pass into an enemy's country;—if, on so doing, they are to be freed from prosecution; and also Mr. Oliver Bond (then under sentence of death) be permitted to take the benefit of this proposal. The state prisoners also hope that the benefit of this proposal may be extended to such persons in custody as may choose to benefit by it."

In consequence of the proclaimed amnesty, some of the rebel chiefs who had hitherto remained in arms, among whom was Aylmer, surrendered their persons. Six principals of the conspiracy, particularly Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Addis Emmett, Dr. McNevin, and Samuel Neilson, gave details on oath, in their examinations

* Sir Richard Musgrave, Appendix xxi. No. 4, p. 160.

* Mr. Baines is in error, when he supposes that artifice was frequently used to induce persons to join in the rebellion.—W. G.

before the secret committees of the two houses of parliament; from which, it appeared, that the rebellion originated in a system, formed, not with a view of obtaining either Catholic emancipation, or any reform compatible with the existence of the constitution, but for the purpose of subverting the government, separating Ireland from Great Britain, and forming a democratic republic;* that the means resorted to for the attainment of these designs, was a secret systematic combination, fitted to attract the multitude, and artfully linked and connected together, with a view of forming the mass of the lower ranks into a revolutionary force, acting in concert, and moving as one body, at the impulse, and under the direction of their leaders:† that, for the further accomplishment of their object, the leaders of the conspiracy entered into a negotiation in 1796, and finally concluded an alliance with the French directory, in the summer of the same year, by which it was stipulated, that an adequate force should be sent for the invasion of Ireland, as subsidiary to the preparations that were making for a general insurrection:‡ that in pursuance of this design, measures were adopted by the chiefs of the conspiracy, for giving to their societies a military form; and that for arming their adherents, they had recourse to the fabrication of pikes.§ That from the vigorous and summary expedients resorted to by government, and the consequent exertions of the military, the leaders found themselves reduced to the alternative of immediate insurrection, or of being deprived of the means on which they relied for effecting their purpose; and that to this cause was to be attributed the premature breaking out of the rebellion, and probably its ultimate failure also.¶

From some cause, not satisfactorily explained, the principal prisoners were not liberated, but sent to Fort George, in the north of Scotland, where they continued in confinement till the conclusion of the war, when they were permitted to enjoy their liberty, on condition that they should withdraw from his majesty's dominions. Oliver Bond would in all probability have been one of the number thus reserved for long captivity; had not death, by a stroke of apo-

plexy, put an end to his sufferings in prison.*

Assassinations and robberies, on sectarian and political grounds, would probably have ceased on the granting of protections, if some desperate marauders, reinforced by a number of deserters from several regiments of Irish militia, had not remained in arms in the mountains of Wicklow, and the dwarf woods of Killaughrim, near Enniscorthy. Banditti of this kind continued for many months to infest those parts of the country, and so great was the terror produced by their depredations in the vicinity of their lurking places, that those Protestant families who had remained in the country, and braved the storms of the rebellion, now found themselves compelled to take refuge in towns. But after a little time, the woods being scoured by the army, were cleared of their predatory inhabitants, who had ludicrously styled themselves *The Babes in the Wood*.

The party in the Wicklow mountains, whose range was much more extensive, and whose haunts were more difficult of access, continued, under two chiefs of the names of Holt and Hacket, to annoy the country for a longer time, and in a more formidable degree, till a principle of retaliation was resorted to by the yeomen, which necessity itself could scarcely justify, and at which humanity shudders. As the massacres of the banditti were found to proceed upon a principle of religious hatred, it was determined, that whenever any Protestants were murdered by these wretches, that a still greater number of Roman Catholics should be put to death by the yeomen, in the same neighbourhood. Thus, at Castletown, four miles from Gorey, where four Protestants were massacred in the night by Hacket, seven Romanists were slain in revenge; and at Augrim, in the county of Wicklow, ten miles from the same town, twenty-seven of the latter were killed in consequence of the murders committed by the former.†

The devastation and plundering sustained by the country, were not the work of the

* List of the persons sent to Fort George.—

Samuel Neilson,	Arthur O'Connor,
Wm. James M'Nevin,†	John Sweetman,
Roger O'Connor,	Hugh Wilson,
Joseph Cormick,	George Cumming,
Robert Hunter,	William Tennant,
Thomas Russell,	Thomas Addis Emmett,
Matthew Dowling,	Joseph Cuthbert,
John Sweeny,	John Chambers,
Edward Hudson,§	William Dowdall,
Robert Simms,	Steele Dixon.

† Gordon's History of the Rebellion, second edition, p. 236.

‡ Now a resident of New York.

§ The distinguished dentist of Philadelphia W. G.

* See the Evidence of Dr. M'Nevin before the House of Lords, in Ireland, August 17th, 1796.

† See Report of the Committee of Secrecy, presented to the House of Commons, in Ireland.

‡ See Mr. Arthur O'Connor's Evidence before the House of Lords, in Ireland.

§ See Mr. Samuel Neilson's Evidence before the House of Lords, in Ireland.

¶ See Evidence of T. A. Emmett, Esq. before the House of Lords, in Ireland.

rebels alone, they were aggravated by the soldiery, and particularly by the Hessians, who often plundered, without distinction, both the loyal and the disaffected. These military excesses were however at length put an end to by the regiment of Scottish Highlanders, under the Marquis of Huntley, who, to their immortal honour, observed so strict a discipline, that nothing more was heard of military depredation. But still the country was miserably afflicted all the ensuing winter by gangs of nocturnal marauders, who, under the pretence of making reprisals, plundered, and in many cases burned, the houses and cattle of the disarmed Romanists, and thus completed the work of desolation. Another species of mischief, very prevalent after the extinction of the rebellion, was the burning of Roman Catholic chapels in the night, of which scarcely one escaped in the extent of several miles round Gorey.*

To estimate, with any degree of accuracy, the detriment sustained by the country from the rebellion, would be a matter of great difficulty; but some data are afforded in this inquiry, from the conflagrations that took place in the different towns, and from the compensation claimed by one class of sufferers: the towns of Carnew, Tinealy, Hacketstown, Donard, Blessington, and

* CATHOLIC CHAPELS burnt in the county of Wexford, and diocese of Ferns, with the dates of their conflagration:—

Boolevogue	27th May, 1798
Maglas	30th ———
Ramsgrange	19th June, ———
Dromsgold	21st ———
Ballenmurrin	———
Gorey	24th Aug. ———
Annacurragh	2d Sept. ———
Crane	17th ———
Rock	12th Oct. ———
Balleduffe	19th ———
River Chapel	———
Monaseed	25th ———
Clogogue	25th ———
Killeveney	11th Nov. ———
Ferns	18th ———
Oulard	28th ———
Castletown	———
Balleygarret	15th June 1799
Ballynamonabeg	18th ———
Askamore	24th Feb. ———
Murntown	24th April ———
Monamoling	3d May ———
Kilrush	15th ———
Marshallstown	8th or 9th June ———
Munin	———
Crossabeg	24th ———
Killenerin	29th ———
Monageer	1st July ———
Kiltaley	1st Oct. ———
Glanbryan	13th Mar. 1800
Kaim	3d Sept. ———
Ballinacree	———
Courtencuddy	13th Aug. 1801

The Protestant church of Old Ross was burned on the 2d of June, 1798.

Killedmond, were all destroyed by fire; in Ross, about three hundred houses, mostly those of the labouring classes, were consumed, and the greater part of Enniscorthy was laid in ashes. Such was the desolation committed in the towns, while a vast number of cabins, farm-houses, and gentlemen's seats were destroyed in the open country. By a message delivered to the house of commons by Lord Castlereagh, on the 17th of July, it was proposed to afford compensation to the suffering loyalists, on their claims being duly verified before commissioners; and an act of parliament soon after passed, for giving to this measure of justice and humanity the force of law. Under this act, the claims of the loyalists alone amounted to upwards of one million pounds sterling! a sum of great magnitude, but it is supposed not equal to more than two-thirds of their loss. But who shall pretend to compute the damage sustained by the disloyal and suspected, whose houses were burnt, and whose effects were pilaged or destroyed, and who, barred from compensation, sent no estimates to the commissioners? That their loss was immense cannot be doubted, and it may be fairly conjectured, that the sum of two millions sterling would not replace all the property destroyed by this ruinous conspiracy.*

But the destruction of property was only one species of injury resulting to the coun-

* An account of the sums of money claimed by the suffering loyalists in the different counties of Ireland, for their losses sustained in the rebellion of 1798, and laid before the commissioners appointed by act of parliament for compensating them:—

	£	s.	d.
Antrim	17,729	3	4
Carlow	24,854	14	7
Cavan	61	16	9
Cork	2,501	14	11
Clare	856	9	11
Down	12,129	0	8
Dublin	25,829	16	0
Galway	4,814	0	3
Kerry	149	4	2
Kildare	97,000	2	11
Kilkenny	27,352	8	9
King's County	2,461	19	7
Limerick	22	9	6
Londonderry	7	19	3
Leitrim	2,366	19	1
Longford	1,046	14	10
Mayo	120,553	11	4
Meath	14,597	9	3
Queen's County	1,586	9	3
Roscommon	325	19	7
Sligo	15,769	14	9
Tipperary	1,577	9	8
Waterford	1,321	18	9
Westmeath	2,808	13	4
Wexford	515,191	8	5
Wicklow	130,379	17	0

£1,023,387 5 10

ravity from the civil war. To this may be added the loss of lives, the neglect of industry, the obstruction of commerce, the interruption of credit, and the contamination of morals.

To suppose that the insurgents were all alike sanguinary or prone to cruelty, would be as little conformable to truth as to probability. Many even of the lowest were men of humane feeling; but amidst so wild an agitation, so furious a commotion, the unobtrusive and feeble voice of compassion was drowned in the boisterous and arrogant clamour of destruction of enemies, in cries of "Revenge on the bloody *orange-dogs*!" "In popular commotions, natural talents go a little way to procure influence; the leader of a mob is almost invariably the man that outgoes all the rest in wickedness and audacity;" and it too frequently happened, even among the loyalists, that whoever attempted to moderate the fury of his associates, or to prevent the commission of wanton cruelties on the defenceless prisoner or helpless cottager, was brow-beaten and silenced by the cry of "*Croppy*"—a term very liberally bestowed by zealots on men who manifested a wish that the loyalists should act in a manner worthy of their character, and most promising of ultimate success to the cause in which they were embarked.

Though the point has never been ascertained, how many rebels were in arms at any one time during the rebellion, yet it is generally believed, that the number of men at the posts of the Three Rocks, Lackenhill, Vinegar-hill, and Gorey, amounted, in the early part of the month of June, to fifty thousand, of whom four-fifths at least were Wexfordians; and to these may be added about twenty thousand, assembled about the same period in the provinces of Ulster and Munster.* That the number of

* This force, large as it unquestionably was, by no means realized the expectations of the principal conspirators; as must be evident from the following returns of the strength of the insurgents, given by Lord Edward Fitzgerald, in his own handwriting, to Mr. Reynolds, the informer, and bearing date from the "National Committee Room, 26th of February, 1798."

	Armed men	Finances in hand	£	s.	d.
Ulster . . .	110,990	. . .	436	2	4
Munster . . .	100,634	. . .	147	17	2
Kildare . . .	10,863	. . .	110	17	7
Wicklow . . .	12,895	. . .	93	6	4
Dublin . . .	3,010	. . .	37	2	6
Dublin City . . .	2,177	. . .	321	17	11
Queen's County . . .	11,689	. . .	91	2	1
King's County . . .	3,600	. . .	21	11	3
Carlow . . .	9,414	. . .	49	2	10
Kilkenny . . .	624	. . .	10	2	3
Meath . . .	1,400	. . .	171	2	11
	267,296		£1490	4	4
			23*		

human beings sacrificed was immense, may be supposed from the well-known facts, that the male population in the counties of Wexford and Wicklow experienced a very perceptible diminution; and that, during this sanguinary contest, sixty-eight loyalists were massacred in the latter, and four hundred and fifty in the former county, exclusive of the numbers that fell in battle.*

The French directory, who had hitherto contemplated the progress of the civil war in Ireland in perfect tranquillity, now seemed eager to revive those scenes of blood, by transmitting a force, which might have proved formidable previously to the action at Vinegar-hill, but now was altogether insignificant and unavailing. Accordingly, at a period when the arts of peace began once more to be cultivated, an expedition from Rochelle, consisting of one thousand and thirty privates, and seventy officers, under General Humbert, embarked in three frigates, landed, on the 22d of August, in the bay of Killala, in the county of Mayo, and took up their head-quarters at the bishop's palace. But although the alluring symbol of a green flag was erected, accompanied by the emblem of a harp, and encircled with the motto of "*Erin go Bragh*"—Ireland for ever; yet, but few of the peasantry could be prevailed on to join the invaders, and of those few, scarcely an individual of any note was of the number.

After leaving a small garrison under Colonel Charost behind him at Killala, to keep up the communication and receive supplies, General Humbert clothed and armed all those who repaired to his standard, and immediately marched towards Castlebar. Advancing through Barnagecby, instead of Foxford, he experienced no obstacle in his route from Ballina. The army collected at Castlebar, under General Lake, whom the lord-lieutenant had appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in Connaught, consisted of from two to three thousand regular troops. Although Humbert relied for success chiefly on his own troops, yet, being desirous to magnify the appearance of his little army, he dressed up a number of the natives in uniforms, and afterwards contrived to post his new levies on the flanks, in such a manner as to protect his column from the fire of the enemy. The field of battle to which he advanced, on the morning of the 27th, consisted of a hill at the north-west extremity of the town, where the English forces were drawn up in two lines, which crowned its summit; a small reserve was stationed in

* See Affidavits registered in the archives of the House of Commons in Ireland.

the rear, in a valley; and two curricles and some battalion guns were posted in front, and commanded a rising ground, over which the enemy must necessarily pass. About eight o'clock in the morning, the French, with their native allies, were seen advancing in column, driving a number of cattle before them, to divert the fire of the artillery, which was extremely well served. Humbert, after reconnoitering, halted under cover of a rising ground, and pushed forward a body of his best marksmen, who advanced rapidly, and occupied some hedges in front, where they extended themselves with a view of outflanking the adversary. By an unfortunate precipitancy, the fire of the English lines, instead of being reserved, was expended before it could be available—a mistake of which the enemy taking advantage, rushed forward with his main body, and the sharpshooters evincing a design to penetrate into the rear, the detachment posted for the purpose of supporting the guns retired in a panic, and abandoned their charge to the enemy. The Earls of Ormond, Longford, and Granard endeavoured to rally their men, and they so far succeeded as to impede the progress of the assailants, but they were pursued with alacrity, and the royal Irish artillery, who had gallantly defended the bridge by means of a single gun, were at length charged by the horse, and nearly cut off. The loss sustained by the British army upon this occasion has been vaguely estimated at five hundred men and fourteen pieces of cannon, including four curricles; and the suspicion of disaffection among part of the troops served to aggravate the disaster. The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded exceeded two hundred.

Castlebar, a place of some importance, on account of its situation, now became the head-quarters of the invaders, and a number of deserters from the Irish militia regiments, actuated chiefly by the hopes of booty, joined the invaders; but to the honour of the French commander, he acquired the odium of many of his new allies, by his scrupulous regard to the lives and property of individuals.

The British force, after the defeat at Castlebar, retreated the same night to Tuam, a distance of thirty miles from the scene of action, whence they proceeded towards Athlone, in the county of West Meath.

The Marquis of Cornwallis, aware of the danger that might arise to the country, in its present perturbed situation, from the presence of an invading army, came to the determination to take the field in person. His excellency accordingly quitted the me-

topolis on the 24th of August, and, advancing by the way of the Grand Canal, through Philipstown and Kilbeggan, arrived on the 28th at Athlone, having performed a march of eighty English miles in little more than three days. Here he received the unwelcome intelligence of the defeat of his majesty's forces under General Lake, on the 27th, and after a halt of two days, proceeded with all that circumspection which the state of affairs required, in the direction of Holly-mount, where he arrived on the 4th of September.

In the mean time, General Humbert resolved to follow up his successes, and hoping to obtain succours by advancing towards the coast, quitted Castlebar on the morning of the 4th, and moved with his whole force through Swineford and Tubbercurry, in the direction of Sligo. Finding his march impeded by the force under Colonel Crawford and General Lake, which hung upon his rear, he relinquished his design on Sligo, and, after a number of skirmishes, arrived on the 8th instant at Ballynamuck, so closely followed by General Lake and Colonel Crawford, that his rear-guard was unable to break down the bridge at Ballintra. The lord-lieutenant, on finding that the invaders had quitted Castlebar, measured back his march from Holly-mount, and, repassing the Shannon at Carrick, marched by Mohill to St. Johnstown, in the county of Longford, to intercept the enemy in front. By these skilful movements, the French general found his forces surrounded by a British army, amounting to upwards of twenty thousand men, under the command of one of the most consummate generals in the service. The rear-guard, consisting of about two hundred infantry, being attacked by Colonel Crawford, was obliged to surrender. The remainder of the troops under Humbert, with a view to support the honour of the French arms, but without the most remote prospect of success, continued to defend themselves for about half an hour; when, on the appearance of the main body of General Lake's army, they all surrendered, and became prisoners of war. The rebel auxiliaries, now accumulated to about fifteen hundred, who had accompanied the French to this fatal field, being excluded from quarter, fled in all directions, and about five hundred of their number were slain in the pursuit, exclusive of about one hundred taken prisoners, among whom were found Teeling, Blake, and Roach, three of their chiefs.

The number of French troops who surrendered on this occasion amounted to ninety-six officers, and seven hundred and forty-eight non-commissioned officers and

privates;* having sustained a loss of two hundred and eighty-eight since their first landing at Killala. The quantity of ordnance, arms, and ammunition taken this day, was officially stated at three light four-pounders; five ammunition wagons, nearly full; one tumbril; seven hundred stand of arms, with belts and pouches, and a great number of pikes: and, from the same source of authentic information, it appears that the loss of the king's forces in the short, but smart contest which immediately preceded the surrender, was only three privates killed; twelve wounded, among whom was Lieutenant Stephens, of the carabineers; and three missing.

The prudence of Lord Cornwallis in the plan of his movements, taking a line between the invading force and the interior of the country, is evinced, from the circumstance of an insurrection having broken out in the neighbourhood of Granard, in the county of Longford, which had for its object a powerful diversion in favour of the enemy. At this place, the French might have formed a most convenient station, which would at once have served as a rallying point to the disaffected, and afforded considerable facilities for directing their operations against the metropolis. But it happened, by one of those adverse incidents which attended so many of the rebel projects, that the Longford insurgents, amounting to four or five thousand in number, were repulsed by the Cavan and Ballyhaise yeomen, under Captain Cottingham, in an attack on Granard, on the 5th of September, with a loss of four hundred men. The disaster sustained by the insurgents in Longford was followed on the same day by another equally signal, though not to the same extent, in the county of West Meath. On this latter occasion, the king's troops were commanded by Major Porter, and the loss of the revolvers is reported at about two hundred men, of whom a number, having sought refuge in a farm-house, were burned to ashes.

Most of the towns which had fallen into the hands of the rebels were about this time recovered, but Ballina and Killala still remained in their possession. Previous to the march of General Humbert from Castlebar, on the 4th of September, he had called in all his forces, with the exception of three officers left at Killala, and one at Ballina, in command of the rebel garrisons at those places. At length, on the 22d of September, thirty-one days after the landing of the French army in Ireland, and fourteen days after its capture

at Ballynamuck, the king's forces arrived at Ballina, and obliged the garrison to retreat to Killala. On the 23d a large body of troops, under Major-general Trench, arrived at Killala; and "the peaceful inhabitants," says an eyewitness,* "were now to be spectators of a scene they had never expected to behold—a battle! a sight which no person who has seen it once, and possesses the feelings of a human creature, would choose to witness a second time. A troop of fugitives in full race from Ballina—women and children tumbling over one another to get into the castle (the bishop's residence), or into any house in the town, where they might hope for a momentary shelter—continued, for a painful length of time, to give notice of the approach of an army.

"The rebels quitted their camp, to occupy the rising ground close by the town, on the road to Ballina, posting themselves under the low stone walls on each side, in such a manner as enabled them, with great advantage, to take aim at the king's troops; yet (strange to tell!) they were able to kill only one man, a corporal, and wound one common soldier. They had a strong guard also on the other side of the town, towards Foxford; having probably received intelligence, which was true, that General Trench had divided his forces at Crosmolina, and sent one part of them, by a detour of three miles, to intercept the fugitives that might take that course in their flight.

"The two divisions of the royal army were supposed to make up about twelve hundred men, and they had five pieces of cannon. The number of the rebels could not be ascertained; many ran away after the engagement, while a very considerable number flocked into the town, in the very heat of it, passing under the castle windows in view of the French officers, on horseback, running upon death with as little appearance of reflection or concern as if they were hastening to a show. About four hundred of these misguided men fell in the battle and immediately after it. Whence it may be conjectured, that their entire number scarcely exceeded eight or nine hundred.

"The French officers thought it their duty to lead the rebels, as many as they could bring forward, to the onset, though they were sure it was in vain. A regiment of Highlanders (Fraser's fencibles) filed off to the right and left, to flank the fusiliers behind the hedges and walls; they had a hard marshy ground on their left to

* See London Gazette Extraordinary, Sept. 14, 1798.

* See "A Narrative of what passed at Killala during the French Invasion," attributed to the Right Reverend Dr. Stock, the bishop of that place.

surmount before they could come up with their object, which occasioned some delay, but at length they reached them, and made sad havoc among them. After a resistance of about twenty minutes, the rebels began to fly in all directions, and were pursued by the Roxburgh cavalry into the town, in full cry. A considerable number were cut down in the streets, and of the remainder, but a few were able to escape into the houses, being either pushed through the town till they fell in with the Kerry regiment, from Crosmalina, or obliged to take to the shore, where it winds round a promontory, forming one of the horns of the bay of Killala. And here, too, the fugitives were swept away by scores, a cannon being placed at the opposite side of the bay, which did great execution.

"A flying rebel having burst through the door of Mr. William Kirkwood, the magistrate, followed by six or seven soldiers, they poured a volley of musketry after him, that proved fatal to Mr. Andrew Kirkwood, a most loyal and respectable citizen, while he was rejoicing at the victory, and in the very act of shouting out 'God save the king.'" In spite of the exertions of the general and his officers, the town exhibited almost all the marks of a place taken by storm. Some houses were perforated like a riddle; most of them had their doors and windows destroyed; the trembling inhabitants scarcely escaped with life, by lying prostrate on the floor during the battle. Nor was it till the close of the next day, that their ears were relieved from the horrid sounds of muskets discharged every minute at flying and powerless rebels. "The plague of war," says the amiable narrator from whom we quote, "so often visits the world, that we are apt to listen to any description of it with the indifference of satiety; it is actual inspection only that shows the monster in its proper and full deformity."*

* "What heart," says the bishop, "can forget the impression it has received from the glance of a fellow-creature pleading for his life, with a crowd of bayonets at his breast? The eye of Demosthenes never emitted so penetrating a beam, in the most enraptured flight of oratory. Such a man was dragged before the bishop, on the day after the battle, while the hand of slaughter was still in pursuit of unresisting peasants through the town. In the agony of terror, the prisoner thought to save his life by crying out that 'he was known to the bishop.' Alas! the bishop knew him not! neither did he look like a good man! But the arms, and the whole body of the person to whom he flew for protection, were over him immediately. Memory suggested rapidly—

'What a piece of workmanship is man! the beauty of the world, the paragon of animals—

'And you are going to deface this admirable work! And indeed they did. For though the soldiers

The courts-martial assembled the day after the battle of Killala; and these tribunals were not dissolved till they had disposed of one hundred and eighty-five prisoners. Amongst the number of the accused was General Bellew, of an ancient Irish family, who had served eighteen years in Germany. This infatuated man, having joined the invaders, was dignified with the pompous title of generalissimo of all the allies of France, in the district from Ballina to West Port; but it soon became obvious that his habits of intemperance were so inveterate as to incapacitate him for all duty, and he was dismissed from the service. He had, however, proceeded so far as to incur the guilt of treason against his sovereign, and being found guilty, he was executed the next morning, together with Mr. Richard Bourke, of Ballina, another of the rebel chiefs.

On the defeat of the rebel force at Killala, the French officers at that place, all of whom had conducted themselves with humanity and honour, were sent to Dublin, and thence to London, where three of their number, Charost, Boudet, and Ponson, were, on the favourable report of Dr. Stock, set at liberty, and sent home without exchange.*

promised to let the unfortunate man remain in custody till he should have a trial, yet when they found he was not known, they pulled him out of the court-yard, as soon as the bishop's back was turned, and shot him at the gate." This practice of slaughtering unarmed rebels, without trial, admits of no justification, and it is the more to be deprecated, as it appears, from unquestionable authority, "that during the whole time of the civil commotion, not a drop of blood was shed by the Connaught rebels, except in the field of war."

* The interesting narrative, by an eyewitness, so frequently referred to in the preceding pages, gives the following animated account of several of the French officers:

"Gen. HUMBERT, the leader of this singular body of men, had risen from the ranks, was first distinguished for his activity in the ruinous war of La Vendée, and had been second in command in the expedition of General Hoche to Bantry Bay, in 1796. Humbert was of a good height and shape, in the full vigour of life, prompt to decide, quick in execution, apparently master of his art: you could not refuse him the praise of a good officer, while his physiognomy forbade you to like him as a man. His eye, which was small and sleepy (the effect, probably, of much watching), cast a sidelong glance of insidiousness, and even of cruelty; it was the eye of a cat, preparing to spring on her prey. His education and manners were indicative of a person sprung from the lowest orders of society, though he knew how (as the most of his countrymen can do) to assume, where it was convenient, the deportment of a gentleman. For learning, he had scarcely enough to enable him to write his name. His passions were furious, and his behaviour seemed marked with the characters of roughness and violence. A narrower observation of him, however, served to discover that much of his roughness was the result of art, being assumed

A number of rebel chiefs and inferior insurgents were tried and executed at Killala, and in other parts of the country; among whom were two Irishmen by

with the view of extorting, by terror, a ready compliance with his commands." General Humbert died at New Orleans on the 2d of January, 1823.

"M. CHAROST, *chef de demi-brigade*, which answers to our title of lieutenant-colonel, was left in charge of Killala, while the French force advanced into the country. The choice proved a fortunate one for the town, Charost being a man of sense and of honour. From the time the French left Killala, he, and two officers under him, messed with the bishop's family, where they were very welcome, being, under Providence, their sole protectors in the midst of so many perils. A hair-brained priest of the name of Sweeney, who afterwards paid the forfeit of his life for exciting his parishioners to rebellion, being introduced to M. Charost, said he should be extremely obliged to him if he would make him a present of the Bishop of Killala's library. 'The bishop's library!' answered Charost, turning from him with contempt, 'is just as much his own now as ever it was.' This worthy French officer, who seemed to understand the obligations of moral honesty much better than some of his Irish allies, had attained to the age of five-and-forty. In person, he was strong and vigorous, inclined to fat; his countenance was cheerful, and on the whole pleasing; he had a plain good understanding, which served him for all the uses he put it to; and he had either no leisure or no liking to strain it with over-labour. His religion, he told the bishop, he had yet to seek; because his father being a Catholic, and his mother a Protestant, they left him at liberty to choose for himself, and he had never yet found time to make the inquiry, which, however, he was sensible he ought to make, and would make when heaven should grant him a repose.

"BOUDET, the next in rank to the commandant, was a captain of foot, a native of Normandy, twenty-eight years of age. His height was six feet two inches. In person, complexion, and gravity, he was no inadequate representative of the knight of La Mancha, whose example he followed in a recital of his own prowess and wonderful exploits, delivered in measured language, and with an imposing seriousness of aspect. His manner, though distant, was polite; and he seemed to possess a more than common share of feeling, if a judgment might be formed from the energy with which he declaimed on the miseries of wars and revolutions.

"PONSON, the last of the trio, formed a curious contrast, in every respect, to the character just described. In stature, he did not exceed five feet six inches; but if the body was little, he was alive from head to foot. Navarre gave him birth, the country of Henry IV., and his merry countenance recalled to mind the features of that celebrated monarch, though without the air of benevolence diffused through them; for this monkey seemed to have no great feeling for any body but himself. Wherever he was, his presence was testified by a noise as loud and as pertinacious as that of a corn-creek; it was a continual roll of talk, or laughter, or whistling. Yet, in a gloomy hour, this eternal rattle had its use; it more than once kept the spirits of the bishop's family buoyant when terror pressed heaviest. One day, a crowd of pikemen, clamorous with some insolent demand

birth, who had been in the military service of France before the invasion, and had come to Ireland in the French fleet. These were Matthew Tone and Bartholomew Teeling, made prisoners at Ballynamuck. These ill-fated men were tried at Dublin barracks by a military tribunal, and, being found guilty of high-treason, were executed, the latter on the 24th of September, and the former a few days afterwards.

The little army which landed at Killala had been intended, it appears, only as a vanguard to a much more formidable force, which was in a short time to follow. Providentially for the safety of the British empire, the French government had been as tardy in seconding the operations of Humbert, as they had been in sending succours to the support of the rebel force in the south of Ireland. The want of money is assigned as the cause of delay in the equipment of the second fleet, and in the interim before its appearance on the

upon the commandant, appeared on the point of breaking down the castle-gate. The bishop expressed his apprehension to Ponson: 'I will tell you what to do,' said he: 'step out among them suddenly, and cry, *Stop thief*; and they will, every man of them, take to their heels.' Ponson was hardy, and patient to admiration of labour and want of rest. Tied to a sword as long as himself, and armed with pistols, firelock, and bayonet, he stretched himself up to view till he became terrific. He was strictly honest, and could not bear the want of this quality in others; so that his patience was pretty well tried by his Irish allies, for whom he could not find names sufficiently expressive of contempt. The worst part of his character was that which related to religion. The commandant reported him to be a downright atheist. In this practice, he went beyond the common herd of the French army, who, though they showed no desire to join in worship with any people (a circumstance frightful to all, and astonishing to the Roman Catholics), yet respected the devotions of their neighbours. Indeed, the contrast, with regard to religious sentiments, between the French and their Irish auxiliaries, was extremely curious. The atheist despised and affronted the bigot; but the wonder was, how the zealous papist should come to any terms of agreement with a set of men who boasted openly that they had just driven *Mr. Pope* out of Italy, and did not expect to find him again so suddenly in Ireland. It astonished the French officers to hear the recruits, when they offered their services, declare, 'that they were come to take arms for France and the blessed Virgin!'

"MAJOR O'KEON, an officer of theirs from Ballina, was sometimes joined with these three Frenchmen. He was a native of the Irish barony of Tyrawley; had received his education for the priesthood in France, and had attained to a benefice of some value in the church, when the revolution, stripping him at once of profession and livelihood, forced him to become a soldier for bread. O'Keon was a man of plausible manner, but he was deficient both in morals and common honesty; he cheated the Bishop of Killala of twelve guineas, and carried off from Dublin an other man's wife."

Irish coast, a brig from France arrived at the little island of Rutland, from which were landed three boats full of men, and a number of officers, among whom was James Napper Tandy, one of the Irish emissaries to the French directory, who had attained the rank of general of brigade in the French service. This brig, called the *Anacreon*, was full of arms and accoutrements, and contained a park of artillery; but when the adventurers found the people, instead of joining them, fled to the mountains, and that the rebellion in Ireland was entirely suppressed, they re-embarked, after distributing a number of inflammatory papers, and steered again for the French coast.*

Some time after the abortive attempt at invasion, Napper Tandy, and two other Irish rebels, were apprehended by the agents of Great Britain, on the neutral territory of Hamburg, and conveyed to Ireland, where Tandy was indicted for high-treason, at the spring assizes for the county of Donegal, in the year 1801, when, having pleaded guilty, by previous arrangement, he was suffered to leave the kingdom, and take up his residence in France.

On the 17th of September, the very day after General Rey quitted the coast of Ireland in the *Anacreon*, an expedition, consisting of one ship of the line, eight frigates, a schooner, and a brig, sailed from Brest with a strong reinforcement, intended to co-operate with the force under General

Humbert in Ireland. Sir John Borlase Warren, who was cruising with seven frigates, in the *Canada*, off Lough Swilly, discovered the enemy's squadron about noon, on the 11th of October, in the N.W. quarter. The British admiral instantly threw out the signal for a general chase, and gave orders to form in succession as each ship of war reached her antagonist; but, from the great distance, and a hollow sea, it was found impossible to commence the action before the next morning, at which time it was discovered that the enemy's large ship had lost her main-top-mast. Still confident in their own strength, the French squadron bore down, and formed a line of battle in close order upon the star-board tack; on which the *Canada* threw out a signal for the *Robust* to lead, and the rest of the ships to form in succession in the rear of the van. An action of three hours and forty minutes ensued, at the end of which period the enemy's three-decker, which proved to be the *Hocbe*, struck, and three of the frigates, following her example, hauled down their colours, after a long and gallant resistance.* The whole squadron, it appeared, was entirely new, and full of troops, stores, and every other equipment for the support and establishment of the invading force in Ireland. Five of the frigates, the schooner, and the brig escaped, but three of the former were afterwards captured, and the armament being thus in effect destroyed, the object of the expedition was completely frustrated.

Among the prisoners taken in the *Hocbe* was the famous and unfortunate Theobald Wolfe Tone, the projector of the society of United Irishmen, and so long considered as the most active and able negotiator among the Irish fugitives at Paris, and as the great adviser of most of the measures pursued by his rebellious countrymen. He was no sooner landed in Ireland, than he was conveyed to Dublin, and put upon his trial by a court-martial, before which he

* The papers distributed by Napper Tandy and his associates consisted of two addresses, one of which was signed "General Rey," and the other "J. N. Tandy." The following is a copy of the former, and the latter was of similar tenor:

LIBERTY OR DEATH.

"Northern Army of Avengers.

"Head-quarters:

"First year of Irish Liberty.

"UNITED IRISHMEN!

"The soldiers of the great nation have landed on your coast, well supplied with arms and ammunition of all kinds: with artillery, worked by those who spread terror among the ranks of the best troops in Europe, headed by the French officers; they come to break your fetters, and restore you to the blessings of liberty. James Napper Tandy is at their head; he has sworn to lead them on to victory, or to die.

"Brave Irishmen! the friends of liberty have left their native soil to assist you in reconquering your rights; they will brave all dangers, and glory at the sublime idea of cementing your happiness with their blood. French blood shall not flow in your countrymen's freedom, to arms! The trumpet calls: let not your friends be butchered unassisted. If they are to be doomed to fall in this most glorious struggle, let their death be useful to your cause, and their bodies serve as footsteps to the temple of Irish liberty.

"In the name of the French officers and soldiers now on the coast of Ireland,

"GENERAL REY."

* *Fleets engaged off the coast of Ireland on the 12th of October, 1798.*

BRITISH.

The *Canada*, *Robust*, *Foudroyant*, *Magnanime*, *Ethalion*, *Melampus*, and *Amelia*.

The *Anson* came up in the latter part of the action, having lost her mizen-mast in the chase the day before.

FRENCH.

<i>Hocbe</i> . . .	80 guns	(taken.)
<i>Immortalité</i> . . .	44 guns	(taken.)
<i>Loire</i> . . .	44 guns	(taken.)
<i>Romain</i> . . .	44 guns	(escaped.)
<i>Bellone</i> . . .	40 guns	(taken.)
<i>Resolue</i> . . .	40 guns	(taken.)
<i>Coquille</i> . . .	40 guns	(taken.)
<i>Ambuscade</i> . . .	36 guns	(taken.)
<i>Semillane</i> . . .	36 guns	(escaped.)

defended himself with considerable ability and firmness, not attempting either to deny or to palliate his offence. The plea on which he rested was that of being a denizen of France, and an officer in the service of the republic; but when he found that this defence was unavailing, he requested that he might die like a soldier, and not as a felon; and be shot, according to military usage, rather than hanged. The court, however, did not judge it proper to accede to his request, and the unhappy culprit attempted to escape the ignominy that awaited him by cutting his throat in the prison. The wound was at first supposed not to be mortal, but, after languishing a short time, it terminated his existence.*

The rebellion itself did not survive its original projector. The few companies of rebels who lurked in the woods and mountains, dispirited by the ill success of their allies, and dreading the approach of winter, successively laid down their arms; and Holt, the last and most intrepid of their chiefs, was glad to obtain the boon of his forfeited life by expatriating himself for ever from his native soil.

Thus, after a bloody and abhorrent scene of three months' duration, ended the insur-

* *Protestant Leaders, with the fate that befell them.*

Lord E. Fitzgerald, died of his wounds.

Theobald Wolfe Tone, convicted, but cut his throat.

Honourable Simon Butler, died in extreme poverty, in Wales.

James Napper Tandy.†

Archibald H. Rowan.†

Oliver Bond, convicted of high-treason, but died in prison.

Beauchamp B. Harvey.*

Thomas Russell.†

(a) Arthur O'Connor.†

(b) Roger O'Connor.†

Samuel Neilson.†

John Chambers.*

Henry Sheares.*

John Sheares.*

Joseph Levins.†

William Livingston Webb.†

Henry Jackson.†

Matthew Dowling.†

James Reynolds.†

Thomas A. Emmet.†

John Bourke.†

Hugh Wilson.†

(b) Robert Simms,† proprietor of the Northern Star.

(c) Edward Hudson.†

The persons to whose names stars are affixed were hanged; and those marked thus † exiled.

The above list, extracted from Sir Richard Musgrave's publication on the Irish rebellion, may serve to establish the fact, that whatever character the civil war assumed in its progress, it was not, in its origin, a war of religion.

(a) Now (1832) living in France.

(b) ———— living in Ireland.

(c) ———— living in Philadelphia.

W. G.

rection in Ireland; in which more than thirty thousand lives were sacrificed, and property to the amount of upwards of two millions sterling destroyed; and which, after throwing the whole kingdom into indescribable confusion and dismay, overwhelmed the instigators of the rebellion in one common ruin. That the object of this deep-laid and extensive conspiracy was to imitate the example set by the people of Holland, and to erect Ireland into a republic, through the agency of France, cannot be doubted; and had the French directory manifested as much promptitude in executing, as the original conspirators displayed ability in forming their plans, this revolutionary struggle might have ended in a measure which can never be sufficiently deprecated, not only as tending to the alienation of a large portion of the strength of the empire, but as an event involving its prosperity and independence. (41)

(41) History furnishes few more striking instances of the influence which success exercises over the minds of men, than in the case of the attempt to give independence to Ireland. That which, if it had succeeded, would have dignified its projectors and supporters with the lofty title of patriot, and ranked them among the Tells and Washingtons of better times, has subjected them, by its failure, to the name and punishment of traitors and rebels. Following, as we have done in this country, the relations of British writers, we have been led to understand, under the expression of the Irish rebellion, every thing that was profligate in design, or cruel or sanguinary in execution. The mere name of United Irishman carried, to many American ears, the idea of something lawless and unprincipled, with all the crimes but none of the abilities of the French revolutionists; and yet, if we coolly consider the motives or the conduct of this calumniated body of men, we shall probably find that instead of censure and obloquy, they deserved respect for their intentions, and pity for their misfortunes. Their object, one of the holiest to which the efforts of man can be directed, was the emancipation of their country. Endowed by nature with the greatest physical advantages, Ireland had been for many centuries the victim of foreign tyranny. The detail of her grievances would occupy far more room than the brief space allowed to a note admits. It is sufficient to observe, that all that a people can suffer of hardship from foreign taskmasters, was endured in this unfortunate country. Persecuted for their religion, obnoxious for their political opinions, prevented by the English monopoly from enjoying the benefits of commerce, or even their agricultural advantages, the people of Ireland were compelled to submit to the government of strangers, and to see their oppressors enriched with the spoils of their country. To free themselves from this degrading thralldom, and raise their country to its proper rank among the independent nations of the world, was the object of the association of United Irishmen. In this body were comprised many persons of the highest rank in society, and others distinguished for their talents or virtues. In the progress of the insurrection, great excesses were no doubt

CHAPTER X.

CAMPAIGN OF 1799: Invasion of Naples by the French—Establishment of the Parthenopean Republic—Ehrenbreitstein capitulates to the French—The Austrians, under the command of the Archduke Charles, again take the field.

CAMPAIGN IN GERMANY: The French Army under Jourdan, and the Austrians commanded by the Archduke, meet near Pfullendorf—Battle of Stokach—Battle of Lieblingen—Retreat of the French across the Rhine—Assassination of the French Plenipotentiaries on quitting Radstadt.

CAMPAIGN IN ITALY: Tuscany invaded by the French under Scherer—Battle of Castle Nuovo—Battle of the Adige—Arrival of the Russians at Verona—Field-marshal Suworow assumes the command of the allied Armies in Italy—Defeats the French Army, and enters Milan—The Allies besiege the principal Fortresses of Italy, and advance into Piedmont—The Kingdom of Naples reconquered by an Army under Cardinal Ruffo, and the Parthenopean Republic dissolved—The People of Italy rise against the defeated Army of France—Rome capitulates to Captain Trowbridge—Signal Defeat of the French Army on the Banks of the Trebia—Turin, Bologna, Alexandria, and Mantua surrender to the Allies—Suworow, having conquered the principal part of Italy, menaces the South of France—Battle of Novia, General Joubert killed, and the French army defeated—Dissensions in the Courts and Camps of the Allies.

CAMPAIGN IN SWITZERLAND: Schaffhausen and Peterhausen fall into the hands of the Allies—The French expelled from the Grisons—Defeat of the French Army at Zurich—Vigorous Efforts made by the French Directory to retrieve the Disasters of the Campaign—Massena, having received fresh supplies, becomes the Assailant—The French, after obtaining possession of the Pass of the Devil's Bridge, and of St. Gothard, seize on the Valais—The French Armies again cross the Rhine, and oblige the Archduke to return to the German Frontier—Suworow quits Italy, and advances into Switzerland—His disastrous March—Arrives in the Valley of Mitten, and takes possession of the Post of Brunnen—Termination of his Successes—Battle of Zurich, and its disastrous Result—Suworow, discontented alike with his Allies and his Colleagues, retreats into Bohemia—His Death and Character—Termination of one of the most sanguinary Campaigns upon Record.

LEAVING the unhappy kingdom of Ireland, so recently agitated by the storms of insurrection, to regain that state of tranquillity which a strong government, humanely

committed. They are incident to almost all popular commotions, and the greater the previous degree of opposition, the more violent is the reaction in general. But in comparison with the cruelties and prodigality of the English troops and the Orange party, authorized and licensed as they were by the government, the excesses of the United Irish sink into the shade. All that the most refined cruelty could invent, or revengeful brutality could inflict, was exercised upon the unfortunate peasantry. Whole districts were devastated by the unsparing sword of the conquerors, and even the judgments of court-martial were found too slow for their eager vengeance. Nor were these sanguinary proceedings confined to remote districts. The populous cities were in many instances the theatres of their commission; and it has been asserted in the British parliament, without contradiction, that the torture was openly inflicted in Dublin under the eye of the government. The conduct of the British troops on these occasions verified the common remark of the connexion between cruelty and cowardice. The same men who had exercised this unrelenting severity towards the defenceless peasantry, were a short time afterwards defeated, with circumstances of peculiar disgrace, by the French troops under General Humbert, whose force was not one-fifth of their own, and so great was their panic, that, according to the "softened phrase" of Mr. Baines, they "retreated the same night to Tuam," a distance of thirty miles. It is not to be wondered at therefore if the United Irish were tempted to retaliate on their oppressors some of the evils by which they themselves had been visited. The unfortunate issue of the insurrection left it in the power of the conquerors to sully the characters, as well as to exer-

and judiciously administered, could scarcely fail to produce, and turning to a much more ample theatre, we find a world in arms, preparing for the renewal of that dreadful conflict, which it was fondly hoped had found a partial termination in the peace of Campo Formio. But the temple of Janus was still doomed to remain open, and new altars were destined to smoke with sacrifices to the furies who delight in blood. Notwithstanding the miseries and calamities peculiarly incident to the wars arising out of the French revolution, it soon became evident, that a general peace was still at a distance. Combinations were now forming on a gigantic scale, by which more warriors were to be brought into the field, than had ever engaged at one time since the days of Xerxes.

While the negroes and mulattoes were still contending for superiority in one quar-

cise their vengeance on the persons of the vanquished. But posterity, to whom the true history of these transactions will be better known, will not fail to do justice to both parties. Of the high-minded men, by whom the revolution was attempted, many perished in action, others on the scaffold, and some still remain in exile from their country, experiencing

"What patriots feel

When all but life and honour's lost."

* I entirely coincide with the justness of the observations contained in the above note by Mr. Wharton. At the present day, however, and for the last thirty-six years, nearly all the intelligent members of the United Irish Society rejoice in the failure of the attempt of separation from England.—W. G.

ter of the globe, the other three were about to become the scenes of battles, attended with such an expenditure of blood, as in some cases to prove even ruinous to the victors. In Africa, from the shores of the Mediterranean to those of the Red Sea, the French invaders were still disputing the palm of superiority with the native Arabs and Mamelukes. In Asia, the English, justly tenacious of their dominion in the east, were arming on the coast of Malabar and Coromandel, against the Sultan of Mysore, the friend and ally of that foe, who had already erected his standard on the plains of Egypt. All Europe, from the English Channel to the Hellespont, and from the Baltic sea to the Atlantic Ocean, was once more agitated. While the south teemed with new revolutions, the north prepared to pour forth her armies, and the whole continent seemed destined by turns to resemble a camp and a field of battle.

The congress at Radstadt, instead of adjusting the disputes between the Germanic empire and the French republic, was employed in vain forms of discussion, and displayed much more anxiety to promote their own aggrandizement, than to adjust the indemnities and reconcile the conflicting interests of the minor co-estates.

The late expedition into the Roman territory had proved eminently disastrous to the King of Naples, now an exile from his kingdom; and on the 7th of January, in the year 1799, an armistice was signed by Prince Pignatelli, on behalf of the Neapolitan government, by which the French forces under Championnet obtained possession of the city of Capua, and thence advanced to the capital, which they entered, on the 23d, after a gallant, but unavailing resistance, made principally by the lazzaroni. But no sooner had the republican troops taken possession of the city, than this mendicant body, on being assured that the French were not the enemies of their tutelary saint, Januarius, professed an ardent attachment to their conquerors, and in order to exhibit an unequivocal proof of their zeal for a republican government, as well as their abjuration of monarchical principles, immediately proceeded in a body to pillage the residence of the absent king. Nor were the clergy backward in paying their court to the victors; and a day was appointed for the celebration of a solemn *Te Deum*, on which occasion all the faithful citizens were invited, by the cardinal archbishop, "to return thanks to the Most High, for the glorious entry of the French troops, who, protected in a peculiar manner by Providence, had come to regenerate the nation, and to consolidate its happiness." The venerable prelate did not fail, at the

same time, to intimate, that St. Januarius had greeted the arrival of these deliverers in the kindest manner, "his blood having miraculously liquified on the very evening of that day on which the republican forces had taken up their abode in the capital."

Immediately after this solemn mockery, Naples was proclaimed a republic, under the designation of the Parthenopean commonwealth; and the provisional government was confided to twenty-one citizens, chosen by the French general. These legislators were enjoined to draw up a plan for a new constitution, worthy of a free people; and while money was levied for the payment of the army, the estates of the clergy, and the dominions of the crown, were declared to appertain to the conquerors. An assembly, representing the *piazze* or ancient parliament, was soon after convoked; and care was taken to admit two representatives of the *lazzaroni*, who still continued to possess considerable sway at Naples.

While the French plenipotentiaries were menacing the ministers of the Emperor of Germany with a renewal of hostilities, if a passage were afforded to the Russian troops into Italy; and while the army under Championnet was employed in establishing the Parthenopean republic, the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein, in front of Coblenz, was obliged, after a memorable defence, to capitulate, on the 24th of January, to the French general, D'Allemagne. But although this acquisition materially strengthened the frontiers of the republic, it added not a little to the jealousies of the princes of the empire, and contributed to precipitate a war that had now become inevitable.

The English ministry had, about the conclusion of the preceding year, formed a treaty with a new ally, for the "purpose of opposing the successes of the arms of France, for checking the extension of the principles of anarchy, and for securing the re-establishment of the balance of Europe." The late Empress of Russia, occupied about the extension of her own empire, contented herself with the publication of proclamations against France; but her son Paul Petrowitz, a monarch of a different character, was anxious to distinguish his accession to the throne of the czars by some splendid action, and accordingly entered into the combination against the French republic, with all the zeal inspired by a chivalrous attachment to the cause of sovereigns, and an hereditary passion for military glory.

In the mean time, an appearance of negotiation was still kept up at Radstadt; but the Emperor of Germany, dissatisfied with the provisions of the treaty of Campo

Formio, and being now certain of powerful co-operation in the event of a renewal of the contest, no longer concealed his sentiments.

The government of France was at this period subject to the severest animadversions. The directory had permitted themselves to be foiled in the arts of diplomacy in the congress at Radstadt, as well as anticipated in the stratagems of war by the sudden approach of the Russians. Both energy and patriotism were alike wanting in their resolves and actions; while a spirit of corruption and rapacity appears to have pervaded their councils.

Under these circumstances, the armies of the rival powers had taken the field. The Austrian forces, to the amount of fifty-five thousand, assembled between the Inn and the Lech, under the command of the Archduke Charles. Generals Starray and Hotze headed about twenty thousand more in the Palatinate, and the country of the Grisons; General Bellegarde occupied the Tyrol with about twenty-five thousand, and an army of at least sixty thousand, under General Kray, prepared to enter Italy, and reconquer Lombardy.

The command of the French "army of the Danube" was confided to General Jourdan; and his plan of the campaign was on the most grand and imposing scale. This sanguine general proposed, that he himself should be placed at the head of eighty thousand men, while three subordinate bodies, consisting, one of forty thousand for the Rhine, another of the same number for the Tyrol, and the last of twenty thousand for Switzerland, should act under his direction. The army of Italy was at the same time to be augmented to one hundred and forty thousand soldiers, and eighty thousand were to be reserved for home service. But the French general, on his arrival at his headquarters, found that he had been greatly deceived; and instead of commencing the campaign with all the advantages resulting from superior numbers, he was obliged to act on the offensive, in the face of a popular leader and a superior army. Relying on the speedy arrival of succours, his first business was to address a proclamation to his troops, in which he stated, that the Austrians had already passed the line of demarcation. "The emperor," said he, "deceiving the pacific disposition of the French government, has called into the bosom of Germany armed strangers, less known for their military success than their ravages in former wars; and while, scrupulous observers of former treaties, you remained in a firm but peaceable attitude, this prince dared to concert hostile movements with his new allies, and availed

himself, under favour of a perfidious silence, of the advantages resulting from your security." After beseeching his troops to respect the property and the persons of the inhabitants, the French commander-in-chief made the necessary dispositions, and on the first of March, crossed the Rhine in three different places. General Bernadotte, having summoned Phillipsburg, which was resolutely defended by the Rhinegrave of Salm, immediately formed the blockade of that fortress with the army of observation; while Mannheim readily obeyed the summons of another body of French troops, and opened its gates to the invaders.

In reply to the declaration recently circulated by General Jourdan, the archduke published a proclamation, dated the 3d of March, from his head-quarters at Friedberg, in which he impeached the faith of the directory. He complained that, immediately after the conclusion of the most solemn treaties, "the peaceable people of Switzerland were subjugated, and violent means adopted by the French to change that country into a slavish ally, for the purpose of establishing themselves on the flanks of Germany." The capture of Ehrenbreitstein was also deemed an act of aggression: and it was intimated, that a design had been formed "to extend the limits of the Helvetic republic as far as the Danube, and to make that river and the Lech its boundaries." These proclamations, issued by the hostile commanders, were followed by declarations published on the part of the emperor, and on the part of the directory, in which they charged each other with violating the faith of treaties, and with again plunging the continent of Europe into all the horrors of war.

The approximation of the rival armies having now rendered an action inevitable, the archduke removed his head-quarters, on the 20th of March, to Umerdorf, near Biberach, and determined to give battle immediately to the French, who had now reached Pfullendorf, and were posted on a line, with the right at Salmansweiller and Mandorf, their centre near Stokach, and the left at Mingen. The imperialists, upon this occasion, were superior in point of numbers, and possessed a manifest advantage in respect to artillery, having brought not less than three hundred pieces of cannon into the field. The day was, however, contested with great bravery on both sides, and Jourdan continued to maintain his position, until night put an end to the action; when, under cover of darkness, he retreated to a station near Engen. On the 25th, the archduke having concerted the necessary dispositions, and increased his

army by the accession of additional forces, to upwards of seventy thousand combatants, his royal highness determined once more to try the fortune of arms.

This second battle was fought in the plain of Lieblingen, in the midst of woods; and such was the eagerness on both sides, that the two commanders-in-chief, after reconnoitering in person, instead of assuming as usual a central position in the rear, fought at the head of their respective troops. The French, in consequence of a vigorous attack on the right wing of the Austrians, were at first successful, and Count de Nauendorf and Prince Schwartzberg were both forced to fall back, while General Vandamme succeeded in intercepting the communication with Pfullendorf. The left wing was next assailed, and the Princes of Furstensberg and Anhalt Bernberg, who commanded divisions, were killed in succession: the little town of Leuzingen was also taken possession of by the French, but that of Walevis, and the batteries on the Nelenberg, resisted all their efforts, while the archduke, by detaching two battalions on the flank and rear of the assailants, checked their advance, and compelled a half brigade to surrender. Night, which put an end to the combat, left the victory undecided; and the ensuing morning discovered the invaders renewing their attack on the village, which had been so gallantly defended the preceding evening. Being, however, once more foiled, and despairing of success on any other point, General Jourdan, after sustaining a loss of about four thousand men, fell back, with his centre on the heights of Villengen and Rothwell, to cover the valley of Kintzig; while the right wing, under General Ferino, took post at the entrance of the Val D'Eqfer; and the left, commanded by St. Cyr, occupied the banks of the Kniebiss. The archduke, following up his success, dislodged the enemy from these positions, with considerable loss, and constrained them, after a disorderly retreat, to recross the Rhine at Lauttemburg and Strasburgh; while Jourdan returned to Paris, and imputed the blame of his miscarriage to the government, who had ordered him, contrary to his own judgment, to attack the imperialists with an inferior army.

While these operations were passing in the Black Forest, Massena, to whom the command of the army of Switzerland was confided, had taken the field for the purpose of driving the Austrians from the mountainous regions inhabited by the Grisons. He accordingly marched against the imperialists, forced the important pass of Luciansteg, and obliged the enemy to retire into the Tyrol. But the defeat of the

grand army in Suabia checked his career, and enabled the Archduke Charles to derange the plan of operations marked out for the French armies, by marching his victorious troops along the banks of the Rhine, towards Switzerland.

Such was the situation of the armies, when intelligence was received of an event that seemed designed to awaken the slumbering energies of France, and to cast a cloud over the victories of her enemies. Notwithstanding the rupture between France and the emperor, the congress at Radstadt still continued to sit, with a lingering hope of accommodating the differences on the part of the empire. But the Austrian plenipotentiaries soon after withdrew, and those of the republic were preparing to follow their example, when they received a letter from Colonel Barbacsy, of the Szekler huzzars, dated the 28th of April, enjoining them to depart within the space of twenty-four hours. Being determined to comply, without loss of time, with this peremptory order, they set out that very night, two hours after sunset; but no sooner had they advanced a quarter of a league from the city, than they were despoiled of their papers, and two of their number assassinated. Bonnier fell, pierced with many wounds; Roberjot was murdered, while clasped in the arms of his wife, who vainly hoped to afford him protection; but Jean Debry, though cut with sabres, in the presence of his two daughters, his secretary, and servants, fortunately escaped, by feigning that death which the assassins intended for him. After wandering during the whole night in a wood, he was fortunate enough to return, unperceived, to the place in which he had so lately appeared in a character hitherto deemed inviolate, even among barbarians.

This unexampled murder astonished all Europe, and of course produced the most violent complaints on the part of the French government. The directory stated, in an address to the French nation, "that their plenipotentiaries had been recently massacred in cold blood, by the orders of the satellites of Austria. Those illustrious victims, whose character was sacred, have been sacrificed only," it is added, "because they were the representative image of a people, which your ferocious enemy would have been happy to have butchered, without a single exception; similar to that other emperor, who, in his brutal ferocity, wished the Romans had but one head, that he might strike it off with a single blow."

No sooner was this event notified to the gallant archduke, than he promised to inflict the most exemplary punishment on such of his troops as might have committed

so foul a murder, and actually delivered up to Massena twelve individuals, found near Radstadt, clothed in the uniform of the Szekler huzzars, though it afterwards appeared that they did not belong to that regiment. His imperial majesty, Francis II. also solemnly pledged his word to institute the necessary inquiries and exact suitable retribution; but Germany has never yet beheld this guilty and mysterious deed either explained or expiated.

The war in Italy, where the republican soldiers had formerly gained such decisive conquests, and reaped so many laurels, commenced on the part of France under very unfavourable auspices. Every thing seemed to demonstrate, that the councils of that country were no longer directed with the same wisdom, nor her armies led with the same ability, as when Carnot planned her campaigns, and Bonaparte fought her battles in that quarter.

The chief command of the republican armies had been transferred from Championnet to Scherer, the French minister at war, and the first efforts of the new general were directed against Tuscany. Having obtained possession of the capital, the port of Leghorn was at the same time seized by General Miollis, and all the property appertaining to the subjects of Great Britain, Portugal, Austria, Russia, the Ottoman Porte, and the states of Barbary, subjected to sequestration; while the grand duke and his family were furnished with a guard of honour, and allowed to proceed, without molestation, to the German capital. From Florence, Scherer marched at the head of his troops to Mantua, where it was determined, by a council of war, to attack the enemy, before they could receive any reinforcements from Suabia, or had effected a junction with the Russians.

The command of the Austrian army had been intrusted to General Kray, who now occupied Verona, and the neighbourhood of that city, with a body of twenty thousand men; from eight to ten thousand were posted at Porto Langnano; the heights of Pastringo, Cyse, and Calmasino, were fortified with great care; and while the right wing extended to the lake of Garda, the left was posted on the Adige, over which were thrown two bridges of boats, which at once maintained the communication, and, in case of exigency, would facilitate a retreat.

The French army of Italy was, on this occasion, formed into several divisions, five of which were to attack the enemy in front, while the sixth, under General Serurier, received orders to pass the Adige, and, after forming a junction with other troops, posted in the neighbourhood of

Trent, to turn the enemy's flank, in the mountains. On the 26th of March, the French advanced in column, and the action commenced in the neighbourhood of Castle Nuovo, between the lake of Garda and the Adige. The battle continued, with various success, from sun-rising till night; during which General Moreau, who served upon this occasion as a volunteer, and assumed the direction of the right wing of the army, took fourteen hundred prisoners; but Scherer, who had taken post on the left, being routed, Moreau was obliged to relinquish his advantages, and retreat across the Adige to Peschiera. In the course of the day, the post of Massino was carried by the French, not less than seven different times, by means of fresh troops; but they were finally repulsed with severe loss, and General Kaim, who was himself wounded, observed in his report, "that there was no former example of so deadly a fire of musket-shot having been maintained, without interruption, during the space of eighteen hours."

Three days after this sanguinary conflict, Scherer again attacked all the Austrian posts. Having dislodged General Kaim from his position before Verona, he threw bridges over the Adige, and detached a division which drove back the advanced posts of the imperialists to within half a league of that city, and succeeded in gaining a height which covered their right flank. To repel this attack, General Kray detached the division of General Frolich, which, marching through the city, fell upon the French in three columns, and after an obstinate resistance, drove them from the eminence. This retreat was so precipitate, and the pursuit so vigorous, that the bridges were broken down, and almost a whole column of the enemy were prevented from passing the Adige. Part of them were in consequence compelled to surrender, and the remainder made a fruitless attempt to escape through the mountains. In this battle, so disastrous to the arms of France, their loss was estimated at seven thousand men.

But the fate of Italy still hung in suspense, when the commander despatched by the Emperor Paul arrived at Verona, on the 18th of April, with his advanced guard, and took upon himself the command of the Austro-Russian army, now estimated at 100,000 men. The moment must be allowed to have been peculiarly favourable for the new commander; as the French, after successive defeats, were obliged to take refuge under the cannon of Mantua, and had become so much inferior in point of numbers, that nothing but a sudden retreat could save them from captivity. It was at this

critical period that Scherer resigned to General Moreau the command of his reduced and dispersed army, which did not exceed thirty-five thousand men, harassed by severe marches, and intimidated by recent defeats. A retreat having therefore become absolutely necessary, Isola della Scala and Villa Franca were abandoned in succession; the Mincio was crossed, and the fortresses of Peschiera and Mantua being abandoned to their fate, Generals Kray and Klanau formed the blockade of both, with a body of twenty-five thousand men.

Suworow, more distinguished as a vigorous warrior than as a skilful general, hastened to avail himself of the advantages he enjoyed over a retreating foe, and two days after his arrival at head-quarters, the town and citadel of Brescia, with a garrison of one thousand men, capitulated to the troops under his command. Having crossed the Oglio, and advanced in three columns to the right bank of the Adda, the French were found strongly posted on the opposite side, having fortified Cassino, and made all the necessary preparations for an obstinate resistance. Notwithstanding these preparations, the Russian General Vukassowich found means to cross the river during the night on a flying bridge, and to take post on the right bank, near Brivio. The next morning, an Austrian column, under General Ott, passed the same river near the castle of Trezzo, and falling in with Grenier's division, forced it to give way. The village of Pezzo was next carried sword in hand; and General Melas, appointed to march with his artillery against Cassino, forced the intrenchments of the Ritorto canal, while a division of the French army at Bertero, under the command of General Serrurier, was completely surrounded, and compelled, after a gallant resistance, to capitulate. These engagements, fought on the 27th of April, determined the fate of the Cisalpine republic, and on the morning of the following day, the conquerors entered the city of Milan. About the same time, the Field-marshal Count de Bellegarde obtained an uninterrupted series of successes, in a war of posts, in the mountainous regions of the Engadine; while Hotze, by a general attack on the French troops in the Grison country, dislodged them from all their positions between Luciensteig and Coire, with a loss on the part of the enemy of sixteen pieces of cannon, and two thousand prisoners. In Switzerland, several partial insurrections, directed against the French authorities, occurred at the same period; the whole canton of Uri was in arms; the people of the Valais, protected by a body of Austrians, under

General Kaim, had risen in mass: and a great part of the Valteline was in possession of the imperialists. To complete this reverse of fortune, Peschiera surrendered after a short siege to General Count St. Julien; Mantua was closely pressed; the capital of Piedmont was at the same time threatened by a column of the allies: and Moreau, yielding to superior numbers, was obliged to abandon his strong position between the Po and the Tenaro, after defeating General Vukassowich on the banks of the Bormida.

Hitherto, Suworow appeared to have justified the appointment of his sovereign and the high opinion formed of his talents by all Europe. But it soon became evident that he was unacquainted with war on a grand scale, and equally ignorant of the nation and of the general with whom he had to contend. Instead of moving in a compact body, and aiming a concentrated blow at his already enfeebled enemy, he endeavoured to embrace a great variety of objects at the same moment, and dissipated his strength by striking at the extremities, when he ought to have levelled a mortal blow at the heart. Acting upon this impolitic principle, he undertook the siege of Turin in person, while General Kray, with twenty-five thousand men under his command, was instructed to break ground before Mantua, hitherto only surrounded. Orders were at the same time given to attack the castle of Milan; to blockade Alexandria, Tortona, Ferrara, and Bologna; to open the trenches before Pizzighitone; and to occupy the passes of Susa, Pignerol, and the Col d'Assiète. At the same time, Major-general Hobenzollern was posted at Modena, with a considerable body of troops, and Lieutenant-general Ott detached with ten thousand men, while the main body of the Russians advanced into Piedmont.

This loose and injudicious partition of the allied army presented General Moreau with an excellent opportunity of retrieving the losses lately sustained by him in Italy, and he did not fail to seize the occasion with a promptitude peculiar to his character. Accordingly, although he had new retreated in succession from the plains of Lombardy and Piedmont, within the rugged frontier of the Ligurian republic, and was left with only twenty-eight thousand men, he detached General Victor with a whole division to strengthen the army of Naples, while measures were adopted on his own part to form a junction with the united force; hoping in that case to be able to overcome the enemy's troops, rendered weak by extension, and incapable of succouring each other for want of connexion. To render this plan of operations complete,

General Macdonald, by order of the commander-in-chief, immediately evacuated Rome and Naples, after leaving strong garrisons in St. Elmo, Capua, and Gaeta, and marched towards Florence, with a view of uniting with Generals Gauthier and Miollis, who commanded the French troops in Tuscany, and of receiving the succours now advancing to his relief from the headquarters of Moreau.

The disasters of the French in Italy were productive of extraordinary changes in the southern part of that peninsula, and subjected those who had taken part in the revolutions in Naples and Rome to the most terrible responsibility.

Ferdinand IV. although he had abandoned his capital, was not wholly forsaken by his subjects. The inhabitants of the provinces, in particular, still retained an affection for their absent king, and a zeal of sufficient energy to render them ready to sacrifice their lives in his cause. These sentiments had been carefully cherished by the Cardinal Ruffo, who repaired to Calabria, where he raised a number of new levies round the royal standard. Having overcome the detachments sent against him in several actions, he determined on still greater exploits; and no sooner was intelligence received that the French had evacuated Naples, than, after collecting the wreck of General Mack's army, and being joined by a body of English and Russians, he marched against the capital, of part of which he made himself master on the feast of St. Anthony, who immediately succeeded to all the honours of St. Januarius, now considered as an apostate and a jacobin, and deposed without ceremony, on account of the decided protection he had afforded to the French invaders. The executive directory of Naples, the members of the legislature, and all those who had held any offices under the Parthenopean republic, or had countenanced it, were now driven from the city, and obliged to take shelter within the fortresses, which fell in succession into the hands of the royal forces; and on the 13th of July, Fort St. Elmo, the last and the strongest of these military stations, was obliged to capitulate to the allies, assisted by a body of British seamen.

The revolution in Naples was different in many respects from that of any other country in Europe. Here the lazzaroni, composed of the very dregs of a luxurious capital, appear to have been the most strenuous supporters of royalty; while the nobles and the clergy supported the French interest with ardour, and discharged with unremitting assiduity the functions of the Parthenopean government. No sooner had the city of Naples surrendered to the au-

thority of Ferdinand, than the executions commenced, and the Chevaliers Massa, Serra, Julien Colonna, and the Priuce de Strongoli, were among the first victims. Belloni and Pistici, two priests, were hanged near the Vicaria; the Adjutant-general Grimaldi burst from the hands of the guards, and perished fighting against them. Manthone, the minister at war, suffered by the hand of the executioner, glorying in his conduct; and Dominico Cirillo, on being interrogated as to his condition, replied, "Under the despotism, I was a physician; in the time of the republic, a representative of the people; at present, I am a hero."* These form only a small number of the persons who expiated their treason against the king with their lives; some perished by their own hands, to avoid the disgrace of a public execution; others were burned within their palaces; and many hundreds were torn to pieces by an infuriated populace. Nor was the softer sex exempt from this horrible proscription: Eleonora Fonseca, who had conducted a public journal in the French interest; the Marchioness of Piemontello, and eighteen ladies of distinction, were executed by the cord; while the Dutchesses of Cassano and Popoli were shut up for life in a penitentiary prison. These terrible examples do not appear to have given stability to the government, for the king, apprehending a second invasion, and not deeming it safe to remain at Naples, thought fit to return again to Sicily, and to fix his residence once more at Palermo.

The satisfaction derived from the retreat of the French army was not confined to the kingdom of Naples, but extended to every part of Italy. In Tuscany, not less than forty thousand of the inhabitants, on learning the disasters of Moreau and Macdonald, immediately flew to arms, and attacked the republicans on every side. The garrison of Florence, alarmed for its safety, immediately abandoned the capital, on which the populace cut down the tree of liberty, and the ancient magistrates resumed their functions. A few days afterwards, a column of Austrians obliged the invaders to abandon Lucca; and Leghorn was evacuated in consequence of a capitulation which restored the former government.

Rome, however, yet remained unconquered; but the most vigorous measures were now taken to subdue that city; and while a body of Tuscan troops, aided by a detachment of Neapolitans, invested the ancient capital of the world, Captain Trowbridge, who had appeared off the mouth of

* *Mém. des dernières Revol. de Naples.*

the Tiber, with an English squadron under his command, summoned General Garnier, the commander of the garrison, to surrender. Feeling an entire confidence in the good faith of the British, a negotiation was entered into with the captain, which terminated in a convention on the 20th of September, by which it was agreed to surrender Rome, Civita Vecchia, and the posts adjacent to both, on condition that the troops should be sent to France; that the allies of the republic, who had either acted in a public capacity, or served along with the Romans, should be allowed to depart unmolested; and that no Roman citizen should be called to account for his conduct during the occupation of Rome by the French. The provisions of this treaty were strictly enforced, and the counter-revolution of Rome was unattended by any of those horrors which a sanguinary policy had inflicted upon Naples.

Macdonald, having reached Florence without encountering any obstacles whatever, collected the scattered forces throughout Tuscany, and finding himself at the head of thirty-eight thousand troops, all of whom, with the exception of a Polish legion, consisted of French, he determined immediately to act on the offensive. After forcing the allies to raise the siege of Fort Urbino, he despatched Olivier, with a division of the centre, against Modena, of which he obtained possession on the 12th of June, and drove the Austrians beyond the Po; while General Kray, alarmed at the progress of the enemy, drew off his heavy artillery from before Mantua, and posted himself in such a situation as to prevent that city from being relieved. In the mean time, Macdonald, although suffering under a wound received in a late action, continued to advance, and having arrived at Piacenza, and formed a junction with General Victor, he attacked General Ott on the same day, and obliged him to fall back on the 'Castle of Giovanni.

No sooner had Suworow obtained intelligence of the victorious career of the French general, than he marched with the principal part of his force to Alexandria, leaving General Kaim to prosecute the siege of Turin in his absence. Having collected his troops, he advanced to the Trebia, at the head of seventeen battalions of Russians, twelve battalions of Austrian dragoons, and three regiments of Cossacks, and by forced marches arrived with his advanced guard to the support of General Ott, who, after experiencing considerable losses, was now in full retreat. The meeting of the hostile armies took place at a village six miles distant from Piacenza, where a general engagement occurred on the 17th, which was

continued with undiminished gallantry and perseverance through the two following days. Suworow began the attack, on the left wing of the French, with fixed bayonets, while their right wing and flank were assailed with equal impetuosity. Macdonald, who had advanced against the centre, seeing himself assailed on all sides, fell back behind the Tidone, where he received the enemy with so brisk a fire of artillery and small arms, that nothing further could be effected in the course of the night. Early the next morning, the allies crossed the Tidone, on the banks of which they had encamped the preceding night, and advanced in four columns against the French, who were drawn up in line of battle along the course of the Trebia, one of the most rapid rivers in Italy. At length the vanguard, under the command of Prince Pangrazion, with four squadrons of the Karaczay horse, and four regiments of Cossacks, reached the left wing of the French army a little after noon. Having turned the flank, they again assailed the adversary with fixed bayonets; and so terrible was the charge, that five hundred republicans remained dead on the field of battle; while the adjutant-general, two colonels, and six hundred privates of the Polish regiment of Dembrowski, were made prisoners, and two pieces of cannon and a standard taken. By another attack made on the centre, the French were driven over the Trebia; but Macdonald, undismayed, and as yet unvanquished, soon afterwards recrossed the river with a body of ten thousand men. The French, now become the assailants, were received with undaunted resolution by a Russian column, and forced, by an uninterrupted fire of musketry and cannon, which continued till eleven o'clock at night, to retire and remain on the opposite bank of the river. Still the conflict was not decided. The third day's battle did not commence until two hours after noon, as the French waited for a reinforcement under General Lapoype, while the allies were not disinclined to obtain a respite after the multiplied evolutions of the two former actions. At length, notwithstanding the expected reinforcement had not arrived, the republicans determined on a final effort, and the left wing attempted once more to cross the river; but, after a gallant struggle, they were driven back, with considerable loss, by Prince Pangrazion. Soon afterwards, the assault was renewed, with redoubled violence, on the column commanded by General Sweykowski. In two subsequent attacks, the French succeeded in regaining the opposite bank of the Trebia, and the fate of the combat hung for a considerable time in suspense; but at length, after a hor-

rible carnage, a column, which had been ordered to assail the flank of Field-marshal-lieutenant Ott, was forced to retreat before the iron ramparts of the Russian phalanx, and Prince Pangrazion, whose skill and gallantry had contributed so much to secure the victory that awaited the allies, having advanced with a body of infantry, while the Austrian General Melas brought up the artillery at a critical moment, Macdonald was compelled to retreat to the right bank of the Trebia. The trophies obtained by the allies on this occasion, consisted of the field of battle, on which upwards of twelve hundred of the enemy lay extended, seven hundred prisoners, three stand of colours, and several pieces of artillery. The vanquished army took advantage of the approach of night to retire in two columns to Piacenza, where the four French generals, Oliver, Ruska, Sulm, and Cambran, with several field officers, and between four and five thousand soldiers, who had been wounded in the late murderous actions, were left behind, and fell into the hands of the enemy, who advanced to Fiorenzello, where Suworow received the first intelligence that he had been foiled by his rival.

While the Austro-Russian commander-in-chief was engaged on the banks of the Trebia, Moreau, taking advantage of his absence, left Genoa at the head of twenty-nine thousand men, and, marching by the Bochette, Gavi, and Novi, descended into the plain, where, on the 20th of June, he attacked and beat Field-marshal Bellegarde, who had been left to superintend the blockade of Alexandria. No sooner did the Russian field-marshal receive intelligence of these sinister events, than he abandoned the pursuit of Macdonald, and endeavoured, by a rapid counter-march, to overtake General Moreau, who, after fighting another battle, retreated within the precincts of the Ligurian republic, and bid defiance to his disappointed foe.

Suworow, however, was consoled in this disappointment by the intelligence of the surrender of Turin, on the 22d of June, and with the capture of Bologna, which fell into the hands of the allies eight days afterwards. In the mean time Macdonald pursued his march towards Tuscany, and, although both himself and General Victor had been wounded in the late battles on the Trebia, yet he continued to head the column, and after collecting all his forces, and leaving his camp at Postoja, marched towards Lucca, where he entered the Genoese territory, and formed a junction with General Moreau. Thus ended a memorable expedition, in the course of which the French lost more than twelve thousand men; yet Macdonald derived no little glory

from a retreat effected without the surrender of a single battalion, although undertaken after the loss of a pitched battle, and in the face of a superior force.

The Italian fortresses, being now destitute of a covering army, were obliged to yield to the besiegers, and the surrender of Fort Urbino and St. Leon were followed, in rapid succession, by the capitulation of the garrison of Alexandria, and the capture of the almost impregnable fortress of Mantua; the former on the 21st, and the latter on the 28th of July: and Suworow, having now conquered the greater part of Italy, began to menace the southern departments of France; but he was kept in check by the army of Moreau, which still occupied its formidable position in the neighbourhood of Genoa, and, although inferior in point of numbers, prevented the advance of the allies by threatening to fall upon his rear. The young men of the requisition were, at the same time, put in motion on the frontier, and Championnet, who had been reinstated in the southern service, was employed in assembling an army of forty thousand men, in the vicinity of Grenoble. Supplies were sent also to the army of Italy, and the chief command of that army was, by the caprice of the directory, transferred from General Moreau to General Joubert, who received orders to act on the offensive, and to attempt the immediate relief of Tortona. In pursuance of this order, the French general advanced against the enemy, at the head of thirty-six thousand combatants, and encamped, on the 13th of August, upon the heights of Novi.

The French army being divided into three columns, the right, commanded by General St. Cyr, was posted on the Scrivia; the left, under General Perignon, at Pastarana; and the centre, led by General Ney, occupied the heights; while General Dombrowski, with a small corps, invested the fort of Serra-Valle, at that time in possession of the Austrians.

The allies were far superior in numbers: Suworow and Melas were at the head of thirty-five thousand troops, of their respective nations; fifteen thousand Piedmontese, who had formerly obliged the garrison of Cevi to surrender, now acted as light troops; while General Kray entered the camp on that very day with eighteen thousand troops, set at liberty by the fall of Mantua.

The French commander, being as yet undecided on the conduct he should pursue, repaired, on the morning of the 14th, accompanied by Moreau, for the purpose of reconnoitering the enemy, whom they found posted with his right at Bocco, the

left at Tortona, and the centre at Pozzolo. Suworow, conscious of his superior strength, and determined to anticipate the French, whom he knew to be always most formidable when they were the assailants, attacked their left wing; and the French general, on his return, found that the action had become general. Eager to animate his troops by his presence, General Joubert, in advancing at the head of his staff, was struck with a ball, which pierced his heart; still he continued, even in the agonies of death, to exhort to deeds of heroism, and fell exclaiming, "March! march! and fight for the republic!" The loss of their general diminished not the ardour of the soldiers. The allies were received everywhere with intrepidity. The two armies were engaged along the whole extent of their line. The slaughter was terrible, but no impression was made on either side. Thrice did Suworow charge the centre of the enemy in person, at the head of his gallant veterans, and thrice was he repulsed by the invincible valour of the French legions. Moreau, who again took upon him the command on the death of Joubert, was here opposed to Suworow, and, assisted by the Generals St. Cyr and Desolles, achieved acts worthy of admiration. In the mean time, General Melas, with the left wing of the allies, reached the heights of Novi, on the side of Pieltalle, and, marching along the banks of the Scrivia, completely succeeded in turning the right flank of the French army. This grand manœuvre decided the victory; the danger of being surrounded compelled the French general to abandon the field of battle to the allies, who took four generals and four thousand prisoners, with thirty-seven pieces of cannon and fifty-seven tumbrils. The rear-guard of the enemy suffered much in the attempt to cover the retreat; and night, which alone saved them from destruction, enabled them to rally their scattered forces, and once more to occupy their former position near Genoa.

The battle of Novi was attended with immense advantages to the allies, as it permitted them to send a body of troops into Switzerland, and rendered them masters of Tortona, which had agreed to surrender if not relieved before a stipulated day. Nor did the Russian general fail upon this occasion to receive the most gracious testimonies of approbation from his sovereign, who, by a special ukase, conferred upon him the title of *Prince Italiski*.

The success of the allies had been hitherto uniformly brilliant, both in Germany, which now seemed to be exempt from the dangers of invasion, and in Italy, where most of the principal fortresses had fallen

before their prowess and perseverance. But no sooner did the French cease to be formidable, than the fatal effects of jealousy began to be visible, both in the councils and in the camps of the two nations; and the suspicion and distrust of the armies had, at length, attained so alarming a height, that it was deemed impolitic to confine their exertions to the same theatre. Accordingly, after frequent consultations, measures were taken, if not to accommodate their differences, at least to prevent them from proving hurtful to the common cause. In consequence of this, it was resolved, that Melas should continue the war in Italy; while the Russians, under Italiski, should enter Switzerland, and, after defeating the army of Massena, should penetrate into the territories of the French republic.

The commencement of the campaign in Switzerland was peculiarly auspicious to the French; as Massena not only compelled the Austrians to evacuate the country of the Grisons, but also sent detachments, under Lecourbe and Desolles, into the Tyrol, towards the source of the Inn and the Adige, and thus secured a double entrance into Italy and Germany at the same time. But these successes were of short duration. As soon as the season for military operations would permit, the Archduke Charles despatched Count Neudorff and Major-general Piazze, against Schaffhausen and Peterhausen, and both these places fell, about the 18th of April, into the hands of the Austrians. In the mean time, General Hotze attacked and carried the fortress of Luciensteig, and was fortunate enough, on the same occasion, to surround and capture the greater part of a demi-brigade, with eight pieces of cannon. Nor did his success end here; as he soon afterwards seized on Corre, the capital of the Grisons, and forced the republicans to evacuate the whole of that country.

The archduke, having chased the invaders from the German territory, passed the Rhine between Dissenkofen and Schaffhausen, without opposition, and moved forward to Aldenlingen, on the Thur. Two columns, under General Hotze and Prince Reuss, soon afterwards advanced to attack the enemy's positions near Wintherthur, on which the French retired to the banks of the Trese and of the Glatt in succession. Massena, having concentrated his forces, assumed a strong position in front of Zurich, his flanks being posted on the adjoining hills, and his centre covered with a chain of redoubts. On the 4th of June, the archduke passed the Glatt, and on the same day took up his head-quarters at Kloten. After reconnoitering the enemy's position, which nature and art had conspired

to strengthen, he ordered some villages to be attacked on part of his line, but they were obstinately defended, and taken and retaken several times in the course of the day. On the following morning, the archduke renewed the attack upon the enemy's intrenchments with his whole force, and after a well-contested battle, in which the Austrians numbered three,* and the French four† generals, among the wounded, night put an end to the contest, leaving the palm of victory still unawarded. The Austrian prince, determined to try the fate of another day, gave orders to renew the attack on the morning of the 6th; but Massena, who had already suffered considerably, thought proper to withdraw across the Limmat, under cover of the preceding night, leaving behind him thirty-five pieces of cannon, three howitzers, and a number of ammunition wagons. The result of this engagement enabled the Austrians to establish their head-quarters at Zurich on the 7th, and obliged General Massena to retreat to Mount Albis, his left being flanked by the Rhine, and his right by the lake of Zug.

Never did France appear in a more critical situation than at this moment. Her armies were everywhere inferior, everywhere dispirited, and everywhere overcome. Of all her Italian conquests, the barren rocks of Liguria alone remained in possession of the republicans; from Germany, her troops had recently been expelled; and the greater part of Helvetia had now submitted to the conquerors. Holland was also at this period threatened with invasion by England; while Russia poured forth, with no parsimonious hand, her well-disciplined battalions on the fertile plains of Lombardy, and on the rugged mountains of Switzerland. In this extremity, the republic was saved for a time by the increased vigour infused into the executive government, from the revolution of the 18th of June. No sooner were Treillard, Lareveliere, and Merlin, succeeded in the directorial office by Roger Ducos, Gonier, and Moulin, than the most energetic measures were adopted to reinforce all the armies, and to enable them once more to act on the offensive. A law was immediately passed for embodying the whole of the military conscription, which consisted of nearly all the youth of France; and a decree was obtained to raise the sum of one hundred millions of livres, for the purpose of carrying on the war with increased vigour.

The indefatigable Massena, having received fresh supplies of men and provisions,

advanced over Mount Albis, and recommenced operations against the archduke before that prince had effected a junction with a large body of Russians, now in full march for Schaffhausen, under the command of Rimsikorsakow. The system of attack, adopted on this occasion by the French, was equally bold and successful. A column of the republicans, detached across the Limmat, was fortunate enough to penetrate into the Austrian camp on the 14th of August, and to carry terror and dismay into that city, which it had been so lately forced to abandon. On the day succeeding this partial attack, another combined operation was effected along the whole extent of the left wing of the Austrian line: General Chabran, having scaled the heights of Richtersuyl, Etzel, and Schindelezzi, threatened to turn the position of Zurich; while Lecourbe embarked with a choice body of troops on board a flotilla prepared for him on the lake of the four cantons, landed at Fluellen, forced the famous pass of the Devil's Bridge, took possession of St. Gothard, and seized on the Valais.

To relieve Massena from the joint pressure of the Austrians and Russians, the French army of observation, encamped in the neighbourhood of Mentz, received orders to take the field; and General Muller, to whose charge this duty was confided, accordingly established his head-quarters at Mannheim, and pushed his advanced guard as far as Heidelberg; while Baraguay d'Hilliers, advancing with a body of troops drawn from the neighbouring garrisons, imposed a contribution upon Francfort, passed the Maine, and joined his countrymen in the territories of Darmstadt. No sooner had the archduke learned that a body of French troops, after entering Suabia, was levying contributions and seizing on the rich harvests of Germany, now left defenceless by his absence, than he sent forward a strong detachment, and having conferred the command of the Austrian army in Switzerland on General Hotze, soon afterwards crossed the Rhine in person.

While the Austrian chief was successfully employed in repressing the late incursions of the foe in Germany, Massena, availing himself of the absence of the prince, determined once more to obtain a decided superiority in Switzerland, before the arrival of Suworow rendered a defensive system once more necessary. Accordingly, after a number of evolutions, he approached Zurich on the 24th of September, and ordered Lecourbe, an officer admirably skilled in the warfare of mountainous regions, to enter the valley of the Grisons, and turn the left wing of the allies, commanded by

* General Hotze, Wallis, and Hiddler.

† Generals Cherin, Oudinot, Humbert, and de Ville.

General Hotze. At the same time, the French general detached Lorges against the Russians, encamped on the opposite side of the Limmat: while two columns, under Generals Mortier and Klein, were directed to attack the centre, and General Soult to carry the advanced posts of the Austrians.

On the morning of the 25th, these combined movements, stretching on an immense line from the confines of the country of the Grisons to the banks of the Rhine, were all carried into execution, and the battle commenced with equal gallantry on both sides. By one of those disastrous events, on which not only the fate of battles, but even the destiny of nations is sometimes suspended, General Hotze received a mortal wound early in the engagement, and was taken lifeless from the field. General Petrasch, upon whom the command of the left wing now devolved, finding himself overpowered by superior numbers, soon found it necessary to retreat with precipitancy before the assailants; and Prince Korsakow, being unable to withstand the reiterated assaults of the enemy's columns, was obliged to give way; on which, the French troops carried Zurich by assault, and a considerable body of Russian troops posted in that city was obliged to surrender. The immediate result of this battle consisted in the immense slaughter of the Austro-Russian army; the capture of five thousand prisoners, one hundred pieces of cannon, and fifteen standards, in addition to the principal part of the baggage of the Russians; and the immediate retreat of the allies, first to the banks of the Thur, and afterwards across the Rhine.

The heroic Russian chief, grown hoary in camps, but still animated by the glowing ardour of youth, having crossed the plains of Piedmont, defeated the troops of Lecourbe, and possessed himself of the heights of St. Gothard, was now about to enter the canton of Uri, when he received an imperfect account of the defeat of the allies at Zurich; and this disastrous intelligence was speedily confirmed by the approach of the retreating Russians. Foaming with rage at a sight so novel to a general unaccustomed to see the Russian legions fly before their adversaries, he had recourse to threats, and intimated to Prince Korsakow, that he "should answer with his head, if he made another retrograde step." That unfortunate general, burning with desire to vindicate his character to so gallant a chief, immediately reassembled the wreck of his troops; and, having been joined by a body of Austrians, the corps of Condé, and the Bavarian contingent, determined to attempt a diversion in favour

of his commander, by reassuming his former position before Zurich, during the absence of Massena. But the latter, who had so lately dispelled the charm of Russian invincibility, proved his superiority by securing all the intermediate passes, so as to render a near approach not merely difficult, but even fatal. Suworow, undismayed by the difficulties of his situation, displayed prodigies of valour and intrepidity, although engaged on a new theatre, entangled in the defiles of a country with which he was totally unacquainted, and engaged in a novel species of warfare. His troops, fainting under the burden of their accoutrements and provisions, and but just snatched from the delicious climate of Italy, paused, and contemplated with horror the snow and ice elevated above the clouds. At times they began to murmur, and declared they would rather lay down their arms than be exposed to incessant combats, where valour was unavailing, and where life itself was a burden. This aged chief, whose fortitude never forsook him, dismounting from his horse, and exposing himself to the fire of the enemy, and the fatigue of the common soldier, used by turns to praise the perseverance of the bold, and repress the despair of the timid. At one time he would take advantage of the impulse of superstition, and, advancing before the rest, exhibited the revered statue of St. Nicholas to the lagging columns, who, afraid of being bereft of both their patron and their general at once, immediately resumed their march. At another, relying on their affection for his person, he would, as a last resource, stretch his aged limbs on the cold ground, and desire the troops to dig his grave, and cover his body over with earth, adding, "that it was the only favour he could demand from those who had refused to follow their father." This species of eloquence was too obvious to be mistaken, and too forcible to be resisted; his soldiers, electrified by the despair of their general, not only seized once more their arms, but solemnly swore that they would never abandon their leader. It was thus that the Russians, amidst incessant toils and continual combats, arrived, on the 3d of October, in the valley of Mitten, and took possession of the bridge, after a most obstinate resistance. The post of Brunnen, also, was carried the next day; but here ended the progress of the Russian hero, for Massena not only sent supplies to the detachment under Lecourbe, but shut up the passage between the lakes of Walenstadt and Zurich, and posted a body of troops in the neighbourhood of the ancient abbey of Einsiedlen, by which all further

approach in the face of a superior army was interdicted.

Suworow, after penetrating into the canton of Schwitz, was at length so conscious of his critical situation, that he determined, for the first time in his life, to retreat. This was accordingly effected in a masterly manner; for although pursued by Lecourbe, and harassed by a column which had been posted for that purpose at Altorf, he succeeded in attaining his object, by withdrawing his troops into the country of the Grisons, with the loss of his wounded, his cannon, and his baggage. No sooner had Massena ascertained that the haughty spirit of Suworow was preparing to bend to his fate, than, multiplying, as usual, his means by his celerity, he marched with his utmost speed against Korsakow, hitherto kept in check by General Ferino; and, having come up with the allies on the 7th of October, between the Thur and the Rhine, he immediately commenced a terrible attack. The right wing, unable to withstand the shock, immediately gave way; but the left, chiefly composed of emigrants, stood firm, and being led on by the Duke D'Enghein, displayed their wonted valour, and acted as a rear-guard to cover the retreat of their companions in arms; while Bauer, a Russian general, who found his detachment cut off from the main army, and in imminent danger of being made prisoners, burst through the enemy's infantry, and rejoined his countrymen, after leaving Constance for the third time in the possession of the republicans.

Thus ended the conflict of Zurich, continued for fifteen days, and extending over one-half of Switzerland. Within a space of eighty miles in length, and fifty in breadth, there was not a single pass among the mountains, with which the whole country is covered, that had not been disputed in pitched battles, occupied as posts, or traversed by armies. The loss of the allies, in this series of engagements, has been computed at twenty-five thousand men, and that of the French at fifteen thousand, in killed, wounded, and prisoners.

The scale of fortune by this time visibly preponderated on the side of the republicans, who had become once more masters of Switzerland, had retaken St. Gothard, and begun to menace the country of the Grisons. The late victory, achieved in the central part of the armies, afforded an opportunity for the flank to move forward. Accordingly, General Muller once more penetrated into Germany, seized again on Francfort, Mannheim, and Heidelberg, and threatened to lay all that portion of the empire under contribution.

In the midst of the rejoicings of the

court of St. Petersburg at the news of the brilliant successes of Suworow in Italy, the Emperor Paul, indignant that the Germanic states were not actuated by a zeal "for the cause of sovereigns" ardent as that with which he was inspired, issued an official notification, addressed to all the members of the Germanic empire, calling upon them to unite their forces with his, and expressing his determination, if properly supported, never to sheath the sword till he had "seen the downfall of the monster which threatened to crush all legal authorities."*

Scarcely had this sanguine declaration reached those to whom it was addressed, when Suworow, alike discontented with his allies and his colleagues, having collected the wreck of his army at Coire, ordered the remains of Korsakow's troops, and the corps of Conde, to form a junction with him at that place; and, after some delay, he proceeded to Bohemia, where he spent the winter. Of one hundred thousand men, who had either left Russia with him eight months before, or joined his army within that period, scarcely fifty thousand reached the banks of the Lech. After having thus lost sixty thousand of his best warriors, the veteran field-marshal, overwhelmed with grief and disap-

* DECLARATION,

Made by his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, to the members of the German empire.

"His imperial majesty, the Emperor of all the Russias, ever animated with zeal for the cause of sovereigns, and wishing to put a stop to the ravages and disorders which have been spread, by the impious government under which France groans, to the remotest countries—being fully determined to despatch his sea and land forces for the support of the sufferers, and to restore royalty in France, without, however, admitting any partition of that country; to re-establish the ancient forms of government in the United Netherlands, and in the Swiss Cantons; to maintain the integrity of the German empire, and to look for his reward in the happiness and tranquillity of Europe. Providence has blessed his arms, and hitherto the Russian troops have triumphed over the enemies of thrones, religion, and social order. His majesty, the Emperor of all the Russias, having thus declared his views, and the motives by which he is guided, addresses this declaration to all the members of the German empire, inviting them to unite their forces with his, to destroy their common enemy as speedily as possible, to found on his ruins permanent tranquillity for themselves and their posterity. Should his imperial majesty of all the Russias perceive that they support his views, and rally around him, he will, instead of relaxing his zeal, redouble his exertions, and not sheath his sword before he has seen the downfall of the monster which threatens to crush all legal authorities. But, should he be left to himself, he will be forced to recall his forces to his states, and to give up a cause so badly supported by those who ought to have the greatest share in its triumph.

"Gateshina, September 15, (O. S.) 1799"

pointment, retired to his native country, where, being exposed at the same time to the frowns of fortune and the neglect of a capricious prince, he soon perished, either by poison or despair.*

* SUWORROW RIMINISKI ITALISKI (ALEXANDER) was born in the year 1730, and descended from an ancient family. His father, who had been a general, and afterwards became a senator, intended him for the magistracy; but young Suworrow, aspiring only to arms, entered into the service of his country, as a common soldier, in 1746, and in the seven years' war against Prussia, advanced, step by step, to the rank of colonel. During the campaigns in Poland, from 1769 to 1772, he obtained increased renown; and the order of Newski was conferred upon him by Catharine II. for the distinguished part he performed in effecting the dismemberment of that state. His successive victories over the Turks, at Silistria and Kinburn, obtained for him the orders of St. George and St. Andrew; and his successes over the Tartars exalted him to the rank of commander-in-chief, in the service of his imperial mistress. In 1789 he was employed at the head of a detached body of Prince Potemkin's army, acting in concert with the Austrian general, the Prince of Cobourg, against the Turks, and on the 21st of July gained, with him, the battle of Forhani; but, on the 22d of September, the general of the Austrian army having suffered himself to be surrounded by that of the grand vizier, one hundred thousand strong, Suworrow, who had only ten thousand men, fell unexpectedly upon the Turks, and, after a terrible conflict, remained master of the field of battle. "My friends," cried he to the soldiers on this occasion, "do not look at the eyes of the enemy, but look at their breasts; it is there you must strike." This victory, gained near the river of Rimiński, obtained him the surname of Rimiński, and the title of Count of the Roman empire. While acting under the command of Prince Potemkin, he was ordered to storm and carry the Ottoman fortress of Ismail, which had withstood a siege of seven months, and still defied all the efforts of General Gudowitch. On the third day after his arrival before the city, he assembled his troops, and concluded an address, calculated to inflame their military ardour to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, in these terms:—"Soldiers! provisions are dear!—no quarter!" The attack was then made; twice the Russians were repulsed and driven back, with terrible slaughter; but the third effort was successful, the city fell, and 20,000 Turks were put to the sword. This victory he announced to the empress in these laconic terms:—"Madam, the proud Ismail is at your feet." In his first wars, after taking the town of Toutoukai, his despatch was equally brief: "Glory to God! praise to Catharine!" said Suworrow; "the town is taken, and I am in it!" In 1792 he carried Warsaw, and in the capital of Poland repeated the sanguinary scenes of Ismail. For this victory, which laid at the feet of his sovereign that devoted country, he was rewarded with the title of field-marshal; and the empress, in a letter addressed to the victorious marshal, and written by her own hand, said: "You know, general, that I do not promote any one before his turn, but you have made yourself field-marshal by the conquest of Poland."

After the death of Catharine, Suworrow fell into disgrace at court, for venturing to condemn the love of innovation displayed by her successor;

The war in Italy, which had languished while the operations of the principal armies were prosecuted in Switzerland, was now renewed with undiminished vigour. No sooner had the Austrian army under Melas advanced into the neighbourhood of Coni, and prepared to lay siege to that fortress, than General Championnet, collecting his whole force, which amounted to twenty-five thousand men, marched to Savigliano to give him battle. On the morning of the 4th of November, the two armies formed in the plain, and the action commenced by a furious attack directed against the column of General Grenier by General Ott, which forced the republicans to retreat towards Genoa. On every other part of the line, the attack of the Austrians was made with equal energy and success, and the approach of night again saved the French army from ruin. The siege of Coni was now prosecuted with vigour, and on the 2d of January the French commander agreed to capitulate, when two thousand five hundred republicans became prisoners of war.

The success of the allied arms in Italy served to compensate the sovereigns of Europe for the losses they had this year sus-

but at length the capricious Paul reinstated him in his favour; and in the year 1799 the command of the Austro-Russian army was confided to the hero of Ismail. While fighting on the plains of Italy, and opposed to inferior numbers, the achievements of the veteran general seemed to justify the partiality of his sovereign, and the expectation of Europe; but no sooner had he entered upon the mountainous regions of Switzerland, than his laurels began to wither, and at the close of the campaign of 1799, the sun of his military renown set, never more to rise. On his return to Russia in January, 1800, he was coldly received by the emperor, and died on the 18th of May, in the same year, at his estate of Polendoff, in Esthonia, at the age of seventy-one. The Emperor Alexander has erected to him a statue, to which, on its inauguration, Suworrow's ancient companions in arms paid the military honours that he would have received himself, and Prince Constantine pronounced his eulogium.

Born with great talents and vivacity, General Suworrow possessed considerable information, and spoke several languages with facility. He possessed, in a superior degree, boldness, activity, and the art of inflaming the troops, and attaching them to his destiny; but, as a general, he has been reproached with shallow combinations, manœuvres more rapid than wise, and with having used victory to satiate revenge. It is difficult to mention this singular character without mixed emotions of admiration and horror: in the appellations of Rimiński and Italiski, we pay respect to the conqueror of the Turks and of Moreau; but it is impossible to contemplate the hero of Warsaw and Ismail, without deeply deploring the sanguinary scenes which were there transacted, and which will long remain to throw the dark shade of inhumanity over the most illustrious actions of the life of Suworrow.

tained in other quarters; but on the whole, the campaign was less auspicious in its conclusion than at its commencement. And the defection of the autocrat of Rus-

sia damped the future expectations of the court of Vienna, and laid the foundation of those melancholy disasters which awaited the common cause.

CHAPTER XI.

CAMPAIGN IN EGYPT: Policy of Bonaparte—Introduction of the Institutions of civilized Society into Egypt—New Form of Government—Insurrection at Cairo—Dessaix's Expedition into Upper Egypt—Bonaparte's Expedition into Syria—Surrender of El Ariach to the French—Surrender of Jaffa—Charges preferred by Sir Robert Wilson against Bonaparte (note)—Battle of Coruum—The memorable Siege of St. Jean d'Acre—Battle of Mount Tabor—Victory over the Angel Mahdi—Siege of Acre raised—Retreat of the French Army across the Desert to Cairo—Signal Victory obtained over the Turks at Aboukir—Bonaparte abandons his Army, and returns to France.

WHILE a new coalition was formed against France in Europe, her army in the east, shut out from all communication with the native country since the disastrous battle of the Nile, was employed in the reduction of Egypt. This task proved infinitely more difficult than had been anticipated; for the Mamelukes, although unacquainted with the modern system of warfare, were expert in the exercise of the cimeter, managed their horses with great dexterity, and exhibited a degree of courage and perseverance, not to be surpassed by the veteran troops of the old continent: while the number of the enemies of the invaders was about to be increased by a declaration of war upon the part of the Ottoman Porte. The most dreadful adversary, however, proved to be the plague; the terror of which was so great, even on the part of those who faced death daily in the field of battle, that Desgenettes, the physician at the head of the French medical staff, resorted to stratagem, and endeavoured to conceal the particular malady under the name of an inflammatory fever, until the existence of the contagion could no longer be denied; when, braving all its horrors, he inoculated himself with the distemper in the face of the army, and thus affected to contemn that disease which he could not subdue.

No sooner had the battle of the pyramids* placed Grand Cairo, the capital of Egypt, in possession of Bonaparte, than he hastened to constitute this important station the centre of his military operations. From hence, he despatched General Dessaix, in pursuit of Murad Bey, into Upper Egypt; while the army under his own command pursued Ibrahim Bey into the desert. His next concern was to establish a formidable flotilla on the waters of the Nile, which river he began to consider in the light of a great military road; and provisions, ammu-

nition, and all the instruments of war were transported in the *germes*, or water-wagons, stationed on its streams.

Notwithstanding the original injustice of the expedition, it cannot be doubted, that the French general endeavoured to compensate, as a legislator, for the wrongs committed and the miseries inflicted by him as a warrior. With this view he established a severe discipline among his troops, and took proper measures to supply the markets with abundance from the Delta, which alone furnishes the resources and the delicacies of two hemispheres. He at the same time introduced many of the improvements of civilization; and among his first efforts of this nature, is to be mentioned the establishment of a public library. A chemical laboratory was next erected; a new liquor, resembling brandy in strength and flavour, was distilled from the date fruit; substitutes were found for wine and beer; while saltpetre, so necessary for the purposes of war, was refined by a new and improved process; hydraulic machines for the purposes of civil life were constructed; windmills for grinding corn, hitherto unknown to the inhabitants, were erected, and biscuit and bread obtained for the first time by the French soldiery in Egypt. While Cairo thus began to rival the cities of Europe in point of convenience, literature and the sciences were cultivated, and a learned society was formed on the model of the French Institute, of which all the *savans*, or learned men, who had accompanied the expedition, and even many of the general officers, were eager to become members.

The commander-in-chief, already occupied by so many objects of importance, arising out of the organization of an army and the government of a new empire, did not disdain to associate his labours with those of men of science. He visited, examined, and speculated on the design and ori-

* See page 228.

gin of the principal pyramid; he surveyed and reopened the canal between Alexandria and Rhamanieh; and traced through the desert the course of the ancient canal between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. But of what service have these gigantic projects been to the present generation, and what utility will be derived from them by posterity to compensate for the mass of misery inflicted upon the unoffending inhabitants of Egypt by the French invaders?

It was long a problem whether the discovery of a new continent by Columbus had been advantageous to mankind; and it is to be hoped, that no one, under pretext of playing the hero, will hereafter indulge in the pernicious reverie of destroying or rendering miserable the present race, in the vague hope of conferring happiness on countries yet uncivilized, and millions yet unborn.

Amidst the splendour of arts and arms, the interests of commerce were not forgotten. A trading company was established, for the purpose of exchanging the natural productions of Egypt for those of other countries; the merchants were protected, and the imposts levied on commodities of all kinds, rendered fixed and certain. Nor was Bonaparte deficient in that policy, which the western conquerors have been careful to exhibit in the east; he expressed an outward respect for all the doctrines of Islamism; he assisted, along with the officers of his staff, at the grand festivals in honour of the prophet: he paid the utmost attention to the mufti and imams, and began to be designated by the venerable appellation of *Alî*! Nor did he fail at first

* *Wishing to instil a belief of his immediate intercourse with the divinity, Bonaparte, in an address to the cherifs, imams, and orators of the mosque, enjoins them to inculcate into the minds of the people, "that those who become his enemies shall find no refuge either in this world or the next."*

"Is there a man so blind," says he, "as not to see that all my operations are conducted by destiny? Instruct the inhabitants that ever since the world has existed, it was written, that after having overcome the enemies of Islamism, and destroyed the cross, I should come from the furthest parts of the West, to fulfil the task which has been imposed upon me. Make them see that in the second book of the Koran, in more than twenty passages, that which has happened was foreseen, and that that which shall take place has already been explained; let those, then, whom the fear of our arms alone prevents from pronouncing imprecations, now change their dispositions; for in offering prayers to heaven against us, they solicit their own condemnation; let the true believers then present vows for our success. I could call to account each individual amongst you for the most secret sentiments of his heart; for I know every thing, even that which you never communicated; and the day will come when all the world shall witness, that as I act in consequence of orders

to acknowledge the authority of the grand seignior, whose dominions he had usurped, and to intimate to the divan, that the usual tribute should be collected and remitted to Constantinople.

While the Mahometans were treated with great respect, the Copts and Greeks, so long condemned to ignominy, were taught to look for better days. Schools were established, as in Europe, for the instruction of their children; marriages were encouraged between the French and the natives: and the condition of the women, always so degrading among the uncivilized, was greatly ameliorated. To supply the loss of men by sickness and the sword, Greeks, Copts, and Arabs, and even some Mamelukes, were invited into the service of France, and being allured by the prospect of sharing the booty of a victorious general, they readily attached themselves to his fortune. A novelty in politics was at the same time attempted; and for the first time since the days of Mahomet, a deliberative assembly was formed of Mussulmen representatives, divans were established in each of the fourteen provinces of Egypt, and the people were invited to send members to the national assembly at Cairo, where Berthollet and Monge, two men of science, acted as commissioners on behalf of the French, while Abdallah Keykauri, an Arabian prince, exercised the functions of president.*

from above, human efforts are of no avail against me." (42)

(42) It is necessary here to caution the American reader against placing implicit belief in the authenticity of this and other proclamations attributed to Napoleon by British writers. On no subject has so much mistake existed as in regard to his conduct in Egypt. Many charges which were made against him in English books have since been proved to be unfounded; and the gross nature of these falsehoods is calculated to throw suspicion upon many other assertions, which have not been positively disproved.

* The system of government for the provinces was comprehended in the following orders:—

"Head-quarters, Cairo, 9th Thermidor, Year 6, (21st July, 1798.)

"Article I. There shall be in each province of Egypt, a divan, composed of seven persons, charged to watch over the interests of the province, to inform me of every grievance, to prevent the contests which arise between the different villages, to keep a steady eye over the turbulent and seditious, to punish them by calling in a military force under the French commander, and to enlighten the people as often as it shall be found requisite.

"Article II. There shall be in each province an aga of the Janissaries, who shall constantly reside with the French commandant. He shall have with him a company of armed men, natives of the country, with whom he shall proceed, whenever his services may be necessary, to maintain good order, and to keep every one in tranquillity and obedience.

To impress the Egyptians with a high idea of the power and importance of their new masters, the anniversary of the establishment of the republic was celebrated at Cairo with uncommon splendour. At this festival the native spectators were gratified with the appearance of an Arabian sentence in honour of the prophet,* and the ceremony was concluded with races, after the manner of the ancient games, and was followed by a superb illumination, such as had never before been witnessed in Cairo. In imitation of the Turkish governors and the ancient kings, Bonaparte also assisted at the annual ceremony which takes place at the opening of the Nile, on which occasion he bestowed alms upon the poor, and invited the principal inhabitants to a splendid entertainment.

But the deeply-rooted hostility of the Turks to the invaders was not to be overcome, either by the hypocrisy of Bonaparte and his followers, or by all the blandishments and parade of which they were masters; for no sooner had the grand seignior determined to avenge the outrage committed on his dominions, and given orders to expedite a *firman* against the infidels, than the capital of Egypt became suddenly disaffected, and a new and untried species of danger was about to be experienced from a conspiracy formed in a city, the population of which has been estimated at half a million. (43)

The insurgents, instigated by their priests, and the adherents of the expatriated beys, having assembled early in the morning of the 21st of October, 1798, exhibited many unequivocal marks of discontent. General Dupuy, the commandant of the city, who had advanced at the head of a small force to disperse the malcontents, was assassinated by a number of the rioters, and several officers shared the same fate. In this extremity, orders were given to beat the *general*; on which, the French troops flew to arms, and forming in moveable columns,

"Article III. There shall be in every province an intendant, charged with the collection of the *Miri* and the *Saddaur*; and generally of all the revenues, which belonged heretofore to the Mamelukes, and which appertain at present to the republic; he shall have with him the necessary number of agents.

"Article IV. There shall always be with the said intendant, a French agent, for the purpose of corresponding with the administrator of finances, and ensuring the execution of such orders as he may receive, and for acquiring a perfect knowledge of the system of administration.

(Signed) "BONAPARTE."

* "There is no God but one God, and Mahomet is his prophet."

(43) Volney estimates the population at only one-half of this number.—*Travels in Egypt*, vol. i. p. 237.

they marched against the insurgents with several pieces of artillery in their train. The mosques, where the disaffected had taken their stations, and from which a galling fire was directed against the soldiery, were soon forced, when a terrible combat ensued, in which the force and intrepidity of the French were heightened by feelings of indignation. Cannon, placed on the citadel, and on several of the adjoining eminences, were discharged against the town, and the great mosque, and other stations of the insurgents, were burned, while those who escaped from the flames perished either by the bullet or the bayonet. These sanguinary scenes continued throughout the whole of the 21st and 22d of October, and order was not restored till the 23d, when the cherifs and principal residents supplicated the clemency of Bonaparte, and obtained a general pardon.

In the mean time, Dessaix was employed, in Upper Egypt, in the arduous undertaking of expelling Murad Bey from the Said. After sailing on the Nile for a considerable distance, the French general arrived at Siut, but the Arabs and Mamelukes dispersed at his approach. At length, he came up with the main body at Sedimen, consisting of about three thousand Mamelukes, and from eight to ten thousand Arabs. On the 16th of October, at sunrise, the French troops, formed into a square column, and flanked by platoons, advanced along the verge of the inundation, which, at that time, flowed from the Nile. Murad Bey, not waiting to be attacked, ordered his troops to advance and surround the division of the enemy; on every side, they were repulsed by the musketry and field-pieces of the French, when the most intrepid of the Mamelukes, despairing of breaking the division, rushed with great fury upon one of the platoons on the flank; but here again, finding their efforts to be unavailing, numbers of them advanced to the very point of the bayonet, and flung at the French soldiers those arms with which they had so frequently endeavoured in vain to penetrate their iron rampart. The ground was in a moment covered with sabres, pistols, lances, and carbines; while multitudes of the heroes, by whom they were so lately wielded, fell in the unequal combat. At this moment, fresh detachments of Mamelukes advanced to the field of action, and performed prodigies of valour, fighting the enemy man to man. Murad, in the mean time, with a presence of mind and a degree of skill that bespoke the warrior, having crowned the adjacent hills with cannon, immediately unmasked his batteries, and opened a destructive fire: on this Dessaix, conscious that a retreat to his boats would

force him to abandon his wounded, and give a new turn to the war, ordered a charge to be beaten, and directing his fire against the battery, he attacked and carried it with the bayonet. No sooner had the French become masters of the heights and the artillery, than they in their turn began a cannonade, which soon dispersed their adversaries, who left three beys, several kiachefs, and a vast number of Mamelukes and Arabs stretched on the field of battle. Murad Bey, abandoned by the Arabs, but still followed by his faithful Mamelukes, now retired for a time into the province of Faioum, where he sallied out, at intervals, to attack the advanced posts, or dispute the payment of tribute to the French. No sooner, however, had the French general received a reinforcement of a thousand horse, under the command of General Davoust, than he followed the fugitive bey through the provinces of the Said; while the latter, notwithstanding the ardour of the pursuit, found means to send couriers to the principal inhabitants of Jedda and Yambo, inviting them to assist in exterminating "a handful of infidels, who had invaded Egypt for the purpose of destroying the religion of Mahomet." But the French being incessant and indefatigable in their pursuit, Murad, Haasan, Soliman, and eight other beys, perceiving that their Mamelukes were killed, and that the Arabs deserted daily, were under the necessity at length of withdrawing beyond the cataracts.

While Dessaix thus carried the terror of the French arms to the confines of Ethiopia, D'jezzar, Pacha of Syria, encouraged by the Turks, seized on the fort of El Arisch, and made preparations to invade Lower Egypt; Alexandria was also blockaded by the British, and threatened nearly at the same time with a siege by the Ottoman fleet and army; on which, Bonaparte, with his usual activity, determined to avert the dangers that threatened his new conquests, and resolved, by carrying the war into Syria, to render the enemy's country the scene of military operations.

Achmet, Pacha el D'jezzar, at this period governed Syria, under a nominal subjection to the Ottoman Porte, the authority of which he soon afterwards disavowed. This singular man, whose name, El D'jezzar, the *butcher*, sufficiently indicates the ferocity of his disposition, appears to have equalled any of the most celebrated tyrants of antiquity.* But D'jezzar was not deficient in policy: perceiving that a European nation, which avowedly carried on war for the purpose of commerce, had

seized upon Egypt, he dreaded the vicinity of such a formidable people, who might extend their conquest into the east, and by means of a successful incursion, seize on his dominions. He accordingly solicited succours on one hand from the court of Constantinople, while on the other he granted assistance to the Mamelukes. At the same time, he established magazines at Gaza, fortified El Arisch, on the confines of Egypt, and supplied it with a garrison of two thousand men.

Bonaparte, conceiving it to be in vain to negotiate with the pacha, determined to march against him in person; and accordingly collected a body of troops for that purpose, with equal secrecy and despatch. Having assembled his army, consisting of five divisions, under Kleber, Regnier, Lannes, Bon, and Murat, he appointed Daumartin to command the artillery, and General Caffarelli to superintend the engineers; after which, he gave orders for the troops, consisting of twelve thousand chosen men, to commence their march.*

During the expedition into Syria, the command of the province of Cairo was committed to General Dugua; and the command of Rosetta to General Menou; to Adjutant-general Almeyrac was confided the duty of strengthening the fortifications of Damietta; and to General Marmont the defence of Alexandria; while General Dessaix remained in Upper Egypt, to contend against the refractory beys. At the same time, Rear-admiral Perce was instructed to embark the necessary battering cannon on board of three frigates, for the demolition of the walls of the Syrian capital; and for the purpose of eluding the vigilance of the British cruisers, he was ordered to appear before Jaffa, and to keep up a communication with the army.

General Regnier, who led the advanced guard of the French army against Syria, arrived on the 8th of February at the grove of palm-trees, near to the sea, and in front of El Arisch. Notwithstanding the advantageous situation of the place, which stands in the midst of a natural amphitheatre, the village was carried by the bayonet, and the enemy retired into the fort with so much precipitation, as to exclude about three hundred men, who were either killed or taken prisoners. On the evening of the 13th a strong body of cavalry and infantry, who were escorting a convoy of provisions for El Arisch, advanced and pitched their tents on the eminences, within half a league of that place; but Regnier, on the arrival of part of Kleber's division, scaled the

* See *Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria*, from 1792 to 1798, by M. W. G. Brown.

* General Berthier's letter to the minister at war dated Alexandria, 11th Thermidor.

heights occupied by the Mamelukes, rushed into their camp, killed a great number of them, among whom were two beys and some *kiachefs*, and seized on the greater part of their baggage, provisions, ammunition, horses, and camels. Immediately on the arrival of the commander-in-chief from Cairo, he ordered one of the towers of the castle of El Arisch to be cannonaded, and the place to be summoned the moment a breach was effected. After some time spent in negotiation, the garrison, consisting of sixteen hundred men, consented to surrender, on the 25th of February, on condition of being allowed to retire to Bagdad; except a body of *Maugrabins*, who agreed to enter into the service of France.

After traversing many leagues of an arid desert, during which they were exposed to all the horrors of extreme thirst, the French army arrived at Gaza on the 28th, and took possession of that place without opposition. Here they found a large and seasonable supply of ammunition, provisions, and some cannon, which enabled them, after establishing a *divan*, composed of the principal Turks, to march directly for Jaffa, the Joppa of ancient days. On reconnoitering the town, the south front was selected for the attack. During the night, the trenches were opened, and three batteries established; one to effect an opening in the wall, the other two to enfilade the square tower, while a fourth, by way of diversion, was erected on the north side. On the 5th of March the garrison made two sorties, but were driven back with considerable loss. On the 6th, at daybreak, the cannonade commenced, and at four o'clock the breach was deemed practicable. An assault was now ordered, and the carabineers, under General Rambaud, were the first to advance. The chasseurs followed, and mounting the breach under the fire of some flanking batteries, they effected a lodgment in the square tower. The division of General Lannes, following up the artillery, drove the Mamelukes from roof to roof, and from street to street, and in a short time gained possession of the two forts; while the division of General Bonaparte, which had been engaged in making false attacks, now entered the town near the fort. The garrison, which consisted of about twelve hundred Turkish gunners, and about two thousand five hundred *Maugrabins* or *Arnauts*, continued to defend themselves desperately, and refusing to lay down their arms, were put to the sword.* But Bonaparte,

with his usual policy, spared the lives of three hundred Egyptians, whom he sent back to their families, that they might at the same time proclaim his vic-

very different representation is made of the fact by Sir Robert Thomas Wilson, in his *History of the British Expedition to Egypt*, pages 72-4, and impartiality requires that the substance of the counter-statement should be here inserted:—

"Bonaparte having carried the town of Jaffa by assault," says Sir Robert Wilson, "many of the garrison were put to the sword; but the greater part flying into the mosques, and imploring mercy from their pursuers, were granted their lives.

"Three days afterwards, Bonaparte, who had expressed much resentment at the compassion manifested by his troops, and determined to relieve himself from the maintenance and care of three thousand eight hundred prisoners, ordered them to be marched to a rising ground near Jaffa; where a division of French infantry formed against them. When the Turks had entered into their fatal alignment, and the mournful preparations were completed, the signal gun fired: volleys of musketry and grape instantly played against them; and Bonaparte, who had been regarding the scene through a telescope, when he saw the smoke ascending, could not restrain his joy, but broke out into exclamations of approval."

"Their bones," adds Sir Robert, "still lie in heaps, and are shown to every traveller who arrives; nor can they be confounded with those who perished in the assault, since this field of butchery lies a mile from the town."

On this point Sir W. S. Smith, in an official communication addressed to Admiral Lord Nelson, from on board the *Tigre*, at anchor off Jaffa, dated May 30, 1799, says, "The measure of the iniquities of the French army seems to have been filled by the massacre of the Turkish prisoners at Jaffa, in cold blood, three days after their capture."

Sir Robert Wilson, in the publication quoted above, at pages 74 and 75, records another deed of blood, at which the mind revolts with horror, and which, from its repugnance to every feeling of our nature, can obtain credit only upon the strongest evidence:—

"Bonaparte," says Sir Robert, "finding that his hospitals at Jaffa were crowded with sick, sent for a physician, whose name should be inscribed in letters of gold, but which, from weighty reasons, cannot be here inserted: on his arrival he entered into a long conversation with him, respecting the danger of contagion, concluding at last with the remark, that something must be done to remedy the evil, and that the destruction of the sick at present in the hospital was the only measure that could be adopted. The physician, alarmed at the proposal, bold in the confidence of virtue and the cause of humanity, remonstrated vehemently, representing the cruelty as well as the atrocity of such a murder; but finding that Bonaparte persevered and menaced, he indignantly left the tent, with this memorable observation:—'Neither my principles, nor the character of my profession, will allow me to become a human butcher; and, general, if such qualities as you insinuate are necessary to form a great man, I thank my God that I do not possess them.'

"Bonaparte was not to be diverted from his object by moral considerations: he persevered, and found an apothecary who (dreading the weight of power, but who since has made an atonement to his mind by unequivocally confessing the fact) consented to become his agent, and to administer

* Such is the account of the sanguinary scenes which attended the fall of Jaffa given by General Berthier, in his "*Relation des Campagnes du General Bonaparte en Egypte et en Syrie*;" but a

tories and his clemency! The French, now become masters of the city and the forts, found in this place forty pieces of cannon, and fifteen small trading vessels at anchor in the port.

poison to the sick. Opium at night was distributed in gratifying food, the wretched unsuspecting victims banqueting, and in a few hours five hundred and eighty soldiers, who had suffered so much for their country, perished thus miserably by the order of its idol."

Sir Robert Wilson adds, that "there are records which remain, and which in due season will be produced." When those records appear, the world will perhaps give credit to the horrible narratives they are produced to substantiate; but candour demands the remark, that twelve years have now elapsed since the charges were first exhibited, and although within that period Bonaparte has fallen from the elevation of the imperial purple to the rank of a powerless exile, yet the corroborating records alluded to by Sir Robert have never yet been produced. One of the charges here preferred by Sir R. Wilson against Bonaparte, derives considerable weight from the letter of Sir Sidney Smith, written on the spot, and published at the short distance of two months from the date of the alleged murders. But the other, and if possible the more enormous of the crimes imputed to the French general, appears to be completely refuted by Dr. Desgenettes, the physician-general himself, the person alluded to as having received the order to poison the troops, and which, according to Sir Robert, he refused to execute: that physician, in his *Histoire Medicale de l'Armée d'Orient*, at pages 49 and 50, expressly declares, "That the general-in-chief showed the utmost attention and tenderness to the soldiers afflicted with the plague, visited them in person while confined by that dreadful malady, and even assisted in the most menial offices for their relief:" (44)

(44) Perhaps none of the charges which have been made against the Emperor Napoleon, have excited more odium than those which were originally made public by Sir Robert Wilson, and afterwards circulated with great eagerness by the British writers. The downfall of that monarch, however, instead of enabling Sir Robert Wilson to prove, as he promised, the correctness of these statements, has afforded means which might not otherwise have been obtained, of exculpating him in a great measure from blame. The first charge made by Sir Robert Wilson, is that of murdering his Turkish prisoners in cold blood, to the number of 3,800. The facts, as they were related by Napoleon himself, in conversation with Mr. Warden, were in substance these:—After the capitulation of El Arisch, a great number of the garrison were released on their engaging to return quietly to their homes, and the French army then proceeded towards Jaffa, which they carried by storm, and the rage of the French soldiery being greatly excited in consequence of some inhuman acts of their enemies, many of the garrison were put to the sword. Early the next day, Napoleon was informed that four hundred of the garrison of El Arisch were found among the prisoners, and the fact being indisputably proved, they were drawn out and immediately shot. The conduct of Napoleon in this act was strictly in consonance with the rules of civilized warfare, although it may be doubted whether measures less severe would not have answered all the purposes of punishment. The other charge, that of poisoning a large body of his own troops, is refuted in a still more satis-

At Jaffa, as at all other places of importance in his route, Bonaparte constituted a divan of the principal inhabitants in the French interest, and after appointing Adjutant-general Gressier to the command of the

factory manner. We shall here use his own words. "On raising the siege of St. Jean d'Acre, the army retired upon Jaffa. The occupation of this town for any length of time was totally impracticable, from the force that Jegga Nachas was enabled to bring forward. The sick and wounded were numerous; and their removal was my first consideration. Carriages, the most convenient that could be formed, were appropriated to the purpose. Some of them were sent by water to Damietta, and the rest were accommodated in the best possible manner to accompany their comrades in their march through the desert. Seven men, however, occupied a quarantine hospital, who were infected by the plague, whose report was made me by the chief of the medical staff (I think it was Desgenettes). He further added, that the disease had gained such a state of malignancy, there was not the least probability of their continuing alive beyond forty-eight hours." I* here exclaimed, in a dubious tone, seven! and immediately asked whether I was to understand that there were no more than seven. "I perceive," he replied, "that you have heard a different account." Most assuredly, general, Sir R. Wilson states, fifty-seven or seventy-seven; and (speaking more collectively) your whole sick and wounded. He then proceeded:—"The Turks were numerous and powerful, and their cruelty proverbial among my army. Their practice of mutilating and barbarously treating their Christian prisoners, in particular, was well known among my troops, and had an influence on my mind and conduct; and I do affirm that there were only seven sufferers whom circumstances compelled me to leave, as short-lived sufferers, at Jaffa. They were in that state of disease which rendered their removal utterly impracticable, exclusive of the dissemination of the disease among the healthy troops. Situated as I was, I could not place them under the protection of the English; I therefore desired to see the senior medical officer, and observing to him that the afflictions of their disease would be cruelly aggravated by the conduct of the Turks towards them, and that it was impossible to continue in possession of the town, I desired him to give me his best advice on the occasion. I said, tell me what is to be done? He hesitated some time, and then repeated, that these men, who were the objects of my very painful solicitude, could not survive forty-eight hours. I then suggested (what appeared to be his opinion, though he might not choose to declare, but await with trembling hope to receive it from me) the propriety, because I felt it would be humanity, to shorten the sufferings of these seven men by administering opium. Such a relief, I added, in a similar situation, I should anxiously solicit for myself. But, rather contrary to my expectation, the proposition was opposed, and consequently abandoned. I accordingly halted the army one day longer than I intended, and, on my quitting Jaffa, left a strong rear-guard, who continued in that city till the third day. At the expiration of that period, an officer's report reached me that the men were dead." "Then, general," (I could not resist exclaiming) "no opium was given!" The emphatic answer I received was, "No, none! A report

* Mr. Warden.

place, he marched at the head of his troops for Acre. On the 15th of March, the French army observed a corps of the enemy's cavalry, under the command of Abdallah Pacha, in a strong position upon the heights of Corsum. This corps, which consisted of two thousand horse, was supported on its left by ten thousand Turks, and the object of the pacha was to arrest the progress of the invaders in their advance to Acre, by forcing them to engage among the mountains and defiles of Naplouz : an object which was in some degree effected, for the French troops, under General Lannes, impelled by their ardour, pursued the enemy into the heart of the mountains, from which they were recalled repeatedly by their general, and at length retreated under the fire of the Naplouzians. In the mean time, the divisions of Generals Bon and Kleber formed into squares, and compelled the enemy to seek their safety in flight.

The French army, pursuing their march by Cæsarea, crossed the river which runs within two thousand yards of the walls of Acre, on the night of the 17th; but on ascending the heights on the following morning, they beheld the town prepared for a siege, and to their no small chagrin and astonishment, discerned the colours of Great Britain flying in the harbour.

St. Jean D'Acre, so celebrated during the time of the crusades, at this moment contained within its walls two singular men, who, with the romantic heroism of the days of chivalry, united all the knowledge appertaining to the modern art of war—Sir W. Sidney Smith, a British naval officer, of distinguished enterprise, and Colonel Phillippeaux, an emigrant officer of engineers, a schoolfellow and early companion of the French commander-in-chief. After rescuing his friend, Sir Sidney Smith, from bondage in the Temple, and restoring him to liberty at the hazard of his life, Phillippeaux had accompanied him in a small squadron to which he had been appointed, and after cruising with the commodore in the Levant, had embarked for Syria, to em-

was brought me that the men died before the rear-guard had evacuated the city." To this clear and convincing explanation it might be added, if necessary, that Dr. Clarke, the celebrated traveller, who visited Jaffa a year or two after the circumstance is said to have taken place, affirms, that although the Turks were in the highest degree irritated against the French, he never heard this accusation even hinted at; and adds, with great propriety, if so extraordinary an event as the murder of such a number of Frenchmen by their own general had occurred there, some traces or recollection of it would have been subsisting.

* Warden's Letters from St. Helena.

ploy his talents as an engineer, and afford assistance to the intimidated pacha.

On the 19th of March, Generals Demartin and Caffarelli reconnoitered the fortress of Acre, and it was then determined to attack the front of the salient angle to the eastward. On the 30th, the trenches were opened about one hundred and fifty fathoms from the wall, and advantage was taken of the garden enclosures, the fosse of the old town, and an aqueduct that crossed the glacis in their formation; but as the besiegers were deficient in heavy artillery, and could furnish their batteries only with eight and twelve pounders, and mortars of five inches, the impression made by them was neither sudden nor formidable.

On the day the trenches were opened, the garrison made a spirited sortie, but were repulsed with some loss, and forced to retire with precipitation within the walls. As the tower, against which the principal attack was directed, appeared to be pierced towards the afternoon of the first of April, and the counterscarp was supposed to be destroyed by a mine which had been sprung, the troops demanded and obtained leave to advance to storm the fortress. It soon, however, became evident, that little pains had been taken to ascertain the nature of the works; for, on rushing forward, it was discovered, that a ditch of fifteen feet was to be passed, while the counterscarp was almost untouched, and the breach, which was not large, had been effected upwards of six feet above the level of the works. Notwithstanding these obstacles, a body of grenadiers, headed by Mailly, an officer of the staff, descended into the ditch, and attempted to scale the wall; but their leader was shot, and it being discovered that the only effect produced by the late explosion was a small opening in the glacis, nothing could be achieved. The garrison was at first seized with terror, and many of the Turkish soldiers ran towards the harbour, but no sooner did they discover that the opening in the wall was several feet above the rubbish, than they returned to the charge, and showered down stones, grenades, and combustibles upon the assailants, who were obliged to retire, after losing two adjutant-generals, Escala and Laugier, and a great number of men. This event afforded so much encouragement to the troops of the pacha, that on the 5th they made another sally, in which they killed Detroye, *chef de brigade*, and several others of the besiegers.

In the mean time, the English squadron discovered, in the neighbourhood of Mount Carmel, a corvette and nine sail of gunboats, laden with artillery and ammunition, intended to assist in the reduction of Acre.

Seven vessels belonging to this flotilla, containing all the battering train, were captured; and this fortunate incident contributed greatly to save the city, no intelligence having been received by the French army of the three frigates which had sailed from Alexandria for Jaffa.

At this period of the siege, D'jazzar dispersed his firmans among the Naplouzians, as well as into the towns in the Said, requesting the true believers to rise and to overwhelm the infidels.

The British squadron, which had been driven from the unsheltered anchorage of St. Jean d'Acre by the equinoctial gales, had no sooner resumed its station, than another sortie was determined upon, for the purpose of destroying a mine made by the enemy below the tower. In this operation, undertaken on the 7th, the British marines and seamen were to force their way into the mine, while the Turkish troops attacked the enemy's trenches on the right and left. The sally was made on the morning of the 7th, just before daylight; and Lieutenant Wright, who commanded the seamen-pioneers, notwithstanding he received two shots in his right arm as he advanced, entered the mine with the pikemen, and proceeded to the bottom of it, where he verified its direction, and by pulling down the supporters, destroyed all that could be destroyed in its present state; Colonel Douglas supported the seamen in this service with distinguished gallantry, and brought off Lieutenant Wright, who had scarcely strength left to get out of the enemy's trenches, from which they were not dislodged. In this gallant enterprise, Major Oldfield, to whom the command of the marines from the *Thesus* had been confided, was mortally wounded, and made prisoner by the French.

But it was not with Acre alone that Bonaparte had to contend: all the neighbouring districts were in arms, and the Samaritan Arabs evinced so much daring as to make incursions even into his camp. Under these circumstances, he despatched first the general of brigade, Junot, and afterwards Kleber, against the enemy, whom he was determined to drive across the Jordan. Finding that the troops already sent from the main army, strengthened as they had been by one thousand infantry, were still insufficient to crush the native force brought into the field, Bonaparte determined to proceed against the enemy in person. Having repaired through Fouli, along the Jefiles of the mountains, he perceived on the 16th Kleber's division, consisting of two thousand Frenchmen, fighting at the foot of Mount Tabor, and nearly encircled

by upwards of twenty-five thousand horse.* The commander-in-chief immediately formed his infantry and cavalry into three squares, with a design to cut off their retreat towards Jennin, where their magazines were established, and to drive them before him in the direction of the river, on the banks of which they would be overwhelmed by Murat. For this purpose, the Adjutant-general Le Turq, with the cavalry and two pieces of cannon, was detached against the Mamelukes, whom he descried at some distance, while General Rampon was ordered to take the enemy in flank, and General Vial to intercept them in their flight.

No sooner had Kleber received intimation, by the discharge of a twelve-pounder, that he was about to be succoured, than he immediately attacked and carried the town of Fouli with the bayonet; he then charged the cavalry, which had already been thrown into confusion by the French horse under Rampon, and obliged them, after experiencing much loss, to retire behind Mount Tabor, where a great number were drowned in the river Jordan. The result of the battle of Esdren, or of Mount Tabor, was the discomfiture of twenty-five thousand cavalry, and ten thousand infantry, by four thousand French troops;† the capture of all the enemy's magazines; and their flight to Damascus, with a loss of five thousand men. Nor could they conceive how, at the same moment, they could have been defeated on a line of seven-and-twenty miles, so little notion had they of a combined operation.

Bonaparte, having burnt the Naplouzian villages, and killed such of the inhabitants as had incurred his displeasure, hastened to return to the camp before Acre, and took with him his *etat major*, the division of General Bon, and the corps of cavalry under General Murat.

The siege was now pushed on with increased vigour, and the invaders at length beheld the completion of the mine destined to destroy the tower, which had so long withstood all their efforts; but on setting fire to the mine on the 25th, the operation was found to be incomplete. Although one of the angles was carried away, the breach remained as difficult of access as before, and such showers of burning materials were poured down upon a body of grenadiers, who were ordered to reconnoitre the means of communication between the tower and the other parts of the fortress,

* Relation des Campagnes du General Bonaparte en Egypte et en Syrie, par le General de Division Berthier.

† General Berthier.

that they were compelled to retire, and General Caffarelli, and the *Chef de bataillon* Say, perished in these enterprises, while General Veaux, and several other officers of distinction, were dangerously wounded.

The garrison, invigorated by the presence of the English, and defended by the skill of Phillipeaux, who unfortunately soon afterwards died of a fever contracted by want of rest and extraordinary exertions in the public service, had by this time erected cavaliers, and constructed two places of arms, together with batteries, so contrived as to flank the tower, and produce all the advantage arising from a cross-fire. But on the 1st of May, after many hours' heavy cannonade from thirty pieces of artillery, brought by the enemy from Jaffa, a fourth attempt was made to mount the breach, now much widened. The *Tigre* moored on side, and the *Theseus* on the other, flanked the town walls; and the gun-boats, launches, and other row boats continued to flank the enemy's trenches, to their great annoyance, till at length they were repulsed with loss, and obliged to desist from the attack. At this time, though the forty-fourth day of the siege, the garrison had the satisfaction to find themselves in a better state of defence than they were on the first day the enemy opened their trenches, and the gallant defenders of Acre felt increased confidence that they should be able to resist every assault of the besiegers.

The enemy, notwithstanding their various repulses, continued to batter in a breach with progressive success, and up to the 9th of May, had made nine several attempts to storm, but had as often been beaten back with immense slaughter. In effect, the siege of Acre had been one continued battle ever since the opening of the trenches, interrupted at short intervals by the excessive fatigue of every individual on both sides.

The garrison had long been in expectation of a reinforcement under Hassan Bey, who had originally received orders to advance against Alexandria, but was afterwards directed to proceed to the relief of Acre. It was not however till the fifty-first day of the siege, that his fleet made its appearance; and the approach of so much additional strength was the signal to Bonaparte for a most vigorous and persevering assault, in hopes to get possession of the town before the reinforcement could disembark. The constant fire of the besiegers was suddenly increased tenfold, and notwithstanding the exertions of the garrison, supported by the fire of several cannon and carronades under the able direction of Mr. Schoder, the master's mate of the *Theseus*,

Mr. Jones, midshipman of the *Tigre*, and Mr. Bray, the carpenter of the same ship, the enemy continued to gain ground, and on the night of the 8th of May, they had succeeded in making a lodgment in the second story of the north-east tower.

Daylight on the 9th showed the French standard unfurled on the outer angle of the tower, and their troops had covered themselves in the lodgment, having constructed two traverses across the ditch composed of sand-bags, and the bodies of their dead built in with them. At this most critical point of the contest, Hassan Bey's troops, though they had advanced half-way towards the shore, were still in their boats. Sir Sidney Smith, whose energy and talents gave effect to every operation, and generally secured its success, landed the boats on the mole, and placing himself at the head of the crew, marched them to the breach, each man being armed with a pike. A heap of ruins between the besieged and the besiegers served as a breastwork for both; the muzzles of the muskets touched, and the spear-heads of the standards locked. D'jezzar Pacha, hearing that the English were on the breach, quitted his station, where, according to the ancient Turkish custom, he was sitting to reward such as should bring him the heads of the enemy, and distributing cartridges with his own hands. This "energetic old man,"* coming behind his British allies, pulled them down with violence, saying, if any harm happen to our English friends, all will be lost. The whole of the reinforcement being now landed, the pacha, with some difficulty, so far subdued his jealousy, as to admit the Chiffick regiment, of a thousand men, into the garden of his seraglio. From thence, a vigorous sally was made, with an intention to obtain possession of the enemy's third parallel or nearest trench, but the Turks were unequal to such a movement, and they were driven back into the town with loss. This sortie, although it did not succeed, had the effect of compelling the enemy to expose themselves above their parapets, and the flanking fire of the garrison, aided by a few hand grenades thrown by Mr. Savage, midshipman of the *Theseus*, dislodged them from the tower, and killed or dispersed all that remained at that station. Still determined to persevere, the enemy effected a new breach by an incessant fire directed to the southward, every shot knocking down whole sheets of a wall much less solid than that of the tower, on which they had expended so much time and ammunition. The group of French generals and *aides-de-camp*, which the shells

* Sir Sidney Smith's Despatch, dated Acre May 9, 1799

from the sixty-eight pounders had frequently dispersed, was now reassembled on an eminence, rendered famous by the exploits of an English chief, and Bonaparte was distinguishable on Richard Cœur de Lion's Mount, burning with rage, and indicating, by his gesticulations, that the attack was to be renewed. A little before sunset, a massive column appeared advancing to the breach with solemn step. At the suggestion of the pacha, the breach was not this time defended, but a certain number of the enemy was let in, and then closed upon, according to the Turkish mode of war. The column thus mounted the breach unmolested, and descended from the rampart into the pacha's garden, where, in a very few minutes, the bravest and most advanced among them lay headless corpses, the sabre in one hand, and a dagger in the other, proving more than a match for the bayonets. The survivors, finding the assault desperate, hastened to sound a retreat, and General Lannes, who was seen heroically encouraging his men to mount the breach, was carried off severely wounded by a musket-shot. In this ensanguined conflict, General Rombaudo was killed, and on the same day, General Bon received a mortal wound, of which he soon afterwards expired. Thus ended a contest, continued with little intermission for five-and-twenty hours, and in which, nature, sinking under the exertion, demanded a respite.

About this period, Bonaparte received intelligence of various insurrections in Egypt, and although the insurrectionary spirit did not again show itself at Cairo, nor in any of the principal cities, yet in the provinces of Benichef, Charkie, and Bahere, it required all the vigilance of the French generals, and all the activity of their troops, to preserve the public tranquillity. In the midst of these agitations, an impostor arose, pretending to be the Angel El Mahdi, whose coming is announced in the Koran, and who asserted that neither the muskets, the bayonets, the sabres, nor even the artillery of the French, could injure the genuine believers, who should fight under his invincible standard! Having collected a considerable force, and obtained some partial successes, which served in the estimation of a superstitious people to give countenance to his pretensions, the new general marched, in full confidence of success, from Rahmanie to Darnahour; but here his career terminated, for General Lanusse, advancing at the head of a moveable column, dispersed the followers of the Angel El Mahdi, who was himself wounded, and put fifteen hundred of his troops to the sword.

In proportion as the troops of Bonaparte

before Acre relaxed in their zeal, and the capture of the place became dubious, chagrin and indignation began to be visible in the face and actions of that general, who, for the first time in his life, beheld himself foiled, and that too by a town scarcely defensible according to the rules of art; while the surrounding hills were crowded with a multitude of spectators, waiting the result of the contest for the purpose of declaring for the victor. Nor was this all; the plague had by this time found its way into the French camp, and seven hundred men had already fallen martyrs to that terrible malady. In this deplorable situation it was determined by the French commander-in-chief to make a last effort, and General Kleber's division was recalled from the fords of Jordan, to take its turn in the daily efforts to mount the breach at Acre, in which every other division in succession had failed, with the loss of their bravest men, and about three-fourths of their officers. Before this reinforcement could commence its operations, another sally was made by the Turkish Chiffick regiment, on the night of the 10th of May: these troops, acting under the command of Solyman Aga, the lieutenant-colonel, succeeded in making themselves masters of the enemy's third parallel; but the impetuosity of a few of the Turks carried them on to the second trench, where they lost some of their standards, though they succeeded before their retreat in spiking four guns. Kleber's division, instead of mounting the breach, according to Bonaparte's intention, were thus compelled to spend their time and strength in recovering these works, in which they succeeded after a conflict of three hours, leaving every thing in *status quo*, except the loss of men, which was very considerable on both sides. After this failure, the French grenadiers absolutely refused to mount the breach any more over the putrid bodies of their unburied companions, sacrificed in former attacks by Bonaparte's impatience and precipitation, which led him to commit such palpable errors, that even seamen could take advantage of them.*

The siege of Acre, and the expedition into Syria, were now approximating towards their close: Bonaparte's presence was required in Egypt, and, despairing of prosecuting the siege to a successful issue, he directed his last effort to purposes of revenge. With this view, he ordered that all the batteries, cannon, and mortars should be directed against the palace of D'jezzar, and that the remainder of the siege-ammunition should be expended in

* Sir Sidney Smith's letter to Lord Nelson, dated "Tigre, off Jaffa, May 30, 1799."

demolishing the fortifications and other public buildings. To check this work of destruction, the besieged made two vigorous sorties from the garrison on the 16th of May, in both of which they were driven back with loss.

During the night of the 17th, the French army began the removal of the sick, the wounded, and the park of artillery; and on the 18th and 19th the advanced guard, under General Junot, quitting the camp before Acre, marched towards Egypt, and took a position at Saffarie. On the 20th, the garrison, perceiving the force of the French to be much weakened, made a general sortie, which they repeated in the afternoon with increased vigour; but neither of these efforts was attended with complete success, and in the course of that day the French removed their battering cannon, having previously destroyed an aqueduct of several leagues in length, which supplied the town of Acre with fresh water, and reduced all the magazines and crops in its vicinity to ashes. This night, at nine o'clock, the *generale* was beaten, and the siege, after sixty days' continuance, was raised. (45)

In the midst of his disasters, Bonaparte,

(45) We have observed in the preceding note upon the calumnies with which Sir Robert Wilson and other English writers have assailed the reputation of Bonaparte. Time, the great revealer of truth, has shown the incorrectness of these statements, and even Sir Robert Wilson has since, in some measure, discredited his own charges by his conduct towards a leading supporter of the Bonaparte dynasty.* But there have been imputations of the most serious nature made against the British commanders at St Jean d'Acre, which, although affirmed by a respectable eyewitness, remain yet uncontradicted; and when we remember the massacres of Frenchtown and Hampton, in our own country, perpetrated by allies of the British, whom it was in their power to restrain, we are compelled to admit the probability that these revolting statements are founded in truth. The following horrible story is taken from the "*Relation des Campagnes du General Bonaparte en Egypte*," &c., by General Berthier. "A few days after an assault, in which the French troops had been defeated, our soldiers remarked upon the beach a considerable number of sacks, which they opened, and, horrible to relate! discovered in them corpses, tied together, two by two. On interrogating the deserters, we learned that more than four hundred Christians, who were in the prisons of D'jezzar, had been drawn out by the orders of this monster, tied together by twos, fastened in the sacks, and then thrown into the sea. Other nations," adds General Berthier, "who can unite the rights of war with those of honour and humanity, had circumstances forced them to join their standards with those of a D'jezzar, would never have suffered a barbarian to disgrace them by such atrocities; they would have compelled him to conform to the principles of honour and humanity, which are professed by every civilized people."

* Lavalette.

ever fertile in expedients, cheered the spirits of his drooping followers, and animated them to fresh exertions, by a proclamation, in which he portrayed their achievements in glowing colours, and represented Acre as a place not worth the sacrifice of a few days.

On raising the siege of Acre, Bonaparte was obliged to leave behind him all his heavy artillery, either buried or thrown into the sea, whence it was easily raised, and this battering train, amounting to 23 pieces, fell into the hands of the English. The French, after blowing up the fortifications of Jaffa and Gaza, and inflicting a terrible vengeance on those who had defended their country against the invaders, passed over the desert, and were received by the inhabitants of Cairo, ignorant of recent events, as victors. Unabashed by his late check, and unintimidated by the sinister communications of a soldiery who had lately murmured against and even menaced their chief, Bonaparte distributed recompenses to some, inflicted marks of ignominy on others, and so far regained the confidence of all, that in the course of a few days his army offered to encounter new toils and new dangers in Egypt, under a commander whom they were on the point of sacrificing in Syria.*

* "PROCLAMATION.

"Head-quarters, before Acre, 28th Floreal (17th of May). AN. 7, 1799: BONAPARTE, General-in-chief
"SOLDIERS,

"You have traversed the desert which separates Africa from Asia with the rapidity of an Arab force. The army which was on its march to invade Egypt is destroyed; you have taken its general, its field artillery, camels, and its baggage; you have taken all the fortified posts which secure the wells of the desert: and you have dispersed, in the districts of Mount Tabor, those swarms of brigands, collected from all parts of Asia, in the hope of sharing the plunder of Egypt.

"The thirty ships which, twelve days ago, you saw enter the port of Acre with troops, were destined for an attack upon Alexandria; but you compelled them to hasten to the relief of Acre, and several of their standards will contribute to adorn your triumphal entry into Egypt.

"Finally, after having, with a handful of men, maintained a war, during three months, in the heart of Syria, taken forty pieces of cannon, fifty stand of colours, and six thousand prisoners, and razed or destroyed the fortifications at Gaza, Jaffa, Caiffa, and at Acre, we prepare to return to Egypt, where the approaching season for landing imperiously calls for our presence.

"A few days longer might give you the hope of taking the pacha in his palace; but, at this season, the castle of Acre is not worth the loss of those days, nor of those brave soldiers who must fall in the time, and are now necessary for more essential services.

"Soldiers,—We have yet a toilsome and perilous task to perform. After having secured ourselves from attacks from the eastward, this campaign, it will, perhaps, be necessary we should repel the

Notwithstanding the late expedition had inflicted a loss of three thousand men upon the French army, seven hundred of whom had died of the plague, and five hundred in battle, exclusive of eighteen hundred rendered incapable of present service by their wounds,* the troops, still under the command of Bonaparte, cheerfully obeyed the summons to march to the mouth of the Nile, to oppose the army of the grand seignior, who had landed in that quarter. No sooner did Bonaparte learn that a fleet of about one hundred sail, well stored with troops, after anchoring at Aboukir, had seized on the fort, and threatened to besiege Alexandria, than he resolved to march against the Turks in person; and that the enemy might receive no assistance from the Arabs and the Mamelukes, General Dessaix was directed once more to act against Murad Bey, while Ibrahim Bey and his partisans were opposed by General Regnier.

Upon his arrival on the coast of the Mediterranean sea, he learned that the enemy, consisting of about eighteen thousand men, commanded by Mustapha Pacha, were intrenching themselves in the peninsula of Aboukir, where a great number of cannon had already been disembarked. Being determined to attack the pacha before he could be joined by the natives, the French army was put in motion on the morning of the 25th of July.

After a march of two hours, and at the moment when the advanced guards began to fire at each other, Bonaparte ordered the columns to halt, for the purpose of making the necessary dispositions for the attack. General Dessaix was despatched with three battalions to carry a height on the enemy's right, occupied by a thousand men; and, at the same time a picket of cavalry received orders to cut off their retreat to the adjoining village. While this operation was executed with great success, and the village carried, General Lannes advanced towards a mountain of sand on the left, in the neighbourhood of which two thousand men, with six pieces of artillery, were posted; the Turkish troops endeavoured to withdraw, after a distant cannonade, but their retreat was cut off by two squadrons of cavalry, and a platoon

of guides, and the whole body, without the exception of a single man, was either killed or precipitated into the sea. Notwithstanding this partial success, the Turks still defended their intrenchments, particularly a large redoubt, with the most persevering gallantry, and even continued to send forward detachments, who marched against the assailants over the dead bodies of their countrymen, and engaged the fronts of the columns man to man. Some of the Mussulmans, unable to pierce the forest of bayonets, endeavoured in vain to wrest from the fuses these destructive weapons; driven to despair, they cast their own muskets behind them, and fought with the most heroic fortitude with the sabre and the pistol. General Fugieres, who had advanced with a numerous detachment, was first wounded in the head, and then lost an arm: the adjutant-general, Le Turq, having in vain exerted himself to induce this column to throw itself into the enemy's intrenchments, leaped into them himself; but he was alone, and death soon put a period to his career of glory. Encouraged by this event, the Mussulmans pressed on to the combat; and to so high a pitch did they carry their daring, that many of them were seen, at intervals, rushing from behind their works to earn the silver aigrette, destined for every soldier who would lay the head of an enemy at the feet of his commander. In the mean time, the French general-in-chief had brought up a battalion of the second light infantry, and another of the sixty-ninth, to storm the works occupied by the left flank of the Turks. General Lannes, who was invested with the command of this column, taking advantage of a favourable moment, when many of the Turks had sallied out of their intrenchments, for the purpose of storming the redoubt, attacked them with the greatest vigour on the left flank, and on the gorge; and the French troops, having thrown themselves into the ditch and scaled the parapet, assailed their astonished foe with fixed bayonets. General Murat, availing himself of the moment in which General Lannes entered the redoubt, ordered the cavalry to charge, and to break through the positions of the Turks, to the very ditches of the fort. This operation was executed so opportunely, and with so much vigour and effect, that at the moment the redoubt was forced, the cavalry was on the spot to cut off the enemy's retreat to the fort. The Turks, confounded and terror-struck, beheld death on every side; the infantry charged them with the bayonet; the cavalry cut them down with the sabre; no alternative but the sea remained from their merciless ene-

efforts made from the west. You will, in that case, have new opportunities of acquiring glory; and if, engaged in so many encounters, each day is marked by the death of a brave comrade, fresh soldiers will come forward, and supply the ranks of that select number, which best gives an irresistible impulse in the moment of danger, and commands victory.

(Signed) "BONAPARTE."

* General Berthier.

my. "To this sad recourse they fled as a last refuge. Ten thousand men committed themselves to the waves, amidst showers of musketry and grape-shot; never did so terrible a sight present itself; not one man was saved."* Mustapha, the commander-in-chief of the Turkish army, and only two hundred men, were made prisoners, while about two thousand of the Ottoman army lay stretched on the field of battle. All the tents and baggage, with twenty pieces of cannon, of which two had been presented to the grand seignior by the court of London, fell into the hands of the French. The loss of the French army, on this sanguinary day, is stated by their own general at one hundred and fifty men killed, and about seven hundred wounded; amongst the latter of whom was General Murat, wounded with a pistol-ball discharged by the pacha, when he was brought into the presence of Bonaparte and his *etat-major*.† The garrison of Aboukir, though so much panic-struck during the engagement as never to fire a shot, continued for four days to resist the efforts of the French army; but on the 29th of July, the troops, who never capitulate, marched out of the fort, and after laying down their arms, embraced the knees of the conqueror. On this occasion, the son of the pacha, the *kiaya*, and two thousand men, were made prisoners; and within four-and-twenty hours after the surrender of the garrison, which had been driven to the greatest extremities for want of provisions, upwards of four hundred of their number died of repletion. By this expedition, which lasted only fifteen days, the sublime porte lost an army of eighteen thousand men, and a fine park of artillery. It also

terminated the exploits of Bonaparte in Egypt, for whom fortune was preparing a new scene, and a more exalted destiny, in another quarter of the globe.

So close had been the blockade of Egypt by the British fleet, and so difficult all communication with other countries, that the affairs of Europe were but imperfectly known to General Bonaparte. Astonished at receiving intelligence, which reached him through the intervention of the enemy, of a new war, as well as of the multiplied disasters which accompanied its progress, he conceived the romantic project of returning to France, to enable her once more to triumph over her enemies, and to heal the distractions of her councils, by elevating himself to empire. Leaving a sealed packet, addressed to General Kleber, nominating that officer to the command of the army of Egypt during his absence, he embarked suddenly, on the 24th of August, with Generals Berthier, Lannes, Murat, and Andreossi, accompanied by Monge, Bertholet, and Arnaud, members of the Egyptian institute, and attended by several Mamelukes, the future guards of his person. By that singular good fortune to which Bonaparte had been so often indebted, he escaped repeatedly from the vigilance of the English cruisers, and landed first at Ajaccio, and then at Frejus. On his arrival at Paris, on the 16th of October, he was courted by all parties, and invited by the directory to a grand festival, during which it was found impossible to veil that jealousy and distrust which now began to prevail between the general and several of the members of the government. At length, after many secret interviews with Sieyes, it was determined to overturn the constitution, and introduce a form of government more consistent with the views of the ambitious chief and of the intriguing director.

* General Berthier.

† See Kendal's Notes on Denon.

CHAPTER XII.

CAMPAIGN IN HOLLAND: The Expedition under General Sir Ralph Abercrombie sails from England—Debarks at the Helder Point—Defeats the Batavian Troops, under General Daendels, and enters the Helder—Admiral Mitchel takes possession of the Dutch Fleet in the Nieuwe Diep—Surrender of the Dutch Squadron in the Texel to the British—Repulse of the Gallo-Batavian Army, in an Attack made on the British Lines—Arrival of the Second Division of the British Troops, and of the auxiliary Russian Force, in Holland—The combined Army placed under the command of the Duke of York—General but indecisive Battle at Bergen—Victory of Alkmaar—Battle of Baccum—Retreat of the Anglo-Russian Army—Failure in the political and military Objects of the Expedition, and disastrous Issue of the Campaign—**AFFAIRS OF THE EAST:** Fall of Seringapatam—Naval Campaign of 1799—Colonial Acquisitions.

WHILE the Turks, the Syrians, and the Mamelukes were contending with all their energies against the French invaders upon the plains of Palestine and Egypt, and while the Emperor and co-estates of Germany, with their Russian and Italian confederates, were waging a successful warfare against the same power in Germany, in Switzerland, and in Italy; the sovereign of Great Britain determined to aid the common cause, by despatching a powerful armament against the only ally of the French republic.

The British ministry, sensible of the importance of Holland, whether considered in the light of a foe or of a confederate, and aware that the exactions made upon the Dutch people by the government of France had become a source of disaffection, determined on fitting out a formidable expedition, for the purpose of depriving the enemy of the resources drawn from the Batavian republic, and of restoring the Prince of Orange to the rank of stadtholder and captain-general of the forces.

As an army of thirty thousand men was required upon this occasion, an application had been made to the court of St. Petersburg, and the Emperor Paul had consented to furnish Great Britain with a supply of seventeen thousand five hundred and ninety-three troops, and a detachment of six ships, five frigates, and two transports. But the emperor, like all the continental princes in their dealings with Great Britain, took care to indemnify himself from the finances of his ally, and exacted, as the terms of his co-operation, an immediate advance of upwards of one hundred thousand pounds sterling, exclusive of periodical payments of sixty-three thousand pounds monthly.

While Russia was making preparations at Cronstadt and at Revel, the hereditary Prince of Orange repaired to Lingen, on the Emme, where he assembled all the stadtholderian party capable of bearing arms, and opened an active intercourse with the partizans of his family in Holland. In the mean time, a considerable body of troops

was assembled on the coast of Kent; and it was determined that there should be two successive expeditions, the first under Sir Ralph Abercrombie, and the other under the Duke of York. The English fleet, and the first division of the army, embarked on board one hundred and fifty transports, sailed from Margate and the neighbouring ports, on the 13th of August, under the convoy of Vice-admiral Mitchel, to join Lord Duncan, who was cruising in the North Seas; and, after encountering boisterous weather for several days, the whole fleet came to anchor off the Texel roads, on the 22d. The signal was now given, and every preparation made for landing; but towards evening the wind became high, and the fleet was compelled again to weigh anchor, and put to sea in the night. This unfortunate event revealed to the enemy the intended point of debarkation, and it was not till the morning of the 26th, that the fleet could be brought to anchor off the northern extremity of the province of Holland.

Two great objects were to be embraced upon this occasion; the first was the possession of the Helder, which would not only confer upon the invaders a seaport and an arsenal, but contribute greatly to the second, which was the possession of the Batavian fleet, most of the seamen and some of the officers of which were greatly discontented with the government.

At daylight on the morning of the 27th, the troops began to disembark to the southwest of the Helder point, and during the morning the bomb vessels, sloops, and gun-brigs, being stationed so as to open a well-directed fire, scoured the beach, and prevented all opposition. Although no resistance was made to the landing of the troops, yet no sooner had the first division begun to move forward, than they were attacked, near Callanstoog, by a body of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, under the command of General Daendels, an officer of some experience, and a determined enemy of the house of Orange. A warm but irregular action ensued, which lasted from five

o'clock in the morning until three in the afternoon, during which, repeated attempts were made to dislodge the right of the British, now posted on a ridge of sand-hills, stretching along the coast from north to south, and incapable of forming more than one battalion in line of battle; but the narrowness of the position was, on the whole, favourable to troops entirely destitute of horse and artillery, so that the enemy, instead of being able to make any impression, were at length obliged to retire to another position, two leagues in the rear.

Encouraged by this success, General Abercrombie determined immediately to attack the Helder, although occupied by two thousand troops. The brigades commanded by Major-general Moore and Burrard were accordingly destined for this undertaking, and had received orders to hold themselves in readiness; but about eight o'clock on the evening of the 28th, the Dutch ships, which had anchored in the Mars Diep, got under way, and the garrison was withdrawn. Nor was Vice-admiral Mitchel, who held the command in the absence of Lord Duncan, inactive upon this occasion; for he found means to open a direct communication with the Dutch fleet, and on the 28th obtained possession of seven ships of war in the Nieuwe Diep, and about thirteen Indiamen and transports.*

Having shipped pilots at the Helder, the British admiral afterwards got under sail with his squadron, consisting of nine men-of-war and five frigates, for the purpose of reducing the remainder of the Dutch fleet, which he expressed his determination to follow to the walls of Amsterdam, unless they surrendered to the British flag, or capitulated for the Prince of Orange. Accordingly, at five o'clock in the morning of the 30th, the line of battle being formed, orders were given to prepare for action,† and notwith-

standing two ships and a frigate ran on shore, the English passed the Helder Point and Mars Diep, and continued their course along the Texel in the channel that leads to the Vleiter, the Dutch being then at anchor at the Red Buoy. Admiral Mitchel now sent Captain Reinnee with a summons to Rear-admiral Storey, the Batavian commander,* which was in some measure anticipated by the arrival of two Dutch officers, at the earnest request of whom, the British squadron was anchored within sight of, and at a short distance from the enemy. In about an hour afterwards, the fleet, which had mutinied against its officers and in favour of the Orange party, was reluctantly surrendered to Admiral Mitchel by the Dutch commander.†

The surrender of the Dutch fleet having

* Correspondence between the British and Batavian admirals.

Iris, under sail, in line of battle, Aug. 30th, 1799.

"I desire you will instantly hoist the flag of his Serene Highness the Prince of Orange; if you do, you will be immediately considered friends of the King of Great Britain, my most gracious sovereign; otherwise take the consequences. Painful it will be to me for the loss of blood it will occasion, but the guilt will be on your own head.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) "ANDREW MITCHEL."

Vice-admiral and Commander-in-chief of his Majesty's ships employed on the present expedition.

To Rear-admiral Storey, or the Commander-in-chief of the Dutch squadron.

ANSWER.

On board the Washington, anchored under the Vleiter, Aug. 30.

"ADMIRAL.—Neither your superiority, nor the threat that the spilling of human blood should be laid to my account, could prevent me showing you to the last moment what I could do for my sovereign, whom I acknowledge to be no other than the Batavian people and their representatives, when your prince's and the Orange flag have obtained their end. The traitors whom I commanded refused to fight; and nothing remains to me and my brave officers but vain rage and the dreadful reflection of our present situation: I therefore deliver over to you the fleet which I command. From this moment, it is your obligation to provide for the safety of my officers, and the few brave men who are on board the Batavian ships, as I declare myself and my officers prisoners of war, and remain to be considered as such.

"I am, with respect,

"S. STOREY."

To Admiral Mitchel, commanding his Britannic Majesty's squadron in the Texel.

† *List of the Dutch squadron taken possession of in the Texel, by Vice-admiral Mitchel, Aug. 30, 1799.*

* *List of the Dutch vessels taken possession of by the English in the Nieuwe Diep, Aug. 28th, 1799.*

Ships	Names	Ships	Names
Broederschap	54	Venus	24
Veswagting	64	Dalk	24
Hector	44	Minerva	24

And the Helden, of 32 guns.

† *British line of battle on the 30th of August.*

	Names	Names	Names
Glatton	Capt. James Cobb	54	343
Romney	Capt. John Lawford	50	343
Iris	{ Vice-adm. Mitchel } { Capt. Jas. Houghton }	50	343
Veteran	Capt. A. C. Dickson	64	491
Ardent	Capt. T. Berry	64	491
Belliquier	Capt. R. Bulsteel	64	491
Monmouth	Capt. George Hart	64	491
Overysel	Capt. J. Bazeley	64	491
Mistiflof	Capt. M. Moller	66	672

Melpomene, Latona, Shannon, Juno, and Lutine, frigates

	Names	Names	Names
Washington (Admiral's ship)	74	Berchermer	54
Guelderland	68	Batavier	54
Adm. de Ruyter	68	Amphitrite	44
Utrecht	68	Mars	44
Cerberus	68	Ambuscade	32
Leyden	68	Galatea	16

occasioned great consternation throughout all the provinces of Holland, the president of the Batavian directory repaired to the legislative assembly, and delivered an animated and animating speech upon this occasion, in which he expressed his indignation at "so infamous a treason."

"Has the Batavian people," exclaimed he, "so long cherished those monsters, in order that they should at last be betrayed by them! May the enemy always receive such vile wretches, whom we do not acknowledge either as Dutchmen or as fellow-citizens! May the punishment of the crime fall upon the heads of those who were the authors of it! Vengeance will assuredly overtake them in due time. Meanwhile, my fellow-citizens," added he, "deeply as this stroke may be felt by every patriotic heart, it ought not to render us dejected: we know the duties which we owe to our country and the people; these we will fulfil; and sooner shall the land of our forefathers, and the soil on which we stand, be converted into a heap of ruins, than the enemy triumph over our firmness. The Batavian soldiers, united with our French brethren, at this moment fighting in defence of their country's liberties, will soon prove that generous blood boils in their veins. On these our expectations rest, and may God assist them!"

Nor was their ally, who appeared hitherto to have neglected them, any longer idle; for an army of observation, lately formed on their frontiers, received orders to march; and General Brune, a soldier of fortune, and a pupil from the school of Bonaparte, being appointed commander-in-chief, published the following short but energetic address:—

"Magistrates of the Batavian republic! Behold the shades of Van Tromp, De Witt, De Ruyter, and Barnevele, burst through their sacred tombs, that you may be animated by their spirit, and denounce death against the traitors to their country! Be on your guard respecting the emigrants; oppose the impious Orange faction; unite with the people, and overwhelm the English."

While the Dutch and the French authorities were thus exerting themselves, the British army, which had hitherto occupied the sand-hills, advanced, on the 1st of September, and assumed a position with the right towards Petten, on the German ocean, and the left on the Oude Sluys, on the Zuyder Zee. By this evolution, a fertile country was open to the invaders, while the canal of Zuyper, immediately in front, contributed greatly to strengthen their position, and enabled them to remain on the defensive until the arrival of additional forces.

The Batavian government, having collected a considerable force in front of the British lines, determined upon an attack, which was commenced at daybreak on the 10th, on the centre and right, from St. Marten's to Petten, in three columns, with a force amounting to twelve thousand men. The column on the right, composed of

Dutch troops, under the command of General Daendels, directed its attack against the village of St. Martin; the centre, under General de Monceau, consisting of troops of the same nation, marched against the British at Crabbendam and Zuyper Sluys; while the left column, under the direction of General Brune, composed of French soldiers, advanced against the position occupied by Major-general Burrard. The advance, particularly on the left and centre, was made with great intrepidity; but although two of the detachments had penetrated upon this occasion within a few yards of the positions occupied by the British, yet they experienced a degree of resistance that reflected great honour on the army; and about ten o'clock they were forced to retire to their former position, with a loss of from eight hundred to one thousand men, besides one piece of cannon and a considerable quantity of military stores, while the loss of the English did not exceed two hundred. Major-general Moore, who commanded the right on this occasion, and received a flesh-wound during the action, exhibited his usual spirit and judgment; Colonel Spencer also defended the village of St. Martin with distinguished gallantry; while Lieutenant-colonel Smyth, who commanded two battalions of the twentieth, stationed near Crabbendam and Zuyper Sluys, though the blood was flowing in a copious stream from a wound in his leg, entreating his regiment to "remember Minden," led them on to a charge with the bayonet, and completed the rout of the foe.

The aspect of affairs being now deemed peculiarly auspicious, the second division of troops, consisting of three brigades, was embarked, and the Duke of York proceeded to Holland to assume the command of the Anglo-Russian army. Speedily after his arrival at the Helder, on the 13th of September, he had the satisfaction to witness the landing of the Russian auxiliary troops, consisting of between seventeen and eighteen thousand effective men, under General D'Hermann; he also found the Hereditary Prince of Orange collecting and forming the deserters from the Batavian troops, as well as the volunteers from the Dutch ships, into regular battalions.

The British field-marshal, now finding himself placed at the head of thirty-six thousand effective troops, determined to embrace the first opportunity to make an attack upon the whole of the enemy's positions, and orders were accordingly issued for that purpose. After the necessary arrangements, the army moved forward in four columns, through a country which in every direction presented the most formi-

dable obstacles; being cut and intersected with wet ditches and deep canals, while the bridges were all removed, and the roads either rendered impassable, or obstructed by means of *abaties*, consisting of felled trees, half interred in the earth, and placed in a horizontal position, so as to present a nearly impenetrable barrier. In addition to these obstructions, the enemy was strongly posted on the heights of Camperduyne, Walmenhuysen, Schoreldam, and along the high sand-hills, which extend from the sea in front of Petten to the town of Bergen, while several of the intermediate villages were strengthened by means of intrenchments.

The column under Lieutenant-general D'Hermann commenced an attack about three o'clock in the morning of the 19th of September, and by eight o'clock in the morning had succeeded so far as to be in possession of Bergen; but finding the place abandoned, they relaxed their efforts, and, according to their custom in taking towns by storm, gave themselves up to pillage. The vigilant enemy instantly seized this opportunity to retrieve the day. Rallying his broken battalions under cover of the woods, and availing himself of the assistance of a seasonable reinforcement drawn from Alkmaar, he attacked the dispersed Russians at different points with so much impetuosity and effect, that, notwithstanding the utmost exertions of their officers, and the natural courage of the men, they were compelled to retire in disorder from Bergen to Schorel, with the loss of Lieutenant-general D'Hermann and Tcherchekoff, who were both made prisoners, and the latter mortally wounded. The failure of this detachment decided the fate of the action; for, although Lieutenant-general Dundas succeeded in his attack on the village of Walmenhuysen, while Sir James Pulteney stormed and carried Oude Carspel, at the head of the Lange Dyke, and Sir Ralph Abercrombie captured Hoorne, without opposition, nearly at the same time, yet the troops, thus victorious on every other point, were recalled, and the army, in consequence of one partial failure, was under the necessity of resuming its former position. The capture of sixty officers, and upwards of three thousand men, with the destruction of sixteen pieces of the enemy's artillery, afforded some consolation for the adverse events of the day; but, as all equivocal victories may be considered as so many defeats on the part of an invading army, this upon the whole proved a disastrous attack, and rather tended to inspire the enemy with confidence, than to deprive him of hope.

His royal highness the commander-in-

chief determined to resume offensive operations with as little delay as the inclemency of the weather and the difficulties of the country would admit. After the expedition had been delayed some days, the army was once more put in motion, and, on the 2d of October, an attack was made on the whole of the enemy's line. The troops were again divided into four columns, under Generals Abercrombie, D'Essen, Dundas, and Pulteney; and the plan was so combined as to enable the principal corps to communicate with each other by means of intermediate detachments.*

At half-past six o'clock in the morning, the engagement commenced by Colonel Macdonald's reserve, which carried a redoubt in front of the village of Campe; while the main body of the first column, conducted by Sir Ralph Abercrombie, marched by the margin of the tide towards Egmont-op-Zee, where, in the after-part of the day, the hostile armies were to decide the fate of the battle. The road being thus cleared on the right, the centre column ascended the sand-hills at Campe, where they made a vigorous attack upon the enemy, and carried the heights of Schorel. The enemy still continued to keep up a heavy cannonade between Schorel and Schoreldam, till the Russian column, supported by Major-general Burrard's brigade, advanced upon their position, and took possession of Schoreldam. At this juncture, the commander-in-chief, perceiving that the corps on the sand-hills were unequally engaged, immediately ordered the brigade under Lord Chatham to advance from the plain to their support. This seasonable movement was executed with the

* The force and arrangement of the columns were as follows:—

Field-marshal his royal highness the Duke of York, Commander-in-chief.

FIRST COLUMN, on the right—Three brigades, and the reserve of infantry of Major-general D'Oyley, Moore, the Earl of Cavan, and Colonel Macdonald; nine squadrons of light dragoons, under the command of Lord Paget; and one troop of horse artillery. Commanded by General Sir Ralph Abercrombie.

SECOND COLUMN, centre—Ten battalions of Russian infantry; three troops of hussars and cossacks; artillery. Commanded by Major-general D'Essen.

THIRD COLUMN, centre—Three brigades of infantry, of Major-general the Earl of Chatham, Coote, and Burrard; one squadron of the 11th light dragoons; artillery. Commanded by Lieutenant-general Dundas.

FOURTH COLUMN, on the left—Three brigades of infantry, of Major-general his royal highness Prince William, Manners, and Don; two battalions of Russians; and two squadrons of the 16th light dragoons; artillery. Commanded by Lieutenant-general Sir James Pulteney.

happiest effect, and by outflanking the enemy, obliged them to abandon the range of sand-hills, and to take shelter in the almost impervious woods that lined their eastern border. The enemy, having rallied his force, took up a strong position at Bergen, from which it was absolutely necessary to dislodge him. With this view a general charge was ordered, which was led by the 29th regiment, and pushed with so much vigour and effect by the whole line, as to place the British and Russian force in possession of the whole range of sand-hills. In the midst of this arduous struggle in the neighbourhood of Bergen, the first column of the British, under General Abercrombie, marched with little opposition to within a mile of Egmont-op-Zee, where the enemy had posted on the hills a large body of cavalry and infantry, with a determination to resist their further progress. Major-general Moore's brigade, led on by that gallant officer, charged the enemy's strong position, but the push of the British bayonet was received with firmness, and returned by a counter-charge. The contest was maintained with undiminished fury till the close of day, and the field was covered with the slain. The 92d regiment distinguished itself where all was brave, and suffered severely. Its heroic colonel, the Marquis of Huntley, was struck with a rifle-shot in the shoulder; and Major-general Moore, after receiving two wounds, was compelled reluctantly to quit the field. But it was to the inspiring example and the judicious direction of Sir Ralph Abercrombie that this brave column owed its success; and who, though two horses were shot under him, seemed wholly insensible of danger. The shades of night now began to prevail, when the enemy, determining to make one more effort to retrieve the fortune of the day, advanced with his chasseurs in the face of the British column, and charged the horse artillery with so much impetuosity as to cut down several of the troops, and to carry off two guns in triumph. But this success was of short duration; for several squadrons of the 7th and 11th dragoons, with Lord Paget at their head, suddenly issuing from a recess between two sand-hills, fell upon the cavalry of the enemy, who, incapable of sustaining the shock, rushed into the sea to avoid the British sabres. The rout now became complete, but a small proportion of the enemy, favoured by the approaching darkness, effected their escape, leaving their prize cannon behind. About sunset, the reserve, under Colonel Macdonald, joined the first column, to which it had been attached in the morning; upon which the enemy yielded up the well-contested

ground, and retired towards Beverwyck. The force of the enemy opposed to the combined armies in the battle of Alkmaar, was estimated at twenty-five thousand, and their loss is stated at three thousand; while the loss of the British, in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to sixteen hundred and the loss of the Russians to six hundred men.

The result of this engagement was visible the next morning, when it appeared that the enemy had, during the night, evacuated the strong positions on the Lange Dyke and the Koe Dyke, as well as the extensive range of elevated sand-hills. In the course of the succeeding day, the allies took possession of Egmont-op-Hoof, Egmont-op-Zee, and Bergen. The town of Alkmaar, the head-quarters of General Brune, and the seat of government of the state of North Holland, opened its gates, while a number of troops deserted to the standard erected by the Prince of Orange.

To improve these advantages, and to deprive the enemy of the means of recruiting his exhausted strength, the Duke of York determined to drive him from Beverwyck and Wyck-op-Zee, and to advance towards Amsterdam. The advanced posts were accordingly pushed forward, and the village of Schermerhoorn, Acher-Sloop, and Limmen, occupied on the 6th, without resistance, by the British; but the column of Russian troops, under Major-general D'Essen, in attempting to gain a height near Baccum, was at first firmly opposed, and then vigorously attacked by a strong body of the enemy's troops. Sir Ralph Abercrombie, observing the critical situation of the Russians, marched his column to their support; the enemy at the same time succouring his advanced corps by fresh forces; the action, though not intended to be fought that day, soon became general along the whole line, from Limmen to the ocean, and was contested on both sides with the most determined resolution. About two o'clock in the afternoon, the right and centre of the allied army began to lose ground, and to retire upon the villages of Egmont, where they made a determined stand, and with the effective co-operation of the brigade under Major-general Coote, held the enemy in check during the whole day. Evening now set in, accompanied with deluges of rain, yet still the engagement continued, with varied success and unavailing obstinacy. Even the darkness of the night, combined with the severity of the weather, was found insufficient to terminate the combat. The fire of the small arms was incessant, and the vivid flashes, running along the undulating line of the hills, extended in various directions

into the plain ; while the gloom of the horizon was at intervals dispelled by the flame of the cannon and the illuminated train of the shells. About ten o'clock at night, the firing entirely ceased, and the Anglo-Russian troops remained in undisturbed possession of the field ;* the engagement however proved undecided, and the enemy, who soon afterwards received a reinforcement of six thousand troops, maintained their position between Beverwyck and Wyck-op-Zee.

The allied army now found itself placed in a situation so critical as to require the greatest military talents, united with the most mature experience, to direct its future operations. Directly opposite, lay the enemy, in a position almost impregnable, and rendered confident by the accession of strength just received. A naked, barren, and exhausted country, thinly studded with a few ruined villages, scarcely affording shelter for the wounded, extended all around. The right wing of the allied army was indeed protected by the ocean ; but a considerable body of troops, led by an active and resolute commander, threatened the left, and occupied the almost inaccessible position of Purmerend. To these local obstacles, were superadded others, still more formidable. The weather had set in, since the evening of the 6th of October, with increased inclemency ; and the roads were so entirely broken up, that it was with extreme difficulty the urgent necessities of the troops could be supplied ; to these complicated evils, the whole army lay exposed on the unsheltered sand-hills of North Holland—their arms and ammunition rendered unfit for use, and their tents and clothing continually drenched with torrents of rain. Nor did the stadtholderian party show any disposition to support the armies engaged in fighting their battles, but on the contrary remained inactive, and apparently indifferent to the success of the common cause.

After weighing all these considerations, and consulting with the lieutenant-general of his army, his royal highness the Duke of York very prudently gave orders to withdraw the forces from their advanced position, which was accordingly effected, to the great regret of the troops, who were unacquainted with some of the principal difficulties that opposed their career.

About seven o'clock in the evening of the 7th of October, the night being extremely dark, and the rain descending in cataracts, a very unexpected order was issued for the troops to assemble, and about ten o'clock

at night the whole army was in full retreat towards Pellen and Alkmaar. By this sudden and decided measure, the retreat was effected, in the face of a vigilant and active foe, without disorder or immediate pursuit, and with little comparative loss.

It now appeared advisable to return to England ; but as the troops could not be embarked in the face of a superior army without considerable loss, the commander-in-chief, in conjunction with the vice-admiral, entered into a negotiation with General Brune, in consequence of which an armistice was at length agreed upon. It was stipulated upon this occasion, that the combined English and Russian army should evacuate the territories of the Batavian republic by the 30th of November ; that the Dutch admiral, De Winter, should be considered as exchanged ; that the mounted batteries at the Helder should be restored in their present state ; that "eight thousand prisoners of war, French and Batavians, taken before the present campaign, and now detained in England, should be restored without conditions to their respective countries ;" and finally, that Major-general Knox should remain with the French to guarantee the execution of this convention.

These terms, although justified by the critical situation of the troops, were doubtless humiliating ; but the proposition of restoring the Batavian fleet, surrendered by Admiral Storey, which was at first advanced by General Brune, was received with just indignation ; and his royal highness the Duke of York threatened, in case of perseverance in this point, to cut the sea-dykes, and inundate the whole country.

Thus ended the expedition against Holland, whence so many advantages had been anticipated, and so much benefit augured ; which, instead of annihilating the influence of France—restoring the independence of the Dutch—and increasing the honour and glory of the British name ; confirmed the dominion of the French republic in Holland, and superadded the claims of gratitude to the pertinacity of power. But though the military and political objects of the expedition failed, yet the naval department of the enterprise was crowned with complete success, and a hostile fleet, the last remnant of the maritime power of a nation which once rivalled Great Britain on the ocean, was drawn from a position where it was capable of exciting alarm, and added to the already gigantic force of the British navy.

To complete the military history of this eventful year, the hostile operations of the short but decisive campaign in the Mysore country still remain to be recorded. From

* Narrative of the Expedition to Holland in 1799, by E. Walsh, M. D.

the time that peace was concluded between Lord Cornwallis and Tippoo Saib, the Sultan of Mysore, in the year 1792, the affairs of India had remained in a kind of doubtful and suspicious tranquillity. The supposed lenity of the Marquis Cornwallis was blamed by many who were intimately connected with India: and, on the other hand, it was not probable that a prince of the pride and spirit of Tippoo could submit without reluctance to a treaty so inglorious to an independent monarch. Two great principles of action appear to have influenced the life and fortune of the King of Mysore: the one a flaming zeal, bordering on fanaticism, for the religion of Mahomet; the other, a hatred to the English, whom he affected to denominate polytheists, and considered as a mercenary band of commercial spoilers, who, by uniting intrigue with trade, and the profession of arms with an inordinate thirst for dominion, had obtained an undue and alarming preponderance in the east. Not content with augmenting his army, and collecting able officers, wherever they could be found, he corresponded with all the neighbouring courts, and solicited by turns every Mahometan power in Asia to enter into a holy war, for the extirpation of his enemies, whom he considered as the enemies of all true believers. Nor was he inattentive to the affairs of Europe; for he had sent a splendid embassy to Louis XVI., and now courted the friendship of the French republic, with as much assiduity as he had formerly sought that of the monarch. In a despatch to the executive directory of France, written from Seringapatam, and dated on the 2d of April, 1797, he announced his intention to nominate ambassadors, in order to testify his friendship to the government of France; and in a letter of the same date, addressed to the representatives of the people residing in the isles of France and Bourbon, he says, "I perceive it is now the moment for me to revive the friendship which I have always entertained for your nation: I acknowledge the sublimity of your constitution; and as a proof of my sincerity, I propose to your nation and to you a treaty of alliance and fraternity, which shall be for ever indissoluble, and shall be founded on republican principles of sincerity and good faith. If you will assist me, in a short time not an Englishman shall remain in India; the springs which I have touched have put all India in motion."*

The French government, strongly impressed with the importance of extending their influence in the east, and of shaking the power of the British in that quarter,

did not fail to return suitable answers to these ardent expressions of attachment; and General Bonaparte, on his arrival at Cairo, addressed to the sultan, through the intervention of the Cherif of Mecca, a letter expressed in the following terms: "You have," said the French general, "already been informed of my arrival on the borders of the Red Sea, with an innumerable and invincible army, full of desire to deliver you from the iron yoke of England. I eagerly embrace this opportunity of testifying to you the desire I have of being informed by you, by the way of Muscat and Mecca, as to your political situation: I should even wish that you would send some intelligent and confidential person to Suez, or to Cairo, with whom I may confer. May the Almighty increase your power, and destroy your enemies!"

No sooner had the intelligence of the arrival of a French army in Egypt reached Bengal, than the Earl of Mornington (now Marquis of Wellesley), the governor-general, gave orders to assemble an army on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel; and while preparations were making for war, his lordship used his utmost exertions to accommodate the differences by negotiation; but the sultan met all his lordship's proposals either with insulting silence, or with hollow and perfidious professions of friendship.

At length, a junction having been effected between the Madras army, under Major-general Harris, consisting of thirty-one thousand men, and that of Bombay, under General Stuart, consisting of six thousand, the capital of the Mysore became the immediate object of their joint attack. The Nizam, though he had so recently given umbrage to the English government by the employment of a numerous body of European troops, deemed it prudent to take the field with a contingent of about twelve thousand troops, on the first summons of his British ally; but Tippoo, unable to procure either the expected assistance of Zemaun Shah from the north of India, or that of the French from Egypt, after wasting the country around, and defending the approaches to Seringapatam, found himself reduced to the necessity of standing a siege, without any other auxiliary aid than about four hundred volunteers from the Isle of France.

On the 5th of April, the army under General Harris, after carrying the hill-forts of Neeldurgum and Anchitty, took up its ground opposite the west face of the fort of Seringapatam, at the distance of three thousand five hundred yards. On the 9th, the British general received a letter from Tippoo, in which he declared, "that he adhered firmly to the treaties, and demand-

* See Wood's Review of the War in Mysore.

ed the reason of the advance of the English army, and of the occurrence of hostilities?" To this the general briefly replied by referring to the letters which had been addressed to the sultan by the governor-general. The preparations for the siege were still continued with unremitting activity, and on the 22d, the Bombay army was attacked at all its posts by six thousand of the enemy's infantry, and Lalley's corps of Frenchmen, who behaved with their accustomed gallantry; but the assailants were repulsed on all sides, and compelled to retire into the fort with a loss of six hundred men. Previous to this attack, General Harris had received, on the night of the 20th, an overture of peace from the sultan, which was answered at noon on the 22d, by sending a draft of the preliminaries. The terms proposed to Tippoo were, "to cede half of his territories in perpetuity to Great Britain and her Asiatic allies; to pay two crores of rupees; to renounce the alliance of the French for ever; to dismiss every native of France from his service; to receive ambassadors from each of the allies; and to give as hostages four of his sons and four of his principal officers." To these humiliating proposals, the sultan condescended not at first to return an answer, but on the 28th he acknowledged the receipt of the proposals transmitted by General Harris, and stated, "that the points in question were weighty and important, and without the intervention of ambassadors could not be brought to a conclusion; and therefore that he was about to send two officers, who would explain themselves personally to him." The general, considering this as an expedient to gain time, briefly replied by referring to the terms forwarded on the 22d, as the only conditions on which he would negotiate.

The works being now complete, the trenches were opened, and on the 2d of May, the artillery began to batter in breach. On the evening of the succeeding day, the breach was considered as practicable, and orders were issued for storming the place in the course of the succeeding afternoon. On this occasion, a new stratagem of war was resorted to, and it was determined to make the assault during the heat of the day, as an operation of this kind was not likely to be expected at such a period, when the garrison would not only be less prepared, but less able to oppose an efficacious resistance. The troops intended to be employed on this occasion, amounting to four thousand in number, were accordingly stationed in the trenches early in the morning of the 4th, to avoid suspicion; and at one o'clock in the afternoon, they

moved forward under Major-general Baird.* Having crossed the rocky bed of the Caverry, notwithstanding a heavy fire from the city, the glacis and ditch were passed, after which the besiegers immediately ascended the breaches in the *fausse braye* rampart of the fort, surmounting every difficulty with the most singular gallantry. The noise and alarm occasioned by this unexpected assault at length pierced the residence of the sultan. That prince, who had a little time before seen the guards relieved, after surveying the British position with a glass, and concluding, because nothing unusual had occurred, that the attack was deferred, returned to his family. Aroused at length by the shouts of his own troops, and the firing of the artillery and musketry, he sallied out, accompanied by some of his followers, and taking his station at one of the gates, along with Syed Scheb, Meer Saduf, Syed Gofa, and a number of other chiefs, he attempted, when too late, to stop the progress of a soldiery, inflamed with the hope of spoil, and fearless of danger. After the assailants, who divided their forces for the purpose of clearing the ramparts, had overcome all opposition in every other quarter, the palace of the monarch still held out.

A flag of truce was soon afterwards sent to the palace of the sultan, offering him and his friends protection on unconditional surrender; but Major Allan, on whom the execution of this commission devolved, could nowhere meet with Tippoo. The young princes, his sons, surrendered in the mean time to General Baird, under the strongest assurances of protection. After much entreaty, enforced even by threats, the gentlemen who had entered the palace were informed by the killedar, an officer of great trust, that the sultan was not there, but that he had received a mortal wound during the assault, and lay in the gateway on the north face of the fort. There, among heaps of slain, the body of the unfortunate monarch was found covered with wounds. With a Roman spirit, the Sultan of Mysore disdained to grace the tri-

* Those selected for the assault consisted of

1. Ten flank companies of Europeans;
2. Twelfth, thirty-third, seventy-third, and seventy-fourth regiments;
3. Three corps of grenadier sepoys, selected from the troops of the three presidencies;
4. Two hundred of the Nizam's troops;
5. One hundred men belonging to the artillery and pioneers;

Supported in trenches by the battalion companies of the regiment of Meuron, and four battalions of Madras sepoys.

Colonel Sherbrooke, and Lieutenant-colonels Dunlop, Dalrymple, Gardiner and Mignan, commanded the flank companies.

umph of his adversaries; and showed his people, that he did not basely seek his personal safety in the recesses of his palace, while they were endeavouring bravely but unsuccessfully to support his throne from the battlements of his capital.*

The capture of Seringapatam afforded a rich booty to the troops, who effected this important conquest with a loss not exceeding four hundred men in killed and wounded; and a scheme of partition was promulgated soon afterwards, dividing the domi-

nions of the late sultan into four parts of unequal extent, one of which, and that the principal, including the capital and the port of Magalore, was annexed to the dominions of the East India Company; a second was given to the Nizam; a third, of small extent, to the Mahrattas; and for the fourth, a descendant of the ancient rajahs of Mysore was sought out, and placed upon the throne; while Futteh Hyder, Ardul Khalic, and the other sons of the deceased monarch, were taken under "the munificent protection" of the company, and surrounded with women, troops, and every thing that can contribute to inspire an idea of Asiatic magnificence.

In another hemisphere, the British arms were equally successful, and the flourishing settlement of Surinam was wrested from the hands of the Dutch. A body of troops having been collected in the islands of Grenada, St. Lucie, and Martinico, by Lieutenant-general Trigge, were embarked soon afterwards on board a small squadron, consisting of two line-of-battle ships and five frigates, under the command of Vice-admiral Lord Hugh Seymour. On their arrival off the mouth of the river Surinam, Governor Frederici, after some hesitation, capitulated to the British force, and on the 20th of August, this flourishing and extensive settlement was obtained by Great Britain without firing a gun.

The British navy, during the whole of this year, continued to display its wonted zeal and accustomed superiority; while the names of St. Vincent, Nelson, Smith, and Mitchel, made the English flag respected in Syria, Egypt, the Mediterranean, on the coast of Spain, and in the ports and shallow seas of Holland. So uninterrupted was the success of the British arms on her favourite element, that, although England did not lose a single vessel of war in the course of this year, not less than twenty frigates, corvettes, and luggers, belonging to France, and ten to Spain, were either taken or run on shore. The Dutch navy may be said to have been annihilated. In addition to the ships of war seized by Admiral Mitchel in the Nieuve Diep and the Texel, the Batavian republic lost a forty gun ship, the Hertzhog Van Brunswick, in the straits of Sunda; and as the sailors were obviously disaffected to the new government, all further exertions by sea on the part of that power were wholly interdicted.

* Tippoos SAIB.—The character of this extraordinary man is differently represented, as opposite parties and interests have touched the portrait; while the difference of manners, the distance of the scene, and the obscurity which involves an oriental court, render it almost impossible to ascertain the truth. He was born about the year 1749, and was in stature about five feet eight inches. His person was corpulent, his neck short, and his limbs small, particularly his feet and hands. His complexion was brown, his eyes large and full, his eyebrows small and arched, his nose aquiline; and all agree, that in his countenance there was an expression of dignity. Hyder Ally, the father of Tipoo, conscious of his own disadvantages from a neglected education, had been extremely solicitous, it is said, for the accomplishment of his son, who read and spoke more than one of the European languages. He was fond both of reading and writing, and latterly, it appears, kept a journal of every occurrence. In his youth, and during the lifetime of his father, he was held in universal esteem; but after his accession to the throne, he is charged with cruelty and caprice. Despotism is undoubtedly a wretched corruptor of the human heart; and perhaps we form a false estimate, when we measure the characters of eastern monarchs by the principles of civilized and Christian states. In his dress he was plain, in his manners unaffected; he was fond of horsemanship, and all the manly exercises, and despised those who used carriages and palanquins. Indeed, in most of his habits, he appears to have been of a severe cast of character; he was rigidly exact in the punishment of drunkenness and other vices, and his religion, which was tinged with the same character, approached to superstition. In his political government, he is charged with caprice; and yet the circumstance that gave most disgust to men of rank, that of raising persons from low stations to offices of importance, might proceed from the laudable desire of promoting and rewarding merit. He is supposed to have acted under the insatuated persuasion that Seringapatam was impregnable; yet it is allowed, that, on examining the works on the morning of the assault, he was undeceived, though he still rejected every idea of surrendering his capital, and reconciled himself to the resolution of perishing under its ruins. On the whole, he was a great, though perhaps not a good prince; a false religion, and false notions of human rights and liberties, never fail to deprave the heart.

CHAPTER XIII.

BRITISH HISTORY: Opening of the Session of Parliament of 1798-9—Rejection of Mr. Tierney's Motion for Peace—Renewal of the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act—Introduction of a Bill for imposing a Tax upon Income—Annual Supplies—Message from the King relating to Ireland—Animated Discussion on the Subject of a Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland—Vehement Debates in the Irish House of Commons—State of the Public Feeling in Ireland—Mr. Pitt's Resolutions, containing Overtures of Union—Carried in the British Parliament—Joint Address of the two Houses to his Majesty—Motion for the Abolition of the Slave-trade lost—India Affairs—Prorogation of Parliament.

AMIDST the various calamities in which the wars of the French revolution had involved the continental states of Europe, it was the happiness of this country, surrounded by her guardian ocean, and defended by the prowess of her invincible navy, to escape all the heartrending scenes of actual war, and to feel its influence chiefly or alone in her trade and finance.

On the opening of the parliamentary session of 1798-9, on the 20th of November, the benches formerly occupied by the minority appeared still deserted; but as little could be effected at the full flood of ministerial power and influence, either by their counsel or their opposition, the absence of these statesmen was the less to be regretted.

The speech from the throne spoke with just exultation of the late splendid triumphs of our navy, under Lord Nelson, "which had turned an extravagant enterprise to the confusion of its authors, and afforded an opening which might lead to the general deliverance of Europe. The magnanimity of the Emperor of Russia, and the vigour of the Ottoman Porte, had shown that these powers were impressed with a just sense of the present crisis, and their example would be an encouragement to other states, to adopt that spirited line of conduct which alone was consistent with security and honour. At home, our preparations, and the zeal of all ranks of people, had deterred the enemy from attempting an invasion of our coasts: and in Ireland, the rebellion had been repressed, while the views of ill-minded people, who had planned the subversion of our constitution, had been fully detected and exposed. Under the pressure of protracted warfare, it was a great satisfaction to observe that the produce of the public revenue had been fully adequate to the increase of our public expenditure: the national credit had been improved, and commerce had flourished in a degree unknown." "Our situation," said his majesty, in conclusion, "renders the continuance of heavy expenses indispensable, but the state of our resources, and the public spirit, will

furnish the necessary supplies without essential inconvenience to the people, and with as little addition as possible to the burdens of the state. We have surmounted great difficulties; our perseverance (in a just cause) has been rewarded with success; and our situation in a period of danger, compared with that of other countries, proves that the security of the British nation depends, under Providence, on its own constancy and vigour."

The address, moved in the lords by the Earl of Darnley, and seconded by Lord Craven, was animadverted upon by the Marquis of Lansdowne, who exhorted the ministers of the crown "to draw from these victories, so justly celebrated, the advantages they were calculated to secure, and to make them the means of obtaining that most desirable of all objects, a safe and honourable peace. Instead of this, the continuance of war was announced, and our new alliances exulted in. But could we place any reliance on such a league as that which now subsisted with Russia and the Porte? Was it upon such allies that we could depend for a vigorous co-operation? It would be wise to lay aside all idle plans of conquest; a spirit of moderation and disinterestedness should govern our conduct; the true dignity of the nation would be consulted in making such concessions as were necessary for the restoration of the general tranquillity, at the moment of gratulation and victory."

Lord Holland observed, "that if the consequence of the victories we had gained were to be a revival of the horrors of war, England had little cause to rejoice. The speech from the throne held forth the probable success of a powerful confederacy against France. We had heard such language before; but we had only seen devastations extended over the surface of the globe, with less and less prospect of procuring tranquillity. He felt the difficulty of succeeding, in the hour of victory, to moderate desire. He knew that it was an unwelcome task to address their lordships on the subject of peace; but a sense of public duty influenced his conduct, and he

perfectly coincided in opinion with his noble friend, that the greatest victories were useless, unless employed to obtain the legitimate end of war."

Lord Mulgrave was surprised that any Englishman should think this was a moment for proposing peace. Occupying a proud station, we ought not to forget our superiority, by renewing negotiations which presented no prospect of honourable termination. Britain stood high among the nations of Europe; she ought to invite them to combine under her auspices, to resort to her banner for protection, and to confide in her efforts for security.

Lord Grenville expressed much satisfaction in supporting the sentiments of the last noble speaker. "The powers of the continent," his lordship said, "were now willing to adopt a line of conduct suited to their interests; and was this a moment for England to show that she was actuated by little selfish politics? Instead of accelerating the fate of Europe, and abandoning the victims of French domination to their misery, it ought to be the business of Great Britain to animate their efforts, and contribute to their deliverance. It was the duty of ministers to promulgate this glorious purpose, to conciliate differences, to allay jealousies, and not, by reviving them, to prevent that co-operation which was necessary to the general safety, and so intimately connected with the true interests of the country." The question upon the address was then put and carried in the lords, as it had already been carried in the commons, without a division.

On the 11th of December Mr. Tierney moved in the house of commons,

"That it is the duty of his majesty's ministers to advise him not to enter into any alliance with foreign powers that may hinder his majesty from negotiating a peace with France, whenever she may be disposed to enter upon a fair and equitable negotiation."

This motion, which was supported by Mr. Jekyll, and resisted by Mr. Canning and Sir James Murray Pulteney, was rejected without a division.

The bill for the renewal of the habeas corpus suspension act was the next measure of importance that came under discussion: and on the second reading of this bill, which took place on the 21st of December, Mr. Courtney remarked, "that the habeas corpus act was the statute upon which the personal liberty of every Englishman depended. To the operation of that law, so justly the subject of universal panegyric, was solely owing the paramount security possessed by the natives of this island above all other nations. There were at this moment above seventy persons con-

fined in consequence of the suspension of this act. Had there not been time to bring the principal part of them to a trial? If guilty, why was not this done? Their trial and conviction would be the best reason for continuing to intrust such power to the executive government. The people confined under this suspension had been treated with unprecedented rigour and inhumanity. Desirous of obtaining some information upon the subject, he had procured an order to visit one of these state-prisons, situated in Coldbath-Fields, and generally known by the name of the Bastille. The prisoners he found were locked up in damp and dismal cells, without fire, without candle—and the only opening for the admission of light let in, at the same time, the cold and the rain. He had talked with many of the prisoners; among the rest with Colonel Despard, an officer who had been many years employed in the service of his country. Though lately removed to a different part of the prison, he had been long confined in the way now stated; and even his wife was never permitted to see him, but through an iron grate, for a few minutes at a time.* He appealed to the house whether such rigour ought to be practised, even to felons, and much less in relation to men who were deprived of the benefit of a trial; and who might, if tried, very possibly be able to prove their innocence. In the French bastille, prisoners had been treated much better than in this."

Mr. Secretary Dundas said the question before the house was, whether the bill suspending the habeas corpus act should be read a second time or not, and that the observations of the honourable gentleman

* In a subsequent stage of the bill for the renewed suspension of the habeas corpus act, Mr. Courtney produced a letter from Mrs. Despard, which was as follows:

"Some mention having been made in the newspaper reports of the house of commons, relative to the treatment of Colonel Despard, in the new prison, I think it necessary to state, that he was confined near seven months in a damp cell, not seven feet square, without fire or candle, chair, table, knife, fork, a glazed window, or even a book. I made several applications in person to Mr. Wickham, and by letter to the Duke of Portland, all to no purpose. The 20th of last month he was removed into a room with a fire, but not till his feet were ulcerated by a frost. For the truth of this statement, I appeal to the honourable Mr. Lawless and John Reeves, Esq., who visited him in prison, and at whose intercession he was removed. The jailer will bear witness that he never made any complaint of his treatment, however severe it was. This statement of facts is without the knowledge of the colonel, who has served his majesty many years, and all his family are now in the army.

(Signed) "CATHARINE DESPARD.

"Berkley Square, December, 1798."

had no earthly connexion with that question. They related merely to the good or bad conduct of a jail, and had nothing to do with the power delegated by the legislature to the executive government. The management of jails was under the care of sheriffs and magistrates; and to them the honourable gentleman, if induced by sympathy to deplore the sufferings of the seditions, should have made his complaint.

Mr. Tierney insisted that the observations of the honourable gentleman were perfectly relevant to the question. Whatever pretext of danger had induced the house to consent to the original suspension, it no longer existed. There was now no appearance of invasion, no appearance even of disaffection; and when, under the suspension contended for, a gentleman suspected of treason was treated as a felon convicted of crimes, it was a strong reason why a power so liable to abuse, and in fact so flagrantly abused, should be discontinued, unless better grounds than the house had yet heard were offered for its renewal.

Sir Francis Burdett corroborated the assertions of Mr. Tierney.

Mr. Wilberforce, on the other hand, contended, that nothing could be more satisfactory than the accounts he had heard of the situation and health of the prisoners. Many of the regulations which prevailed in this prison were recommended by the excellent Howard. Those who believed the country to be in danger ought not to relax their efforts, or deprive the executive power of the means of providing for its security. Nor should it be forgotten, that men who expose themselves to suspicion must often incur the disadvantages of guilt.

Mr. Pitt asked if this was a time to slumber, when there existed men who were hourly planning our destruction? men who never waked nor slept, nor walked abroad, without holding up to our view, as it were, a dagger streaming with blood! Ought we then to cast aside that shield which alone enabled us to defy its point?

The question was then put and carried, and the bill, which subsequently passed through its respective stages in both houses of parliament, enacted, that the suspension should continue till the 21st of May, 1799.

During the present session, one of the most important subjects of finance that ever engaged the attention of parliament, was brought under consideration. The large and continually increasing expense of the war had induced the minister, in the course of the last session of parliament, to bring forward for the sanction of the house, "a new and solid system of finance;" the principle of which was to raise within the year a large proportion of the necessary

supplies, which, aided by the operation of the sinking fund, should prevent any material addition being made to the public debt. The tax proposed for this purpose, called the triple assessment tax, was, however, found so inadequate to the purpose proposed, that the minister determined to abandon that unequal and oppressive impost, and to substitute in its stead a tax on income.

Accordingly, on Monday the 3d of December, the house having formed itself into a committee, the chancellor of the exchequer rose and said, that before he proceeded to open to the committee the very important subject to which their attention would in the course of the evening be directed, it would be proper to state, that the supplies which would be necessary for the service of the present year amounted to the sum of thirty-one millions, towards which the usual ways and means would produce six millions one hundred thousand pounds. It remained then to be considered in what way the deficiency should be raised; and here, two leading principles occurred for the guidance of the house—either to raise the whole by loan upon the old funding system, or to raise a considerable part of the supplies within the year, upon the principle adopted in the last session of parliament.

Mr. Pitt then proceeded to state his new plan of finance, which was a tax on income. The commissioners, who should be invested with the power of determining upon the rate of every one's income, should be persons of respectable situations in life, removed from any suspicion of partiality; men of integrity and independence; and in case the party was dissatisfied with the decision of these commissioners, another body of commissioners should be formed, to whom an appeal might be carried. The next point for consideration was the mode of contribution that should be adopted. Under this head, it was his intention to propose, that no income under sixty pounds a year should be called upon to contribute; and that the scale of modification up to two hundred pounds a year, as in the assessed taxes, should be introduced with restrictions. The quota which should then be called for, should amount to a full tenth of the contributor's income; the returns to be made by the person assessed, subject to the inspection of a surveyor, who should lay before the commissioners such ground of doubt as might occur to him on the fairness of the rate at which a party might have assessed himself. The party however should not be compelled to answer; his books should not be called for, nor his confidential clerks or agents examined; but if he declined to submit to the investigation of his

books, and the examination of his clerks, it should be competent for the commissioners to fix the assessment, and their decision should be final. As to the exemptions or deductions, perhaps those who had families might in certain cases be fair objects of allowance, while those who had no families might with equal justice be called upon to contribute in an increased proportion. In forming a rough estimate of the product of the proposed tax, he should state, on the authority of the board of agriculture, that forty millions of acres of land were at present in cultivation in this kingdom, the average rent of which he should estimate at twelve shillings and sixpence an acre, which would give twenty-five millions a year. In this, as in every other denomination of property, he should propose that every thing under sixty pounds a year should be exempt, and that modifications up to two hundred pounds a year should be admitted, for which he had in his calculation made a deduction of one fifth. The sums to which the tax of ten per cent. would apply would then stand thus:—

The land rental, after deducting one-fifth, he estimates at	£ 20,000,000
The tenant's rental of land, deducting two-thirds of the rack rent, he took at	6,000,000
The amount of tythes, deducting one-fifth	4,000,000
The produce of mines, canal navigations, &c. deducting one-fifth	3,000,000
The rental of houses, deducting one-fifth	5,000,000
The profits of professions	2,000,000
The rental of Scotland, taken at one-eighth that of England	5,000,000
The income of persons resident in Great Britain, drawn from possessions beyond the seas	5,000,000
The amount of annuities from the public funds, after deducting one-fifth	12,000,000
The profits of the capital employed in our foreign commerce	12,000,000
The profits on the capital employed in our domestic trade, and the profits of skill and industry	28,000,000
	£102,000,000

Upon this amount, a tax of ten per cent. would produce ten millions a year, and this was the sum he calculated to result from the measure. The house would recollect that the assessed taxes were assigned to the payment of that part of the sum raised for the service of last year, which was not made a permanent debt, and of course this new tax upon income would be substituted in the room of those assessed taxes, and would be made applicable to the same purpose. He trusted that it would not be necessary for him to go into any detail of argument to convince the committee of the advantages of the mode adopted last ses-

sion for raising a considerable part of the supplies within the year. "If," said Mr. Pitt in conclusion, "we had proved, that at the end of the sixth year of the war, unsubdued by all the exertions and sacrifices we have made, our commerce is flourishing beyond the example of any year even of peace; if our revenues are undiminished; if new means of vigour are daily presenting themselves to our grasp; if our efforts have been crowned with the most perfect success; if the public sentiment be firm, and united in the justice of the cause in which we are embarked; if every motive to exertion continue the same, and every effort we have made in the cause be a source only of exultation and pride to the heart, if, by the efficacy of these efforts, we have now the expectation of accomplishing the great object of all our sacrifices, and of all our labours; if despondency be dissipated at home and confidence created abroad, shall we not persevere in a course so fairly calculated to bring us to a happy issue?"

Mr. Tierney agreed with the right honourable the chancellor of the exchequer, that the discussion of the house on the question that now engaged their attention was not only interesting to England, but also to all Europe. By this bold measure, a tenth part of the property of England was put in requisition—a measure which the French had followed in their career of revolutionary rapine, and which the chancellor of the exchequer first condemned, and then imitated; and as a prelude to the project, a general disclosure of property must take place. Could the man who now declaimed so eloquently against the accumulation of debt, be the same person who, in the short space of five years, had added so enormously to the debt of the public? Did the minister mean to say that a life income, and an income arising from a disposable capital, were in fairness liable to the same impositions? The scale of taxation was also manifestly inadequate and unjust. If it were right that the scale should rise from sixty pounds to two hundred pounds per annum, why should it not continue to rise from two hundred upwards? The man of two hundred per annum would be deprived of a part of the comforts he possessed, while the man of twenty thousand per annum would still riot in the enjoyment of all his luxuries. To seize the tenth of a man's income, was like taking away the tenth of his stature. The overgrown in riches or in stature would not be hurt, but it would reduce those who were already diminutive to pigmies.

On the 14th of December, Mr. Pitt moved that the report on the income tax be

now taken into further consideration; on which occasion, Sir Francis Baring made some very important observations upon the commercial clauses of the bill, the justice of which, time and experience sufficiently evinced. He affirmed, that under the veil of secrecy, which covered the commercial returns, the bill would be evaded, and frauds committed, beyond any thing it was possible to conceive. But supposing the bill carried into effect, it was a tax upon industry and upon enterprise.

Mr. William Smith declared his decided approbation of the principle of raising the supplies within the year, which could alone preserve the public finances from impending ruin. But the provisions of this bill he deemed in the highest degree exceptionable. Where or on what grounds of political economy, he inquired, had it been asserted in word, or imagined in thought, or by what criterion could it be adjudged fair and honest, to tax, in an equal degree, industry and indolence? A stockholder who received five hundred pounds per annum from his capital in the funds, and a shopkeeper of small property, who by active exertions made the same sum in his business, were similarly rated! Even in the funds, proprietors of the long annuities, of perpetual annuities, and of the exchequer annuities, which expire in five years, were, by this sweeping and indiscriminate mode of taxation, placed precisely upon a level.

Sir William Pulteney said, while the habeas corpus act was suspended, we had no security for our personal liberty, and if the present bill passed, such were the inquisitorial powers vested in the commissioners, that we had no security for our property. It was hostile in its very nature to the radical principles of freedom, and made a most dangerous attack upon the vitals of our constitution.

The chancellor of the exchequer, in reply, said, it was a satisfaction to him to find that the propriety of raising a certain part of the supplies within the year had in general been conceded. If it were necessary for the efforts which we were called upon to make, if it were essential to the firm establishment of public credit, and to the future prosperity of the empire, to obtain that supply which was requisite for the vigorous prosecution of the contest; it was evident that it must be obtained by a sudden tax immediately productive. An honourable gentleman had said, that if two persons had each five hundred pounds per annum, one of whom derived his income from land, and the other from industry, they ought not both to be taxed equally at

fifty pounds: but to complain of this inequality was to complain of the distribution of property; it was complaining of the constitution of society. To attempt to remedy it would be to follow the example of that daring rabble of legislators in another country, from whom the honourable gentleman borrowed some of his political principles, and which, though he now reprobated, he still seemed inclined to follow. Mr. Pitt concluded with observing, that the consequence of this tax would be to all alike, and that whoever contributed a tenth of his income, under the bill, would have a tenth less to spend, to save, or to accumulate. The house then divided—for the further consideration of the report, 183; against it, 17—majority, 166.

In the upper house, the bill was opposed by the Duke of Bedford, and by Lords Suffolk and Holland; and defended by the Earl of Liverpool, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Grenville, and Lord Auckland. After undergoing all its amendments, the bill was passed into a law on the 18th of March, and the 5th of April, 1799, was fixed as the time for making the returns.

The amount of the whole of the supplies for 1799 was estimated at thirty-one millions, of which sum fifteen millions were to be raised by way of loan, and the produce of the income-tax was calculated at ten millions; the remaining sum was to arise from the new imposts on sugar, coffee, and stamps, aided by the recently imposed convoy-tax. One hundred and twenty thousand seamen and marines, and about two hundred and fifty thousand land forces, of different descriptions, were also this year voted by parliament.

Soon after the introduction of the bill for imposing a tax on income, the chancellor of the exchequer moved for leave to bring in a bill to enlarge the time prescribed by an act of the last session for the redemption of the land-tax, and to make certain regulations respecting ecclesiastical property, and the property devised for lives and for long terms. This measure, which seemed a necessary appendage to the act for the redemption of the land-tax, advanced through its various stages without encountering any serious opposition, and on the 15th of March the bill was read a third time and passed.

On the 22d of January, 1799, a message from the crown, touching the integrity of the empire, and involving one of the most momentous questions that was ever brought under discussion during the present long and eventful reign, was delivered to the house of commons by Mr. Secretary Dundas, expressed in the following terms:—

‘GEORGE R.

“His majesty is persuaded that the unremitting industry with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design of effecting the separation of Ireland from this kingdom, cannot fail to engage the particular attention of parliament, and his majesty recommends it to this house to consider of the most effectual means of finally defeating this design, by disposing the parliaments of both kingdoms to provide, in the manner which they shall judge most expedient, for settling such a complete and final adjustment, as may best tend to improve and perpetuate a connexion essential to their common security, and consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire.”

The late rebellion in Ireland seemed to point out the necessity of adopting a great political measure, which had frequently been recommended to the ministry by writers on political economy, as well as by various parliamentary speakers, without making any permanent impression. But the risk of a revival of popular commotions, and the apprehensions of the designs of an ambitious enemy, labouring to separate that realm from the British empire, prompted the leaders of the cabinet to undertake the arduous task of effecting a union between the two kingdoms, which might give additional strength to both, and so improve and concentrate their power and resources, as to enable them to repel all hostile attempts, both foreign and domestic. Against a measure, which, in its nature, would extinguish the parliament of Ireland as an independent legislature, and which would withdraw a number of the most opulent inhabitants from the metropolis of Ireland to attend their public duties in the capital of the united kingdom, a strenuous opposition was anticipated; but it was hoped that the good sense of a great portion of the community, whose condition this measure was intended to improve, would take a more liberal and enlarged view of the subject, and afford their active co-operation towards its accomplishment; or, if it should be disapproved by the majority of the people, little doubt was entertained of the efficacy of various means of influence and persuasion, to secure a plurality of votes, in an assembly so constituted as the parliament of the sister kingdom. In England, the deliberative opinion of a great majority of the nation appeared decidedly in favour of the union, including many of those who were in general adverse to the politics of Mr. Pitt’s administration. But there were others, and those men of the highest abilities and integrity, who were extremely dubious as to the expediency of the measure, under existing circumstances, some of whom were decidedly hostile to its adoption.

The royal message was taken into early discussion on the 23d of January, when

37*

Mr. Secretary Dundas moved an address, importing that the house would proceed with all due despatch to the consideration of the several interests recommended to their serious attention in the message.

Mr. Sheridan declared, that he was perfectly ready, on this occasion, to give credit to ministers for purity of intention, as they could not be suspected of proposing a measure, which, in their own opinion, tended ultimately to the separation of Ireland from Great Britain. He said, that the object of this message was evidently a union, though the word itself was not to be found in it. But, did the people of Ireland manifest any wish to unite? On the contrary, they had unequivocally declared themselves hostile to this design; and if it were carried, it would be a union effected by fraud, corruption, and intimidation. He asked, how the terms of the *final adjustment*, made and agreed to by the parliaments of the two countries, came to fail? Before the recommendation contained in the message was attended to, it was incumbent upon ministers to show, that the last pledge of the English parliament to the people of Ireland, by which their independence was recognised, and their rights acknowledged, had not produced that unanimity which the parliaments of the two countries sought to cherish. He concluded by moving, as an amendment to the address proposed, “that the house, for the first time, learned from his majesty, with surprise and deep regret, that the *final adjustment*, which upon his majesty’s gracious recommendation, took place between the two kingdoms in 1782, had not produced the effects expected from that solemn settlement: and further humbly to express to his majesty, that his faithful commons had strong reasons to believe, that it was in the contemplation of his majesty’s ministers to propose a union of the legislatures of the two kingdoms, notwithstanding that final and solemn adjustment; humbly imploring his majesty not to listen to the counsels of those who should advise such a measure at the present crisis.”

Mr. Pitt maintained, that a permanent connexion between Britain and Ireland was essential to the true interests of both countries, and that, unless the existing connexion should be improved, there was, he had strong reason to believe, great risk of a separation. The settlement of the year 1782, he said, was so imperfect, that it substituted nothing for that system which it demolished, and it was not considered as final even by the ministers of the time. It left the two realms with independent legislatures, connected only by the identity of the executive power—a very in-

sufficient tie, either in time of peace or of war, inadequate to the consolidation of strength, or the mutual participation of political and commercial benefits. The case of the regency exhibited a striking instance of the weakness of the connexion; and if the two parliaments had differed on the subject of the war, the danger of a disjunction would have been seriously alarming. The entire dissociation of the two kingdoms was one of the great aims of our enemies; and, as their eventual success in Ireland would expose Britain to extreme peril, the establishment of an incorporate union, by which their views might be effectually baffled, was a necessary act of policy. Great Britain had always felt a common interest in the safety of Ireland; but that interest was never so obvious and urgent as when the enemy attacked the former realm through the medium of the latter. The French had shown by their conduct, that they deemed Ireland the most vulnerable part of the empire; and this consideration alone ought to enforce the adoption of a measure which would tend to strengthen and secure that country. It ought to be noticed, that the hostile divisions of its sects, the animosities existing between the posterity of the original inhabitants and the descendants of the colonists, the rudeness and ignorance of the people, and the prevalence of jacobinical principles among them, had produced a state of distress for which there was no cure, except in the information of a general imperial legislature, free alike from terror and from resentment, removed from the danger and agitation, uninfluenced by the prejudices, and uninfamed by the passions of that distracted country.

Among the advantages which would accrue to Ireland from an incorporation with Britain, he mentioned, "the protection she would secure to herself in the hour of danger, the most effectual means of increasing her commerce, and improving her agriculture, the command of English capital, the infusion of English manners, and English industry, necessarily tending to meliorate her condition;" adding, that "she would see the avenue to honours, to distinctions, and exalted situations in the general seat of empire, opened to all those whose abilities and talents enable them to indulge an honourable and laudable ambition." He further remarked, that the question was, not what Ireland would gain, but what she would preserve; not merely how she might "best improve her situation, but how she might avert a pressing and immediate danger." In this point of view, her gain would be the preservation of all the blessings arising from the British constitution.

After some commercial statements, tending to show the benefits derivable to Ireland from a union, he asserted the competency of the legislature, not by argument or demonstration, but by allegations of the danger of controverting such right. A denial of parliamentary competence, he said, would amount to a denial of the validity of the Scottish union, and of the authority under which the existing parliament now deliberated; and it would even shake every principle of legislation. That a competency for any new or very important measure, could arise only from the express directions or consent of the electors, or the great body of the nation, was a jacobinical idea, connected with the dangerous doctrine of the sovereignty of the people.

As the supposed loss of national independence formed, in the minds of many, a strong objection to the scheme, he argued, that the dreaded loss would be a real benefit; that the Irish would rather gain than lose in point of political freedom and civil happiness; and that, though a nation, possessing all the means of defence, dignity, and prosperity, might justly object to an association with a more numerous people, Ireland being deficient in the means of protection, and inferior in the requisites of political and civil welfare, could not be injured or degraded by such a union with a neighbouring and kindred state, as would connect both realms, by an equality of law and an identity of interest. Her people would not less be members of an independent state, or to any valuable or useful purpose, less free in the enjoyment of the benefits of society and civilization.

After some further debate, Mr. Sheridan withdrew his amendment, and the original motion was put and carried.

On the 22d of January, 1799, the very day on which the message on the union was delivered to the two British houses of parliament, the session of the Irish parliament commenced at Dublin; and a speech on this occasion was made by the lord-lieutenant, which concluded with the following analogous declaration:—"The unremitting industry with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design of endeavouring to effect a separation of this kingdom from Great Britain, must have engaged your particular attention; and his majesty commands me to express his anxious hope, that this consideration, joined to the sentiment of mutual affection and common interest, may dispose the parliaments in both kingdoms to provide the most effectual means of maintaining and improving a connexion essential to their common security, and of consolidating, as far as possible, into one firm and lasting

fabric, the strength, the power, and the resources of the British empire."

The address brought forward in the house of peers, was opposed chiefly by the Lords Powerscourt and Bellamont; who severally moved amendments, expressive of their disapprobation of a legislative union with Great Britain. On the first division, the numbers were 46 to 19, and on the last 35 to 17, in favour of the court. But it was in the house of commons that the grand battle was expected to be fought.

No sooner had the address of thanks been moved in that assembly, than Sir John Parnell, who had long filled, with high reputation, the office of chancellor of the exchequer, from which he had been recently dismissed, on account of his opposition to the projected union, rose to reprobate the measure while yet *in embryo*. As far as he could judge of the scheme, from what he already knew of it, he believed it to be adverse to the permanent interest of Ireland, and inconsistent with the rights of the people—rights, which having been delegated to the care of parliament, ought not to be surrendered by a representative body. It would effect the constitution, the trade, and the property of the country. The constitution would be no more, when the legislature of Ireland was merged in that of Great Britain, and the concerns of the former country were to be intrusted to the care of men who would not be its representatives; who would have different interests, and would be too prejudiced and too remote to conduct its affairs with justice and propriety. What would an Englishman say, if Ireland should propose to him the suppression of one-half of the number of representatives of his country, and the substitution of Irishmen for them? Would he be satisfied with an assurance, that England would be as well represented by Irish as by English members? Yet even this would be a much fairer proposal, than that which was now made to Ireland. By occasioning the absence of a great number of the nobility and gentry, it would diminish, in a serious degree, both the capital and the consumption of the country. It would lay a foundation for permanent discontent, which would increase with the increasing evils the people of Ireland would experience from this measure. That a union would secure the country against external attack he denied; for a foreign enemy would not be deterred from an invasion by an act of parliament. He exhorted the house to disprove the popular charge of corrupt influence, by a unanimous rejection of the present proposal; and he concluded with the old and famous declaration, substituting Ireland for England, "*Nolumus leges Hiberniæ mu-*

tari."—(We are unwilling that the laws of Ireland should be changed.)

Mr. George Ponsonby, brother to the Earl of Besborough, a barrister of high reputation and distinguished talents, opposed, in strong terms, every idea of a legislative union, as a scheme that would injure the prosperity and destroy the liberties of Ireland. He even denied the competency of the legislature to the adoption of a measure invasive of the rights of the people, and subversive of the constitution of the country. But, if parliament had an undoubted authority to exercise such power, it would, he contended, be the height of folly to make such a sacrifice to the pride of Britain. What influence would a hundred Irish members have, absorbed in an assembly of five hundred and fifty-eight British members? They must be mere ciphers in the united legislature, and would be constrained, on every occasion, to submit to the dictates of a haughty and powerful majority. For six centuries, he affirmed, the Irish nation had been precluded, by a series of oppressions, from the enjoyment of those advantages with which nature had blessed them; and he deprecated the subjection of his country to the sway of a British parliament; declaring his fervent wishes for the preservation of that legislative independence, which was the best foundation of the national happiness. Mr. Ponsonby concluded by moving, as an amendment to the address, "that the house should declare its resolution of maintaining the right of the people of Ireland to a resident and independent legislature, as recognised by the British parliament in 1782, and finally settled at the adjustment of all differences between the two kingdoms."

Mr. Conolly, who was generally considered in point of property and influence, as the first commoner in Ireland, avowed his sentiments to be decidedly in favour of the measure of a union.* He compared the absurdity of two independent legislatures in one empire, to the unnatural phenomenon of two heads on one pair of shoulders. Many of the evils of Ireland, he was convinced, had arisen from this source. Yet a hundred and sixteen placemen and pensioners, who had been known at one time to occupy seats in the house, showed how little of the real spirit of independence existed among them.

The secretary of state, Lord Castlereagh, remarked, that by an incorporation with Britain, a common interest would be established, and the welfare of one country

* A peerage having been at one time offered to Mr. Conolly, this popular gentleman replied, "I would rather be a great commoner, than a little lord."

would be that of the other. Religious dissensions would be allayed; jealousy and prejudice would subside; trade would greatly flourish; a respectable class of men, between the landlord and mere peasant, would arise; and the morals of the lowest order of inhabitants be improved. The increase of the number of absentees, and other incidental inconveniences, would be of very trifling import, compared with the safety and prosperity that would result from the measure. He did not expect to hear, from constitutional lawyers, the allegation of parliamentary incompetence. It was clear to him, that a legislative body was at all times competent to the adoption of the most effectual means for promoting the general welfare. For that purpose, the parliament was instituted; and, as a union was calculated for such an object without violating the principles of the constitution, the denial of competency might justly be exploded.

This great and memorable debate lasted not less than twenty hours; during which, a very large proportion of the members delivered their sentiments. The contest was so close, that only a majority of one appeared against the amendment;—the numbers being, on the division, 106 and 105; and when the question was put for agreeing to the address, the ministry had in their favour, 107 against 105 voices. During the latter period of the debate, which continued till noon on the second day, the avenues to the house were crowded with people anxious to hear the result; which, when known, was hailed as a victory on the part of the anti-unionists, and the metropolis resounded with acclamations. The leaders of the opposition, elevated with hope, prepared for another conflict, which they did not doubt would give them a decided superiority.

The address was reported two days afterwards (January 24th); when Sir Lawrence Parsons rose, and with much force of eloquence opposed its being received. "Were the union ever so good a measure," said he, "why is it brought forward at this time? Is it not evidently to take advantage of the strength of England in this island, and of our own internal weakness? It is always in times of division and disaster, that a nation avails itself of the infirmities of its neighbours to obtain an unjust dominion. That Britain should desire to do so is not wonderful; for what nation does not desire to rule another? That England should be aided by Irishmen in the attempt is not wonderful; for what nation has not traitors and parricides in its bosom? But if this assembly, to whom the rights of Ireland are intrusted, shall agree to such a

treason, it will indeed be matter of wonder and indignation beyond the power of mind to conceive, or of language to express. In every period of our weakness and distress, English usurpation has trodden upon the heels of Irish infirmity. In the American war, however, Ireland burst the chain of usurpation. How? by her parliament; by her own parliament, aided and urged by a high-spirited people, whose hearts throbbed with liberty, and whose hands were strong with voluntary arms. It was within these walls, that this assembly, the organ of the popular will, put forth its voice, demanded the freedom of Ireland, and assumed supreme authority in the land. It was here, before the breath of the parliament of Ireland, that the usurping domination bowed its head, and dropped the sceptre of its power; and therefore it is that her parliament is to be utterly destroyed, root and branch, not a fibre of it left in the land, lest it should grow again, and shoot, and spread, and flourish; and lest Ireland, at some hallowed moment, should once more, through the medium of that assembly, recover its freedom. Annihilate the parliament of Ireland:—that is the cry that came across the water. Ireland is weak; Ireland is divided; Ireland is appalled by civil war; Ireland is covered with troops; martial law brandishes its sword through the land. Now is the time to put Ireland down for ever!—But," exclaimed this ardent speaker, "the parliament cannot be annihilated; for every gentleman in Ireland will sooner part with his life, than give up the independence of his country. Let then this scandalous and irritating measure be relinquished; and let the country, panting from its recent struggles and its present alarms, repose at last in tranquillity!"

Lord Castlereagh, in reply, allowed that ministers did not intend to relinquish the measure, while they had any hope of success. If they should, they would be unworthy of the situation which they filled; and might be accused of a disregard to the interests of their country and of the empire.

Mr. John Beresford, the leader of a great and dominant party in Ireland, professed his desire of a union, as thinking it the best remedy for the miserable condition to which that country was reduced by the perpetual conflict of contending interests.

Sir John Parnell pronounced it degrading to the dignity of parliament, to entertain a question, whether it should put an end to its own existence. He animadverted on the absurdity of pretending, as some had done, that it was inconsistent or presumptuous to declare against a union, without knowing the terms, or understanding the true nature of the question. Could any

man be ignorant, that the question was, whether the parliament of Ireland and the independence of the nation should be given up for ever! As the ministers would not bind themselves by a promise to preserve these great objects, the parliament, he hoped, would determine the point, by voting that it would never surrender the legislative independence of the realm.

After a violent debate, scarcely inferior in strength or asperity to the former, a division took place, when the motion of Sir Lawrence Parsons, for the omission of the obnoxious clause in the address, prevailed by a majority of 111 to 106 voices.

The exultation of the metropolis, at this defeat of the ministry, was unbounded. The unionists were insulted and calumniated by every possible mode of attack. On the other hand, the chief speakers of opposition acquired a sudden and extraordinary increase of popularity. Their eloquence was extolled with hyperbolic praise, and their patriotism applauded in high-flown terms of admiration and gratitude. Attentive and calm observers nevertheless remarked, that the vehement enthusiasm of the capital did not extend to the nation at large. It was apparent, that the weight of the landed interest was in favour of the measure; that Cork, the second city of the kingdom, and the commercial towns in general, though greatly agitated and divided, were, upon the whole, rather friendly than hostile to it; that government had secured the chief political interests of the country, which, added to the powerful means of influence, corrupt or constitutional, possessed by the crown, gave a mighty and apparently irresistible force to its operations. But, above all, it was evident that the great mass of the Irish nation, consisting of the Roman Catholics, sunk into apathy, and almost into despair, made no effort in opposition to the measure. They were fully sensible that their condition could scarcely be made worse; and there was a possibility that it might be made better by a union. Upon the whole, it must be acknowledged, that the sentiments of a great majority of persons of weight and influence, who acted with government on this occasion, were powerfully biassed in favour of the measure, by the indelible impression of recent events; and it may be inferred from the formidable efforts actually made by the opponents of this project in parliament, that the whole influence of government, vast and unbounded as it may seem, would, in ordinary circumstances, have been found wholly unequal to the accomplishment of so daring and difficult a measure.

On the 31st of January the subject of

the union again came under consideration in the British parliament, when the order of the day being read, Mr. Pitt rose and said, that when he proposed to the house to fix that day for the further consideration of his majesty's message, he indulged a hope that the result of a similar communication to the parliament of Ireland would have opened a more favourable prospect than at present existed, of the speedy accomplishment of the measure then in contemplation. He had, however, been disappointed by the proceedings of the Irish house of commons. He was convinced that the parliament of Ireland possessed the power, the entire competence, to accept or reject a proposition of this nature, a power which he by no means meant to dispute. But while he admitted the rights of the parliament of Ireland, he felt, that as a member of the parliament of Great Britain, he had a right to exercise, and a duty to perform; viz. to express the general nature and outline of the plan, which, in his estimation, would tend to ensure the safety and the happiness of the two kingdoms. Should parliament be of opinion that it was calculated to produce mutual advantages to the two kingdoms, he should propose it, in order that it might be recorded on the journals of that house, leaving the rejection or adoption of this plan to the full and future consideration of the legislature of Ireland. Mr. Pitt remarked, that the union with Scotland was as much opposed, and by nearly the same arguments, prejudices, and misconceptions; creating the same alarms as had recently been excited in respect to Ireland; yet could any man now doubt of the advantages which Scotland had derived from the union? One of the greatest impediments to the prosperity of Ireland was the want of industry and the want of capital, which were to be supplied only by blending more closely with Ireland the industry and capital of this country. In the present state of things, also, and while Ireland remained a separate kingdom, no reasonable person would affirm that full concessions could be made to the Catholics, without endangering the state, and shaking the constitution of Ireland to its centre. At the conclusion of a very able speech, he proposed the following series of resolutions, and moved that the house resolve itself into a committee to discuss the same in their proper order.

"1.—That in order to promote and secure the essential interests of Great Britain and Ireland, and to consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire, it will be advisable to concur in such measures as may best tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, in such a manner, and on such terms and conditions, as may be established

by acts of the respective parliaments of his majesty's said kingdoms.

"II.—That it appears to this committee, that it would be fit to propose as the first article, to serve as a basis of the said union, that the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall, upon a day to be agreed upon, be united into one kingdom, by the name of THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

"III.—That for the same purpose, it appears also to this committee, that it would be fit to propose that the succession to the monarchy and the imperial crown of the said united kingdoms, shall continue limited and settled, in the same manner as the imperial crown of the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland now stands limited and settled, according to the existing laws, and to the terms of the union between England and Scotland.

"IV.—That for the same purpose, it appears also to this committee, that it would be fit to propose that the said united kingdom be represented in one and the same parliament, to be styled "The Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland;" and that such a number of lords spiritual and temporal, and such a number of members of the house of commons, as shall be hereafter agreed upon by acts of the respective parliaments as aforesaid, shall sit and vote in the said parliament on the part of Ireland, and shall be summoned, chosen, and returned in such manner as shall be fixed by an act of the parliament of Ireland previous to the said union; and that every member hereafter to sit and vote in the said parliament of the united kingdom shall, until the said parliament shall otherwise provide, take and subscribe the same oaths, and make the same declaration, as are by law required to be taken, subscribed, and made by the members of the parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland.

"V.—That for the same purpose, it appears also to this committee, that it would be fit to propose that the churches of England and Ireland, and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government thereof, shall be preserved as now by law established.

"VI.—That for the same purpose, it appears also to this committee, that it would be fit to propose that his majesty's subjects in Ireland shall at all times hereafter be entitled to the same privileges, and be on the same footing in respect of trade and navigation, in all ports and places belonging to Great Britain, and in all cases with respect to which treaties shall be made by his majesty, his heirs or successors, with any foreign power, as his majesty's subjects in Great Britain; that no duty shall be imposed on the import or export between Great Britain and Ireland, of any articles now duty free; and that on other articles there shall be established, for a time to be limited, such a moderate rate of equal duties as shall, previous to the union, be agreed upon and approved by the respective parliaments, subject, after the expiration of such limited time, to be diminished equally with respect to both kingdoms, but in no case to be increased; that all articles which may at any time hereafter be imported into Great Britain from foreign parts, shall be importable through either kingdom into the other, subject to the like duties and regulations as if the same were imported directly from foreign parts; that where any articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom, are subject to any internal duty in one kingdom, such countervailing duties, over and above any duties on import to be fixed as aforesaid, shall be imposed as shall be necessary to prevent any inequality in that respect: and

that all other matters of trade and commerce other than the foregoing, and than such others as may before the union be specially agreed upon for the due encouragement of the agriculture and manufactures of the respective kingdoms, shall remain to be regulated from time to time by the united parliament.

"VII.—That for the same purpose, it would be fit to propose, that the charge arising from the payment of the interest, or sinking fund for the reduction of the principal, of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the union, shall continue to be separately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland respectively. That for a number of years to be limited, the future ordinary expenses of the united kingdom, in peace or war, should be defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland jointly, according to such proportions as shall be established by the respective parliaments previous to the union. And that, after the expiration of the time to be so limited, the proportions shall not be liable to be varied, except according to such rates and principles as shall be in like manner agreed upon previous to the union.

"VIII.—That for the like purpose, it would be fit to propose, that all laws in force at the time of the union, and that all the courts of civil or ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the respective kingdoms, shall remain as now by law established within the same, subject only to such alterations or regulations, from time to time, as circumstances may appear to the parliament of the united kingdom to require."

Mr. Sheridan, in reply, again avowed his utter dislike and disapprobation of the measure, and expressed his conviction, that in the present convulsed and disordered state of Ireland, it was not merely impolitic but unsafe to agitate the discussion of such topics; and considering the reception which the proposition in question had met with in Ireland, it could scarcely be imagined that the right honourable gentleman would persevere. Mr. Sheridan avowed his doubts, whether the increase of prosperity which Scotland had enjoyed during this last century was to be ascribed to the union; and the evils which were predicted from the possible disagreement of two independent legislatures, might with as much plausibility be supposed to result from the disagreement of two independent houses of legislature, such as the peers and commons of Great Britain: but experience refuted and proved the futility of these apprehensions. He then stated his intention of moving the two following resolutions:—1st, That no measures could have a tendency to improve and perpetuate the ties of amity between Great Britain and Ireland, which have not for their basis the fair and free approbation of the parliaments of the two countries. 2dly, That whoever shall endeavour to obtain such approbation in either country, by employing the influence of government for the purposes of corruption or intimidation, is an enemy to his majesty and the constitution.

Lord Hawkesbury* denied that the people of Ireland, collectively taken, were adverse to the measures of a union. The inhabitants of Cork and Limerick had expressed themselves in favour of it; and he had no doubt, if it once came to be duly considered, that a great majority of the whole nation would view it in the same light. After some further debate, the house divided on the question of the speaker's leaving the chair; ayes 140, noes 15.

On the 7th of February, upon Mr. Sheridan's moving his resolutions in the house, Mr. Pitt observed, that the first was a mere truism, to which no one could refuse his assent. The second, he supposed, alluded to the case of a gentleman lately high in office in the Irish administration, who had quitted his post because of his disagreeing in sentiment with his colleagues. But how could any number of persons continue to act together, if they differed in points of essential importance? Or what was there peculiar in a resignation or dismissal, under such circumstances? He deemed the first of these resolutions superfluous, and the second improper; and therefore moved the order of the day.

Mr. Grey said, he could see nothing but danger in the discussion of the question, and particularly as it would affect the public mind in Ireland; and the house, in his opinion, should have resisted it in the first stage. The union which he wished for was not a union of legislatures, but of hearts, affections, and interests. Evils, of which government was itself the parent, were made the pretext for depriving Ireland of her independency as a nation.

Mr. Secretary Dundas remarked, that it was impossible to imagine a remedy more appropriate to the political evils under which Ireland had so recently and severely suffered, than the measure of an incorporative union. The Protestants would lay aside their jealousies and distracts, being certain, that against any attempt to endanger the Protestant establishment in Ireland, the whole strength of the united parliament would be exerted: and on the other hand, all those Catholics who were friends to the connexion with Great Britain, desirous of obtaining every indulgence, and of being admitted into a participation of every privilege consistent with that connexion, would be confident that their cause would be candidly and impartially considered by a united parliament. In the case of the Scottish union, many melancholy pictures, in the shape of prophecies, were presented to the public view, and he

adverted particularly to the celebrated speech of Lord Belhaven on that occasion. Scotland, he asserted, could not, without the advantages she derived from the union, ever have advanced so rapidly in wealth and prosperity as she had done since that era. The Irish house of commons had expressed what they thought of a union; and it was the duty of the British parliament to express their opinion.

Mr. Tierney wished to know what advantages could be obtained by a union, that could not be obtained without it. He did not contend that the measure was radically a bad one; but he thought, that after the opinion which had been expressed in the Irish parliament, the right honourable gentleman ought to abstain from pressing it. After a lengthened debate, the house divided—for the speaker's leaving the chair 149, against it 24.

At the next meeting of the house, February 11th, Mr. Sheridan asserted, that all the advantages which were professed to be expected from a union, would be more certainly attained by the parliament of Great Britain setting the example of abolishing all civil incapacities on account of religious distinctions; and for this end he moved, "that it be an instruction to the committee, to consider how far it would be consistent with justice or policy, and conducive to the general interests, and especially to the consolidation of the strength of the British empire, were civil incapacities, on account of religious distinctions, to be done away throughout his majesty's dominions."

Mr. Pitt asked, what probability there was that the adoption of such a measure by the parliament of Great Britain would induce that of Ireland to adopt it? whether their acceding to it would have the desired effect of annihilating religious animosity? and, supposing these two objects accomplished, how far this would go towards strengthening the connexion between the two countries? Mr. Pitt concluded by moving the order of the day; and Mr. Sheridan declined taking the sense of the house upon the subject of his proposition.

On the following day, Mr. Pitt's eight resolutions were put in their proper order, and carried by large majorities. On the 14th of February, the report of the committee was brought up, when, on the motion of Mr. Pitt, it was ordered, that a message be sent to the lords, requesting a conference respecting the means of perpetuating and improving the connexion between the two countries.

The subject which had so long and so deeply engaged the attention of the commons, had been at the same time introduced into the house of peers by a similar mes-

* Late Mr. Jenkinson, and afterwards Earl of Liverpool.—W. G.

sage from the king, delivered by Lord Grenville. The address in answer to this message was voted unanimously by the house, which then adjourned. From this period, the business remained dormant in the upper house, till Monday, February the 18th, when the message from the commons was delivered by Earl Temple. A conference accordingly taking place in the painted chamber, the lords deputed on this occasion soon returned with a copy of the resolutions moved by the house of commons.

On the 19th of March, their lordships having been previously summoned, Lord Grenville moved, that the house do agree with the resolutions of the commons. He said, that no diversity of opinion could possibly arise on the two chief preliminary points: first, that whatever steps they should take on the present occasion, the sole and exclusive rights of the Irish legislature should be duly respected, and considered upon the same footing as those of Great Britain; and secondly, that it was essential to the interests of the empire at large, that the connexion between the two kingdoms should be strengthened and improved to as high a degree of perfection as the nature of the case admitted. There was, he said, however, another preliminary to the main subject, started by some who appeared generally to approve of the measure; and that was, whether, under the present state of things, it was proper at all to enter into the discussion? In answer, he asked, whether it would not be wise and politic to urge, with as little delay as the case would admit, a fair and temperate survey of the general question, in order to do away the mistaken prejudices and unfounded impressions which had prevailed against the measure in Ireland? Here, his lordship took occasion to remark upon the manner in which the question stood in the parliament of Ireland. The resolution of the Irish commons certainly was not conclusive. Far from amounting to any thing like a law, it was, in fact, a mere dead letter upon their journals. In such a case, the British parliament surely ought not to be precluded from doing what wisdom and prudence dictated. His lordship then entered into an elaborate argument, to show the expediency and necessity of the measure proposed; similar in substance to that of Mr. Pitt in the house of commons.

Earl Fitzwilliam objected to the whole proceeding, as improper, impolitic, and unreasonable. Adverting to the subject of Catholic emancipation, he acknowledged that he never had orders, when intrusted with the government of Ireland, to bring that question forward; but he had explicitly

declared that it should have his full support if it came under discussion; and he believed, in his conscience, that the events which occurred at that period had led to the evils which now existed.

The Marquis of Lansdowne avowed it to be his opinion, that it was morally impossible that things could go on as they were now conducted. On the general utility of the measure, both in a commercial and political view, he entertained no doubt; but as to the mode of carrying the project of a union into execution, he had some hesitation. He exposed the fallacy of making the proceedings of 1782 an objection to the present measure. There was no analogy in respect to the objects in view. The adjustment of 1782 aimed to establish the independency of the two legislatures; and as to that point it was unquestionably designed to be final. The resolutions before them tended towards effecting an incorporation of the same legislatures; to which the proceedings of 1782 could never have been intended to operate as a bar. He acknowledged himself somewhat startled at the idea of adding a hundred members to the British house of commons; but if others were satisfied as to this matter, he was disposed to acquiesce.

Lord Camden, late lord-lieutenant of Ireland, denied that the late distractions in that country arose in any manner from the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, for the kingdom was quiet for nine or ten months after that event! The present situation of Ireland was, however, such as to render it absolutely necessary that some steps should be taken for the re-establishment of public order and tranquillity; and no measure was so likely to produce a permanent and beneficial effect as that of an incorporative union.

Marquis Townshend, the Earls of Westmoreland and Carlisle, and the Duke of Portland, who had all occupied the highest office of government in Ireland, declared also, in explicit terms, their approbation of the measure.

On the other side, the Earl of Moira rose to oppose the resolutions. There was no person, he said, who would more heartily than himself concur in the measure, were he assured that it was founded on the wishes of the majority of the people of Ireland. But was it not manifest that the opposition to it was not limited to the Irish parliament only, but that it had been treated by the nation at large with an abhorrence amounting almost to a degree of frenzy? After this marked reprobation of the proposal, what could be more calculated to add fuel to the flame, than our persevering in it? It had been stated, in support of the resolutions, that Ireland could not go on in its present

state. He had predicted that the system of government which had been pursued in that country could not go on; and he had unfortunately proved too true a prophet: that, however, was not a consequence flowing from the constitution of Ireland; but the result of a frantic exercise of severities on the part of government. The noble lord (Grenville) had expatiated on the benefits which a union would confer upon Ireland. Possibly he might be right, but the immediate question, respecting which it was necessary to decide, related to the expediency of bringing forward these resolutions. Whether justly or not, it appears that the opposers of them think the demand upon Ireland to be nothing less than to sacrifice the whole body of her laws, her rights, her liberties, and her independent parliament. Under these circumstances, how does the mass of the Irish nation weigh such a demand? Disgusted as they have been by recent outrages, and smarting from the lash of late severities, how could it be supposed that they would meet with temper the proposition for drawing closer the ties to which they have been taught to attribute all their sufferings? In the nature of the union, there was not any thing that held forth to the inhabitants of Ireland a security against the violence of the executive government; but, on the contrary, many checks upon that government would be withdrawn.

The Earl of Moira was seconded in these remarks by Lord Holland, who animadverted with some severity on the assertion of Lord Grenville, that it was necessary to exhibit to the people of Ireland what the terms were upon which this country proposed the union of the two legislatures. Such, he said, might very naturally be the desire of his majesty's ministers; but if they had imprudently involved themselves, by bringing forward this question, that was no reason why their lordships should be implicated with them.

After various other lords had spoken, the original motion was put and agreed to without a division.

On the 11th of April, the house being again summoned, Lord Grenville moved an address to the throne, similar to that already voted by the commons; upon which, Lord Auckland immediately rose to express his entire approbation of the measure.

The Bishop of Llandaff stated to the house, that the Duke of Rutland, when lord-lieutenant of Ireland, had honoured him with his confidence. In writing to the duke, about the time the Irish propositions were under discussion, he perfectly well remembered having said, "You and your friend, the minister of England, would immortalize your characters if, instead of a

mere commercial arrangement, you could accomplish, by honourable means, a legislative union between the two kingdoms." If he were to express his sentiments of the utility of a union in a few words, he should say, that it would enrich Ireland without impoverishing Great Britain; and that it would render the empire, as to defence, the strongest in Europe.

Lord Minto (late Sir Gilbert Elliot), in an eloquent and argumentative speech, supported the measure, and contended that the notion, that a legislative union would derogate from the honour and national independence of Ireland, was "an airy, unsubstantial sentiment; a transient, evanescent, metaphysical point, to which the two countries were called upon to sacrifice their permanent and perpetual interests."

The question was at length put upon the address, and carried without a division; but a protest, very ably drawn, was signed on this occasion by the Lords Holland, Thetford, and King.

A committee was then named, consisting of Lord Grenville, Lord Minto, Lord Auckland, and the Bishop of Llandaff, to draw up an address conformable to the motion; which being effected, the commons, in a second conference (April 12), were invited to join in the same, and to agree that it should be presented to his majesty as the address of both houses of parliament, which was accordingly done in the most solemn manner, and thus the business rested for the remainder of the present year.

After several animated debates in the Irish parliament, the further consideration of the bill was postponed until the 1st of August; it was, however, manifest, that the court were determined to persevere in their original designs; and the lord-lieutenant, on the occasion of the termination of the session, announced, "that a joint address of the two houses of parliament of Great Britain had been laid before his majesty, accompanied by resolutions proposing and recommending a complete and entire union between Great Britain and Ireland." And he further declared, "that his majesty, as the common father of his people, must look forward, with earnest anxiety, to the moment, when, in conformity to the sentiments, wishes, and real interests of his subjects in both kingdoms, they may all be inseparably united, in the full enjoyment of the blessings of a free constitution."

The subject of the slave-trade was again agitated in the British house of commons, and with the usual success. On the 1st of March, Mr. Wilberforce introduced a motion for the appointment of a committee, by observing, that it was now eleven years since he had first held out this system of

cruelty and wickedness to the indignant reprobation of that house. He was for a time cheered under his labours by the hope of ultimate success ; but he now almost despaired of seeing the abolition effected by a British parliament : and with respect to the colonial legislatures, it was the vainest of expectations that they would enforce any system of reform which might render the further importation of slaves unnecessary. We were engaged, Mr. Wilberforce observed, in a war with a nation which had thrown off all regard for those sacred principles which almost all men professed to venerate : yet France had abolished the slave-trade ; while we, contrary to our own acknowledgments of the nefariousness of this traffic, still continued to support and encourage it. In Africa, we were known only as corrupters and destroyers ; and if there existed an overruling Providence, it might surely be expected that the moral government of the universe would in some mode be signally vindicated. For himself, he had performed his duty : he solemnly protested against the consequences which would en-

sue from this obstinate and daring perseverance in guilt ; and he washed his hands of the blood which might be shed, both in the eastern and the western world.

After an animated debate, the house divided, when Mr. Wilberforce's motion was lost by a minority of 54 to 84 voices.

The parliament was prorogued on the 18th of July (1799) ; upon which occasion his majesty was pleased to declare, " that the decision and energy which distinguished the council of his ally the Emperor of Russia, and the intimate union and concert so happily established between them, would enable him to employ, to the greatest advantage, the powerful means intrusted to him by parliament, for establishing, on permanent grounds, the security and honour of this country, and the liberty and independence of Europe. His majesty, on the same occasion, expressed his satisfaction in seeing that internal tranquillity was in some degree restored to his kingdom of Ireland, the ultimate security of which could alone be ensured by its intimate and entire union with Great Britain."

CHAPTER XIV.

FRENCH HISTORY. Portentous Situation of the Government—The Rights of Election violated—Schisms between the Directory and the Councils—Revolution of the 30th Prairial—Efforts to retrieve the Affairs of the Republic—Law of Hostages—The Country plunged into a State of general Insurrection—Sieyès projects the Overthrow of the Directorial Constitution—Revolution of the 18th and 19th of Brumaire—Decree transferring the Sitzings of the Councils from the Tuilleries to St. Cloud, and appointing Bonaparte Commander-in-chief of the Forces—Conduct of the General on receiving his Appointment—Tumultuous Sitting of the Council of Five Hundred—Bonaparte's memorable Speech in the Council of Ancients—Attempt to assassinate him in the Council of Five Hundred—Lucien Bonaparte rescued from the Fury of the Assembly by the Military—The Hall cleared by a File of Grenadiers at the Sound of the *Pas de Charge*—Appointment of a Committee to form a new Government—Directory dissolved—Decree appointing a provisional executive consular Government—The Revolution effected without Bloodshed—New Constitution.

THE proceedings of the French legislature during the year 1798 were trifling in the extreme, and scarcely worthy the notice of the historian. It was obvious, however, that the directorial government was verging rapidly towards its dissolution, and that imbecility and corruption had given to the infant institutions of the republic the weakness and decrepitude of old age.

It has already been seen* that the directory, disregarding the rights of the people, and intent alone upon the advancement of their own purposes, had the temerity, in the month of May, 1798, to expel from the legislative body a number of representatives legally elected, and to place in that situation the creatures of their own choice. So flagrant a violation of the rights of elec-

tion could not fail to produce very general dissatisfaction, and the embarrassments in the finances, combined with the means adopted to replenish them, increased the difficulties of the governors, and inflamed the disaffection of the governed. Scarcely a month elapsed without messages from the directory to the legislative assemblies on the decayed state of the revenue ; and a tax on salt was proposed, to supply the deficit, which was estimated at fifty millions of livres. This impost was extremely unpopular, from its resemblance to the *gabelle*—one of the most odious and oppressive exactions of the old government. While this measure was under discussion in the council of five hundred, another message from the directory informed them, that instead of fifty millions, the deficiency amounted to one hundred and twenty mil-

* Book II. Chap. II. p. 222.

tions, and that every department of the republic was in a state of dissolution. This intimation induced the council of five hundred to adopt the measure proposed; but it had not the same effect in the council of ancients, where it was asserted, that the supplies already granted were adequate to all the demands of the public service, and that further grants would only swell the civil list of depredation; and the tax on salt was accordingly rejected.

So pointed an imputation on the integrity of the executive, produced a deep-rooted hostility between the directory and the legislative body, which time could not heal, and which terminated in the ruin of both. As the period for electing the new third approached, each party took such measures as seemed best calculated to secure a preponderance in the national councils. But the great struggle lay in the choice of a new director. Among the directors themselves, the lot of succession had fallen upon Ruebel, whose conduct in office had been such as to cover him with opprobrium, insomuch, that, when this public despoiler subsequently took his seat in the council of elders, the bench on which he placed himself was instantly deserted. The person elected as his successor, was the famous Abbe Sieyes, at that time ambassador to the court of Berlin. This choice, made in avowed opposition to the utmost exertions of the directory, portended some great and important change in the political system. The power of the directory thus received from the impression of public opinion an alarming shock; for the sentiments of the new director were well known to be in the highest degree inimical, not merely to the conduct of his colleagues, but to the whole plan of the directorial constitution. The liberty of the press had been placed under the special protection of the directory, by an article of the law of the 19th Fructidor; and the council of five hundred now ventured to declare, that under this restraint great abuses had been committed by the agents of those in power, who were thus secured against all denunciations. The vengeance of the opposition, of which Sieyes was considered as the head, appeared to be levelled against the three directors Merlin, Lepaux, and Treilhard; Barras, though equally corrupt, had averted the storm by seconding the views of Sieyes. Treilhard, a man of mild disposition, unwilling and unfit to engage in those scenes of violence which seemed approaching, availed himself of an informality in his election to withdraw from the directory, and Gohier, who had formerly filled the office of minister of justice, was chosen his successor. The two

other obnoxious members, after an ineffectual struggle, were prevailed upon to resign their offices, and by a kind of compromise with the councils, Roger Ducos, an legislator, and Moulins, a general officer, were chosen in their stead. This was styled the Revolution of the 30th Prairial,

On the 26th of June, the new directory sent a message to the council, enumerating the disorders and necessities of the state, and inviting them adopt the most speedy and effectual measures for warding off from the political body the dissolution with which it was threatened. This message the council submitted to the commission of eleven, by whom a law was proposed to the assembly, to levy the conscription on every class, from the age of twenty to twenty-five years; and to obtain a loan of one hundred millions, to be raised from the more opulent classes of society, upon the mortgage of the unsold national domains. The adoption of this measure was accompanied by an address to the people, inviting them to co-operate with their representatives in the work of regeneration.

The republic still continued to be the prey of factions, and in order to restore the public tranquillity, a most tyrannical law was enacted on the 12th of July, known by the appellation of the law of hostages. By this law it was decreed, that when any department, or commune, was in a state of disorder, the relations of emigrants and cidevant nobles, should be responsible for all robberies and assassinations that might be committed; that the administrators of departments should take hostages from these classes: that such hostages should surrender themselves within ten days, under pain of being placed under close arrest, or punished as emigrants; that if any public functionary, or any purchaser of national domains, should be murdered or carried off, four of these hostages should be banished for every individual that should be murdered or carried off, which four hostages should be liable to pay a fine of six thousand livres to the public treasury, six thousand to the widow, and three thousand to the children of any murdered republican citizen. This indemnity was also made to extend to every person mutilated, and the responsibility to apply to all damage done to property. This law, so repugnant to the principles of justice and sound policy, raised a violent ferment in every part of France, and in the western departments it served as a signal for almost universal revolt. About the end of August, a general insurrection broke out in the department of the Mayenne, where the insurgents, after taking possession of several towns, deposed the constituted authorities, and declared for the

1798

old government. So rapidly did the spirit of disaffection spread, that in a short time no less than twenty departments were in a state of insurrection, and the obnoxious laws proposed by the councils and sanctioned by the new directory prepared the public mind for the overthrow of the existing government.

All France felt the full force of her past and present evils, and the imperious necessity of establishing a better order of things.

She required a government capable of repairing the ruins of the political edifice; or rather of re-constructing it upon more solid and durable foundations; but by what miraculous interposition was this to be accomplished? Sieyes, it appears, was never perfectly satisfied with the constitution of the third year, and from the moment he attained to the directorial dignity, his mind was occupied with plans for its subversion. General Joubert was the man at first fixed upon to carry these designs into execution; but Joubert had neither the requisite courage nor the popularity to engage in so hazardous an enterprise.

At this critical moment, General Bonaparte arrived from Egypt, and was received in Paris with every possible demonstration of public favour.* Sieyes was secretly gratified with the popularity enjoyed by Bonaparte. He welcomed him to his apartments in the Luxembourg, and after disclosing to him his projects, solicited his powerful aid, for the purpose of carrying them into execution. Various secret conferences were now held, at which the director Sieyes, Roger Ducos, Talleyrand, Fouché, Volney, Rœderer, Reinhard, and Bonaparte, with his brothers Lucien and Joseph, were present; a few others were trusted with the secret, but all those to whom it was confided, managed the business with great discretion. In order to prepare the public mind for the events now in contemplation, rumours were industriously circulated, that a new plan of government was forming for the republic; this change was generally talked of and desired, though few were aware from whom it was to proceed, or who were to sustain the principal parts in the new revolutionary drama. Bonaparte, in the mean time, seemed to court seclusion; he appeared very little in public, but he was actively employed in attaching to his fortune men of talents and enterprise; and at the public entertainment given to him by the directory, he endeavoured to lull their apprehensions by giving as a toast, "A union of all parties." On the evening of this festival, Bonaparte assembled the conspirators at the house of M. La Mercier, the president of the council of ancients, and

on that occasion each individual had assigned to him the part that he was destined to act in the conspiracy against the directory.

At five o'clock in the morning of the 18th Brumaire (November 9), a committee of inspectors belonging to the council of ancients, sent messages to one hundred and fifty of that body, selected for that purpose by Bonaparte and his adherents, requiring them to meet in the Tuileries at eight o'clock. At this meeting, it appeared that the most violent of the jacobin party were not assembled, and that having received no summons, they were ignorant of the meeting. Carnet, the reporter of the committee, opened the meeting with a speech, in which he expatiated upon the dangers of the republic and the designs of the factious, and in conclusion proposed, that the assembly should, in virtue of the 102d and 103d articles of the constitution, adjourn to St. Cloud; that General Bonaparte should be charged to put the decree in execution; and that for that purpose he should be appointed commander of all the forces. This decree being passed by a great majority, Bonaparte, who had been in waiting, immediately appeared at the bar, attended by the Generals Berthier, Moreau, Lefebvre, and Macdonald, and several other general officers. His appointment was no sooner communicated to Bonaparte, than he addressed the assembly as follows:—

"CITIZEN REPRESENTATIVES,

"The republic was perishing, but your decree has rescued it from destruction. We be to those men who wish for anarchy! Aided by my brave companions in arms, I will arrest their course. Let us not seek in the past for examples to retard your progress. Nothing in history resembles the conclusion of the 18th century, and nothing in the close of the 18th century resembles the decisions of the present moment. Your wisdom has issued this decree—our arms shall execute it. We demand a republic founded on a just basis, on true liberty, and we will have it. We will have it; I swear it, in my own name, and in the names of my brave comrades."

As soon as the plaudits which followed this speech had subsided, the president replied:—

"GENERAL,

"The council of ancients receives your oath; there is no doubt of your sincerity and your zeal. He who never promised victories to the country in vain, cannot fail to fulfil his new engagements to serve her with fidelity."

The sitting was then dissolved amidst loud cries of "Long live the constitution of the third year!" The next concern of Bonaparte was to issue two proclamations, the first addressed to the national guard of Paris, and the latter to the soldiers of the republic, announcing his appointment to the command of the city guard, and of the army, and inviting them to support their

* BOOK II. CHAP. XI. Page 302.

general in his endeavours to restore to the republic the blessing of "liberty, victory, and peace." These proclamations, which were issued on the morning of the 18th of Brumaire, had been prepared previous to the event they were intended to announce, and were immediately succeeded by a similar document from Fouché, the minister of general police, intended to tranquillize the public mind, and threatening the instigators to revolt, and the abettors of royalty, with condign punishment.

The instant the decree of the council of ancients had passed, Bonaparte marched ten thousand troops to the Tuileries, and guarded every avenue to that place so effectually, that no one was permitted to pass either into the courts, or the gardens, or within the walls of the castle. He had previously formed all his dispositions, and was haranguing his troops in the great court, while three of the directors, and all the citizens of Paris, were in complete ignorance of the proceedings that had taken place, and were made acquainted with them for the first time, by the proclamations with which the walls of the capital soon became placarded. The directors Sieyès and Roger Ducos, the latter of whom was entirely governed by the former, waited in silence the result of the meeting of the council of ancients, but no sooner were they informed of the decree for removing the sittings of the councils to St. Cloud, and for investing Bonaparte with the command of the army, than they repaired to the Tuileries, and joined the committees of inspection, who were at that moment in deliberation upon the measures to be taken for carrying into effect the decree of the council. The director, Barras, who had in the morning of the 18th refused to give in his resignation, was exiled to his country-seat under a guard of cavalry, while Gohier and Moulins remained almost passive spectators of the events which deprived them of power, and imposed a new form of government upon their country. Previous to his departure, Barras sent in his resignation to Bonaparte, by his secretary Botot, who, on handing the paper to the general, inquired in a low voice, what Barras had to expect from him?

"Tell that man," said Bonaparte, "that I desire to hear no more from him, and that I will cause the authority I am entrusted with to be respected." Then, raising his voice loud enough to be heard even into the ante-chamber, he continued thus to address the astonished secretary: "What have you done," said he, "with the country which I left so flourishing? I left you at peace, and I have found you at war: I left you victory, and I have found defeat: I left you conquer, and the enemy are passing our frontiers: I left you the treasures of Italy, and I find nothing but oppression and poverty. Where are the hundred thousand heroes,

my companions in arms, whom I left covered with glory? What is become of them? Alas! they are no more! This state of things cannot continue; in three years it will end in despotism but we will have a republic, founded on the basis of equality, civil liberty, and political toleration."

In the mean time, the council of five hundred had assembled, filled with astonishment and distrust; and while they were fluctuating between the conjectures and expectations which vague and contradictory rumours had served to excite, the president, Lucien Bonaparte, entered the hall. No sooner had he seated himself, than eager expectation was depicted in every countenance. From the recently elected president they expected an authentic account of the proceedings of the morning, and of the objects to which they were directed. The *procès verbal* being read, the president rose and read the decree from the council of ancients, which removed the sittings of the legislative body to the palace of St. Cloud. He then dissolved the assembly, and quitted the hall amidst a violent clamour. The remainder of the day, as well as night of the 18th, was occupied by Bonaparte and the other generals and public men, with Sieyès at their head, in preparing and arranging the concerns of the following day. Already, the directorial government was dissolved; Barras had retired to his estate at Gros Bois; Gohier and Moulins were placed under confinement at the Luxembourg; and the other two directors, Sieyès and Ducos, were employed in overturning the late government, and in promoting the establishment of the new order of things.

The 19th Brumaire (the 10th of November) was a day big with events of importance. The castle of St. Cloud was surrounded by troops in the morning before daybreak, and the council of five hundred, as well as the council of ancients, assembled at that place by two o'clock in the afternoon. In the council of five hundred, the proceedings were opened by Gaudin, a member of the council, who proposed that a committee of seven members should be appointed to take into consideration the best means of providing for the public safety. This motion was vehemently opposed by several members of the jacobin party, who, darting forward into the tribune, exclaimed, "Down with the dictators!" "The constitution or death!" These exclamations were followed by a motion, that every member should renew his oath to preserve the constitution of the third year, which was carried by acclamation. No sooner had the ceremony of renewing the oath been performed, than another violent debate arose, upon the motion, that the assembly should proceed to the election of

a new director, to fill up the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Barras.

Bonaparte, on being informed of the tumultuous discussion in the council of five hundred, repaired in great agitation to the council of ancients, and, having entered the hall, he thus addressed the assembly :

"REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE!"

"You are placed in no common circumstances; you are on the mouth of a volcano, which is ready to devour you. Permit me to speak to you with the frankness of a soldier, and the ardour of a citizen zealous for the welfare of his country.

"I was living peaceably at Paris, when I received your decree; but when I was informed of your dangers I hastened to your assistance, along with my brethren in arms. Is not the blood which we have shed a sufficient guarantee for our attachment to the republic, and for the purity and disinterestedness of our motives? Have they who dare to lift their voices against us given stronger pledges? As a reward for our services they load us with calumnies, and talk of a modern Cæsar, a second Cromwell. They speak of a military government, and declaim against conspiracies. Alas! the most dangerous of all conspiracies is that which everywhere surrounds us, that of continually increasing public misery. Have not ignorance, folly, and treason, reigned long enough in our country? Have they not committed sufficient ravages? Have they not in turn inflicted misery on every class of the community? Have not Frenchmen been divided long enough into parties, eager and desirous to oppress one another? The time is at length arrived to put an end to these disasters. You have charged me to present you with the means, and I will not disappoint your expectations. I wish to serve the French people alone. Let us not then be divided. Unite your wisdom and firmness to the force with which I am surrounded, and I will devote myself to the safety of the republic."

"And to the safety of the constitution," exclaimed Moreau de l'Yonne.

"The constitution!" replied Bonaparte, with indignant warmth, "do not name it. What is the constitution but a heap of ruins? Has it not been successively the sport of every party? Have you not trampled upon it on the 18th Fructidor, the 28th Floreal, and the 30th Prairial? The constitution! has not every kind of tyranny been exercised in its name? Who has been or who can be safe under its delusive protection? Is not its insufficiency manifested by the numerous crimes which have been committed in its name, even by those who are swearing to it a contemptuous fidelity? All the rights of the people have been violated. To re-establish those rights on a firm foundation, we must labour to consolidate the republic, and to secure the liberty of France. As soon as these objects are attained, and the dangers of the country have subsided, I will abdicate the command which has been committed to me, and will become the supporting arm of the magistracy whom you may think proper to nominate."

Cornudet here confirmed the assertions of Bonaparte, and said, "I am acquainted with some criminal opinions which are entertained of the general, but which can only be developed and discussed in the absence of strangers." At this intimation the spectators were ordered to withdraw, and, as soon as the hall was cleared, Bonaparte continued:—

"Criminal opinions!" exclaimed he, "I could reveal to you circumstances which would confound my calumniators. But it is enough to tell you, that two of your late magistrates, the directors Barras and Moulin, themselves advised me to overturn the government, and to put myself at the head of affairs. I repulsed their overtures because liberty is dearer to me than life. Several factions have tendered to me their services, but I have rejected all their advances as unworthy of the ear of a republican. I speak with the frankness of a soldier. I am a stranger to the art of eloquence; I have always followed the god of war, and fortune and the god of war are with me. Be not afraid, representatives of the people, of criminal plots; I and my brave comrades shall ever be ready to defend you, and to support the republic. *(Then, glancing his eyes towards the soldiers, who were on duty within the walls, he cried)*—I appeal to you, fellow soldiers—you, before whom the jacobins desire to make me appear the enemy of liberty—you, who have so often been employed under me in laying the foundation of republics; and should you ever behold me abandon the cause of liberty, I entreat you to turn those dreadful bayonets, which have so often been directed to the shame and confusion of our enemies, against my own breast. Representatives! I conjure you to adopt the most prompt and energetic measures to save the country."

Bonaparte now retired from the council of ancients, and suddenly entered the hall of the council of five hundred, accompanied by a few grenadiers without arms. Advancing towards the top of the hall, the members of the council were instantly in motion—"A general here!" exclaimed they, "Down with the tyrant!"—"Outlaw the dictator!"—"Kill him, kill him!" Several of the members, rushing towards him, drew forth their poniards; and Arena, one of the deputies, and a native of Corsica, aimed a blow at him with a dagger, which Thome, a grenadier, parried with his arm, and was wounded.

The president, Lucien Bonaparte, having with great difficulty obtained an audience, exclaimed, "The general has undoubtedly no other intention than to impart to the council very important information respecting the present situation of affairs." The general, with all his heroism, stood for a moment astonished and speechless; for though he had expected opposition, he was not prepared for such a scene of frantic violence. General Lefebvre at length rushed into the hall with a body of armed grenadiers, to rescue their chief from the dangers with which he was environed; and Bonaparte was prevailed upon to quit the hall of the orangery, where the council was assembled, and to return to the soldiery drawn up in the court of the palace.

As soon as the soldiers had left the hall, the members instantly decreed, that the council of ancients had no power to invest Bonaparte with the command, as that authority could be conferred by the directory alone. The president animadverted with

great energy on the disorders of the day, and on the ferocious insults offered by some of the members towards an illustrious general, who had rendered the most signal and permanent services to the republic. "Outlaw him!" exclaimed several of the members; "he has this day disgraced his military renown, and deserves death from the hand of every patriot." The assembly had now become a mob, and the president was assailed on every side. His authority being at an end, and his life exposed to the most imminent peril; he darted from his chair, and divested himself of the insignia of his office, placed his toga and his scarf upon the bench, and rushed to the tribune. His voice was instantly drowned in exclamations against the military usurper, and tears of agony and indignation started from his eyes. Immediately pistols and poniards were presented to his breast, to compel him to resume his office, and to pronounce the decree of outlawry against his brother, but he remained inflexible, and General Lefebvre being at that moment deputed by Bonaparte, entered the hall at the head of a detachment of the military, and surrounding the president, conducted him in safety into the court of the palace.

The troops, animated by the presence of their general, but by no means unanimous in their opinions, listened with profound attention to the president, while he declared to them, in glowing language, that he, as well as his brother, had been threatened with assassination; that the council of five hundred no longer existed; that the minority had become rebels, and were holding the poniard of sedition and despotism over the heads of the unarmed majority; and he, as president, invoked the aid of the military force to expel those "representatives of the poniard" from the council chamber, where they were at that moment exercising acts of despotism and violence, and were on the point of overthrowing the republic. The president concluded this harangue by exclaiming, "Long live the republic." To which his military auditors replied, "Long live the republic!"—"Long live Bonaparte!"

The general now perceiving that the critical moment had arrived, ordered the troops to enter the hall of the council of five hundred. The grenadiers instantly advanced; when a deputy exclaimed, "Is it thus, soldiers, you tarnish the laurels you have gained in battle? Do the guardians of the national representation dare to menace its safety and independence?" Many of the other members, addressing the soldiers, conjured them, in the name of liberty, not to follow their leaders; when on a sudden the *pas de charge* was heard,

and the voices of the speakers were drowned in the sound of military music. At the word of command, the grenadiers brought their muskets to the charge, and a dreadful scene of alarm and dismay pervaded the whole assembly. The chamber was soon cleared of the members of the council, and cries of "Long live the republic!"—"Long live Bonaparte!" sent forth by the military, shook the lofty domes of St. Cloud.

The first imperfect intelligence of these events had filled the metropolis with apprehension, but no sooner were the circumstances attending this military usurpation made known, than the Parisians appeared overjoyed at the final subversion of the jacobin power, and cherished the hope of a new and better government, administered in equity, and founded on the principles of justice and humanity. The council of ancients, animated by the same hopes, issued a decree to the following effect:—

"In consideration of the *retreat* of the council of five hundred, and the resignation of four of the directory, the fifth, Gohier, being confined, a temporary executive commission of three members shall be appointed. The legislature is adjourned to the 1st of Nivose next (December 21st), when it will again assemble in Paris without further convocation. During the recess, there will be an intermedial commission of the council of ancients, in order to protect the rights of the national representation. The sitting is adjourned till nine o'clock in the evening of this day, when the council shall proceed to the appointment of the committee."

At nine o'clock in the evening, the council of five hundred, as well as the council of ancients, again assembled in their chambers, but the former, from which the jacobins had withdrawn, now appeared of a very different complexion from that which it had worn in the early part of the day. Lucien Bonaparte, their president, congratulated the members present on the deliverance they had obtained from the dominion of demagogues and assassins. The president then proposed a resolution to the effect, That General Bonaparte, and the other generals and officers, as well as the troops, had deserved well of their country. This resolution, which was carried without opposition, was succeeded by a proposal from Chazal, one of the deputies, that a committee of five members should be appointed, to consider the propriety of forming a new government; on which, the president, mounting the tribune, pronounced an animated harangue on the disasters of the republic, arising from the misconduct of the late government, and insisted strongly on the necessity of a change. At the close of the president's speech, Boulay de la Meurthe presented a report from a secret committee, containing the project of a decree for appointing a new government, and prefaced

his motion for the adoption of the report by an animated address, in which he enlarged on the profligacy and incapacity of the directory, on the defects of the constitution itself, and on the necessity of a strong executive power, capable of giving solidity to the state, and preventing the return of anarchy. The council then decreed, that the executive directory no longer existed; that certain deputies, to the number of sixty-one, on account of their excesses, particularly in the sitting of that morning, were no longer members of the national representation; that an executive consular committee should be provisionally appointed, consisting of citizens Sieyes, and Roger Ducos, ex-directors, and General Bonaparte, under the designation of consuls of the French republic; that they should be invested with the full powers of the directory; that the two councils should each name twenty-five commissioners, charged to prepare the changes in the organic dispositions of the constitution, the object of which changes was to consolidate and guarantee inviolably the sovereignty of the people.

This decree was instantly communicated to the council of ancients, by whom it was passed at midnight; on which the three consuls being summoned to the hall of the council of five hundred, were thus addressed by the president:—

"CITIZENS!

"The greatest people upon earth intrust you with their destinies; within three months, the public opinion shall judge you. Domestic happiness, general liberty, the direction of the armies, and peace itself, all are intrusted to you. You must have courage and zeal, to accept such an important trust, and such high functions. But you are supported by the confidence of the nation and of the armies; and it is well known to the legislature that your souls are entirely devoted to the welfare of the people."

The consuls then took the oath to preserve liberty and equality, and proclamations, communicating the events of the 18th and 19th Brumaire, were promulgated without delay in all the departments of the republic. Thus terminated this military revolution. It was a revolution of force without bloodshed. Bonaparte and the army were the founders of the new government; and the power obtained by the sword, the sword alone could destroy.

The three consuls entered upon their public functions the following day, at the palace of the Luxembourg; and the legislative commissioners at the same time commenced their sittings. The first objects that engaged their attention, were the repeal of the law imposing a forced loan, and the law of hostages—the former of

which had annihilated the remains of public credit, and the latter once more lighted up the flames of civil war in the departments. Bonaparte's first concern was to tranquillize the departments of La Vendee, where the standard of insurrection was once more unfurled. In this arduous undertaking, he succeeded rather by lenient than coercive measures, and in a short time peace was again restored to that desolated portion of the republic. In the interior, Bonaparte made every effort to pacify and unite the contending factions; regularity succeeded to trouble and disorder; the several branches of the military establishment were reorganized; the civil administration experienced great and essential ameliorations; and the tribunals of justice regained their activity. The list of emigrants, till this period kept open in order to be occasionally exercised as a rod of terror and of vengeance, was finally closed, and the threat of proscription lost much of its terror. Under the sanction of the powers vested in the consular commission, a decree was issued eight days only after the revolution, whereby fifty-nine of the most furious and inveterate jacobins were condemned to banishment; thirty-seven of them to Guiana, and the remainder to the isle of Oleron. It appeared, however, that this arrete was intended merely to strike terror into the terrorists, for the decree of banishment was soon afterwards provisionally changed into an arrete, placing the individuals in question under the inspection of the minister of police, and even this restraint was in a short time removed.

The mildness and policy of the consular government also signally displayed itself in the termination put to the legal proscription of the catholic priesthood. Such administrations as had been active in the persecution of priests, were broken, and the churches, which had been converted into places of municipal festivity, restored to their primitive use. The recall of such citizens as had been banished in pursuance of the revolution of the 19th Fructidor, next engaged the attention of government, and a consular decree was passed, recalling the greater number of those individuals; among whom were Barthelemi, Carnot, Pastoret, and many others. In forming the new administration, Lucien Bonaparte was constituted minister of the interior; and M. Talleyrand reinstated in his office of minister for foreign affairs; in which capacity, he had displayed great talents, and, in concert with Sieyes, was supposed to have meditated, in his retreat, that revolution in the state, of which Bonaparte arrived in France so opportunely to undertake the execution.

At length, the fabric of a new government was completed by the legislative commission, and approved on the 13th of December by the consuls and members of the legislative committee. This constitution was accordingly submitted to the suffrages of the citizens of the French republic at large, and received the express and avowed assent of upwards of three millions of the people, while the votes against its acceptance amounted only to fifteen hundred and sixty-two. On the 29th of December, 1799 (4th of Nivose, year VIII.), the new constitution was proclaimed at Paris with great solemnity, and the people by their acclamations seemed to cherish the hope that the institutions arising out of the revolution of the 18th and 19th Brumaire, would confer upon them the enjoyments of tranquillity, prosperity, and peace.

The new constitutional code was comprised of ninety-five articles, divided into seven chapters, and dated at Paris, the 22d Frimaire (Dec. 13), in the 8th year of the republic. This extraordinary production was in substance as follows:—

CHAPTER I.—The French republic is one and indivisible; but its European territory is distributed into departments and communes. Every man born and resident in France, of the age of twenty-one years, who has had his name inscribed in the civil register of his communal district, and afterwards remained a year on the French territory, is a French citizen. The citizens of every communal district shall appoint, by their suffrages, those whom they think most worthy of conducting public affairs. There shall be a list of confidence, containing a number of names, equal to a tenth of the number of citizens possessing the rights of suffrage. From this communal list, the public functionaries of districts shall be taken. The citizens comprised in the communal lists of a department shall appoint a tenth of their number; and from this departmental list the public functionaries of each department shall be taken. The citizens included in the departmental list shall also appoint a tenth of their number, who shall be eligible to public national functions. Every third year vacancies are to be filled; and the names of those who may have forfeited the confidence of their constituents to be withdrawn.

CHAPTER II.—An assembly shall be formed, under the appellation of the conservatory senate; consisting of sixty members, chosen for life, to be gradually increased to eighty, by an addition of two members for ten successive years, with fixed salaries, amounting to 25,000 francs (1041*l.*). Four persons named in the constitutional act, viz., Sieyès, Ducos, Cambacères, Le Brun, shall appoint the first thirty-one members, being the majority of the senate, which shall afterwards complete itself. Subsequent vacancies shall be filled up by the senate, who shall make their choice out of three candidates separately presented to them, by the legislative body, the tribunate, and the chief consul. From the national list, transmitted by the different departments, shall be elected by the conservative senate, who shall themselves be ineligible to any other function, the legislature, the tribunes, the consuls, and the judges of cassation. The senate shall also possess the power to confirm

or annul every act referred to them as unconstitutional by the tribune or the government. The sittings of the senate are not public.

CHAPTER III. treats of the legislative power.—No new law shall be promulgated, unless the plan shall have been first proposed by the executive government to the legislative body; communicated by the legislature to the tribunate; considered and discussed by the members of that assembly; and finally decreed by the legislative body. The executive government is at liberty, in any stage of discussion, to withdraw the plan or project of any law proposed, and to present it again in a modified state. The tribunate is composed of a hundred members; one-fifth renewable every year; and indefinitely re-eligible while they remain upon the national list. This assembly, after discussing the plan of every law proposed, shall vote for its adoption or rejection; and shall send three members, chosen from their body, by whom the motives of their decision shall be stated and supported before the legislative body. The legislative body shall be composed of three hundred members, to be also renewed annually by fifths. It shall commence its session every year, (1st Frimaire, (Nov. 21), and shall continue sitting at least four months; and it determines by secret scrutiny, without discussion, upon the plan of the laws argued upon in its presence. The sitting of the legislature and tribunate to be public; and the members of both to possess fixed salaries—the tribunes 15,000 francs (625*l.*); and the legislators 10,000 francs (416*l.*)

CHAPTER IV.—The executive government is intrusted to three consuls, appointed for ten years, but indefinitely re-eligible. For the present time, General Bonaparte is appointed chief consul; citizen Cambacères, now minister of police, second consul; and citizen Le Brun, member of the committee of ancient, third consul. The first or chief consul alone has the power of promulgating laws. He is to name or displace at pleasure the members of the council of state, the ministers, the ambassadors, the officers of the army by sea and land, the members of local administration, and the commissioners of the government at the tribunals. He is to appoint all judges, criminal and civil, as well as justices of the peace, and the judges of cassation, without the power of afterwards superseding them. Even in the inferior acts of government, the second and third consuls have deliberative voices only, and the liberty of countersigning their opinions; after which the determination of the first consul shall follow. The salary of the first consul is fixed at 500,000 francs (20,820*l.*), and that of the second and third at 75,000 francs (3,123*l.*) each.

The executive government is to manage political relations abroad; to conduct negotiations; to declare war; to sign and conclude all treaties of peace, alliance, truce, neutrality, commerce, and other conventions. Such declarations and treaties to be proposed, discussed, and decreed in the same manner as laws; and no act of government can have effect till it is signed by a minister. The minister charged with the administration of the public treasury is not at liberty to make provision for any branch of the public expenditure, except by virtue of a law, and only to the extent of the funds provided by law for that purpose; and the detailed account of every minister, signed and certified by him, are to be made public.

CHAPTER V. relates to the judicial authorities.—Every communal *arrondissement* shall have one or more justices of the peace elected immediately

by the citizens, for the term of three years, whose office it shall be to endeavour to reconcile the parties applying to them, by arbitrating between them. In civil matters, tribunals shall be established of first instance, and tribunals of appeal; the judges of which shall be taken from the departmental list. In criminal cases, a first jury admits or rejects the charge, a second jury pronounces on the fact, and the judges apply the punishment. Those crimes which do not amount to corporal punishment are tried before the tribunals of correctional police, with an appeal to the criminal tribunals. There is for the whole republic, one tribunal of cassation; the judges composing which are taken from the national list. This tribunal pronounces on appeals against judgments in the last resort. It does not, however, decide upon the merits, but merely reverses judgments given on proceedings in which the constitutional forms are violated—sending the case back for a rehearing. The judges of all descriptions remain in office for life, unless condemned to forfeit their places, or unless discontinued on the list of eligibles, corresponding with their functions.

CHAPTER VI. relates to the responsibility of the public functionaries.—The functions of members, whether of the senate, tribunate, legislative body, or council of state, including ministers of the executive power are all responsible. Personal crimes committed by citizens of any of these descriptions, are prosecuted before the ordinary tribunals, after a deliberation of the body to which the person under accusation belongs has authorized such prosecution. The ministers of state are moreover responsible for every act of government signed by them; and also for any orders contrary to the constitution, laws, and ordinances. The judges, civil and criminal, for crimes relating to their functions, shall be prosecuted before the tribunals to which the tribunal of cassation may send them, after having annulled their acts.

CHAPTER VII.—Of general dispositions. The house of every person inhabiting the French territory is an inviolable asylum. It can be entered only in the day, for a special purpose determined by the law, or an order emanating from a public authority. The arrest of a person must first express in form the causes for such arrest, and the law in virtue of which it is ordered. 2dly. It must issue from such functionary only as the law has invested with the power. 3dly. It must be notified to the person arrested, and a copy of it left with him. All severities used in arrest, detentions, or executions, other than those commanded by the laws, are crimes.

Every man has a right of addressing petitions to every constituted authority;—the public force is necessarily in a state of obedience; no armed body can deliberate; military crimes are subjected to special tribunals, and particular forms of judgment;—a national institute is charged with receiving discoveries, and perfecting the arts and sci-

ences;—a committee of seven, chosen by the senate from the national list, regulates and verifies the accounts of the receipts and expenses of the republic.

This consular constitution exhibited, undoubtedly, indications of political ability and wisdom far exceeding any discoverable in the directorial system, and its analysis, as given by Roederer, is deserving of being preserved. Out of an aggregate of thirty-three millions and a half, of which the population of France at that time consisted, he estimates the male inhabitants of age, and qualified to vote, at five millions; who reduce themselves to five hundred thousand notables of departments; reduced again to five thousand notables of France; from whom are chosen five hundred legislators of the senate, tribunate, and legislative body; one grand consul, and two puisne consuls. The senate and tribunate are chosen not by the five thousand notables of France, out of that class. A body of eighty members, first constituted representatives of the nation, either by a competent election or by the acquiescence of the people, under the title of conservators, choose first, all the members called to exercise the legislative power; and secondly, (the consuls) the three chiefs of the executive power, the first of whom afterwards chooses the ministers and the other agents of the government.

Accustomed to change, and charmed with novelty, the Parisians received the new constitution with delight, and viewed the pomp and the splendour of the consular government with surprise and self-complacency. They reasoned little, but hoped much. Bonaparte was their idol, and from him alone they expected every thing!*

* This disposition to aggrandize the chief consul was well satirized by a hand-bill, of which the following is a copy, and with which the streets of Paris were placarded on the night of his elevation to the consular dignity:—

“POLITICAL SUBTRACTION.
From 5 Directors
Take 2

—
and there remain 3 Consuls:
From which take 2

—
and there remains 1 BONAPARTE!”

CHAPTER XV.

Situation of Europe at the Commencement of the Nineteenth Century—Bonaparte's Letter to the King of England—Lord Grenville's official Reply—Correspondence—Debates and Decision of the British Parliament thereon—Proposal for an Inquiry into the Expedition to Holland—Supplies—Ways and Means—Subsidy to the Emperor—Renewed Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act—Affairs of India—Renewal of the Bank Charter—Meeting of the Irish Parliament—Discussions on the Union—Duel between Mr. Grattan and the Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer—Assent to the Union—The Act of Union finally passed—Ratified by the Irish Parliament—Investigation into the Means of Remedying the Evils of the existing Scarcity—Prorogation of Parliament—Escape of his Majesty from the Attempt of a Maniac Assassin.

THE eighteenth century, the latter part of which had been rendered so memorable by the revolution of states and empires, had now closed in blood.* Not a glimpse of peace presented itself to cheer the mind after so long and so sanguinary a contest: on the contrary, every thing seemed to forbode a prolongation of public calamity, and a renewal of individual misfortune.

The coalition against France, although weakened in consequence of those jealousies which have generally rendered combinations of this kind of little avail, had certainly achieved great events. The republic had beheld her armies moulder away, and her best generals beaten in succession, during the preceding campaign. The house of Austria, justly proud of her late acquisitions, had covered Italy with troops; the adjoining seas and straits swarmed with British cruisers; the fleets of France and Spain were rendered useless, by being shut up in their own ports; and the army of Egypt was not only cut off from all intercourse with Europe, but also deprived of its boasted leader. Such was the situation of France, when it was the fortune of one of her generals to overturn the constitution of the commonwealth, at the same time that he rescued her allies from ruin, and her armies from ignominy and disgrace.

Bonaparte, having in a great measure united in his own person all the authorities both civil and military, determined on entering into negotiations for peace. However slender his hopes of success, he resolved if possible to throw all the odium arising from the further prosecution of the war on the enemies of France, and accordingly commenced his career by professing his horror of the calamities to which Europe had been so long exposed. Having addressed himself without success to the court of Vienna, he next determined to sound the intentions of the King of Great Britain. Talleyrand, formerly Bishop of Autun, and now secretary of state for foreign affairs, accordingly transmitted a despatch

to Lord Grenville, who occupied a similar situation in England, with a request that it might be delivered into his majesty's own hand. Of this letter, which was in the hand-writing of the first consul, the following is the official translation:—

"FRENCH REPUBLIC—SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE—LIBERTY—EQUALITY.

"BONAPARTE, First Consul of the Republic, to the King of Great Britain and Ireland.

"Paris, 5th Nivose, 8th year, Dec. 25, 1799.

"Called by the wishes of the French nation to occupy the first magistracy of the republic, I think it proper on entering into office to make a direct communication of it to your majesty.

"The war which for eight years has ravaged the four quarters of the world, must it be eternal? Are there no means of coming to an understanding? How can the two most enlightened nations of Europe, powerful and strong beyond what their safety and independence require, sacrifice to ideas of vain grandeur, commerce, prosperity, and peace? How is it that they do not feel that peace is of the first importance, as well as the highest glory?

"These sentiments cannot be foreign to the heart of your majesty, who reigns over a free nation with the sole view of rendering it happy. Your majesty will see in this overture my sincere wish to contribute efficaciously, for the second time, to a general pacification, by a step speedy, entirely of confidence, and disengaged from those forms which, perhaps necessary to disguise the dependence of weak states, prove, in those that are strong, only the desire of deceiving each other.

"France and England, by the abuse of their strength, may still for a long time, for the misfortune of all nations, retard the period of their being exhausted; but I will venture to say it, the fate of all civilized nations is attached to the termination of a war, which involves the whole world.

"Your majesty's, &c."

"BONAPARTE."

To this communication, Lord Grenville returned an official answer, addressed to M. Talleyrand, and expressed in these terms:—

"SIR,

"I have laid before the king the letter which you have transmitted to me, and his majesty, seeing no reason to depart from those forms which have long been established in Europe for transacting business with foreign states, has commanded me to return in his name the official answer which I send.

"I have the honour to be, &c."

(Signed) "GRENVILLE."

* This is erroneous; the 18th century did not close until the last minute of the last day of December, 1800.—W. G.

OFFICIAL NOTE.

London, Jan. 4, 1800.

"The king has given frequent proofs of his sincere desire of re-establishing tranquillity in Europe. He neither is nor has been engaged in any contest for vain glory. He has had no other view than that of maintaining against all aggression the rights and the happiness of his subjects. For these, he has contended against an unprovoked attack, and for the same objects is still obliged to contend. Nor can he hope that the necessity could be removed by entering at the present moment into negotiation with those whom a fresh revolution has so recently placed in the exercise of power in France; since no real advantage can arise from such negotiations to the desirable object of general peace, till those causes have ceased to operate which originally produced the war, by which it has been since protracted, and in more than one instance renewed. The same system to which France justly ascribes all her present miseries, has also involved Europe in a destructive warfare, of a nature long unknown to the practice of civilized nations. For the extension of this system, and the extermination of all established governments, the resources of France have been lavished and exhausted. To this indiscriminate spirit of destruction, the Netherlands, the United Provinces, and the Swiss Cantons, have successively been sacrificed. Germany has been ravaged—Italy has been the scene of unbounded rapine and anarchy. His majesty himself has been compelled to maintain an arduous contest for the independence and existence of his kingdom.

"Nor have these calamities been confined to Europe alone: they have been extended to the most distant quarters of the world, and even to countries so remote, both in situation and interest, from the present contest, that the very existence of such a war was probably unknown to those who suddenly found themselves involved in its horrors.

"Whilst such a system therefore prevails, and whilst the blood and treasures of a powerful nation can be lavished in its support, experience has shown that no defence but that of open and steady hostility can be availing. The most solemn treaties have only prepared the way to fresh aggression, and it is to determined resistance alone, that whatever remains in Europe of stability, for property, for personal safety, for social order, or the exercise of religion, can be preserved. For the security, therefore, of these essential objects, his majesty cannot place reliance on the mere renewal of general professions for pacific dispositions. Such professions have been repeatedly held out by all who have successively directed the resources of France, to the destruction of Europe, and whom the present rulers have declared all to have been incapable of maintaining the relations of amity. Greatly will his majesty rejoice, whenever it shall appear that the danger to which his own dominions and those of his allies have been so long exposed, has really ceased; whenever he shall be satisfied that the necessity of resistance shall be at an end; that after so many years of crimes and miseries, better principles have prevailed, and the gigantic projects of ambition, endangering the very existence of civil society, have at length been relinquished. But the conviction of such a change can result only from the evidence of facts.

"The best pledge of its reality and permanence would be the restoration of that line of princes which, for so many centuries, maintained the French nation in prosperity at home and consider-

ation abroad. Such an event would at once remove all obstacles in the way of negotiation or peace. It would confirm to France the unmolested enjoyment of its ancient territory, and give to all other nations that tranquillity, that security which they are now compelled to seek by other means.

"But it is not to this mode that his majesty limits the possibility of solid pacification. He makes no claim to prescribe to France, what shall be the form of her government, or in whose hands she shall vest the authority necessary for conducting the affairs of a great and powerful nation.

"His majesty only looks to the security of his own dominions, of his allies, and of Europe. Whenever he shall judge it can be in any manner attained, he will eagerly embrace the opportunity to concert with his allies the means of an immediate and general peace.

"Unhappily, at present no such security exists; no sufficient evidence of the principles by which the new government will be directed; no reasonable grounds of its stability appear. In this situation, therefore, it remains for his majesty to pursue, in conjunction with other powers, those exertions of a just and defensive war, which a regard to the happiness of his subjects will never permit him to continue beyond the necessity in which they originated, or to terminate on any other foundation than such as would contribute to the secure enjoyment of their tranquillity, their constitution, and their independence.

(Signed)

"GRENVILLE."

This repelling reply, which afterwards subjected the ministers to severe animadversions, provoked an animated rejoinder. Talleyrand, on the 14th of January, intimated in an official note, written by direction of the consuls, that so far from France having been the aggressor in the present war, she had from the first moment of the revolution solemnly proclaimed her love of peace, and her respect for the independence of all governments. Incessantly occupied in the melioration of her internal affairs, she would have avoided all interference in the concerns of other states, had not nearly the whole of Europe leagued against her. The provocation had existence before it became public; the nation was outraged in the person of her agents, and England in particular had set this example by the dismissal of the minister residing at her court. The evils which France had suffered, as well as those which afflicted Europe, are in this document attributed entirely to the projects of subjugation entered into against France: assailed on all sides, the republic had on all sides exerted herself for the maintenance of her independence; but no sooner had her enemies renounced their schemes of invasion, than she in her turn manifested a sincere desire for peace.—"If, however," continues the French minister, "the views of the King of England accord with those of France in respect to the re-establishment of tranquillity, why not attempt to terminate the war, instead of attempting its apology?" "The first consul of the

French republic," said M. Talleyrand, "cannot doubt that his Britannic majesty recognises the right of nations to choose the form of their government, since it is from the exercise of this right that he himself holds his crown. But the first consul has been unable to comprehend, how, to this fundamental principle, upon which rests the existence of political societies, the ministers of his majesty could annex insinuations which tend to an interference in the internal affairs of the republic; and which are no less injurious to the French nation and to its government, than it would be to England, and to his majesty, if an invitation were held out in favour of that republican government of which England adopted the forms in the middle of the last century; or an exhortation to recall to the throne that family which had been placed there by birth, and made to descend from it in consequence of a revolution." It was asked, if at other times his majesty had been eager to propose conferences for peace, why he should now refuse to renew the negotiations? And in order to put an end to the calamities of war, it was proposed to agree to a suspension of arms, and immediately to nominate plenipotentiaries, who might repair to Dunkirk, or any other place calculated for the celerity of communication.

In a despatch from Lord Grenville, dated the 20th January, this proposal was declined on the part of the English government; and while that of France was accused of having entered into a systematic defence of the unprovoked aggressions that had taken place on her part, an attempt was made to wipe away the insinuation respecting the restoration of the Bourbons, by protesting once more, that the King of Great Britain had no desire whatever to prescribe to any foreign nation the form of its constitution.

In the session of 1799—1800, parliament assembled at the early period of the 24th of September, and after having passed a bill through all its stages, for engrafting a large proportion of the militia into the regular army, the two houses adjourned to the 21st of January, 1800. After the adjournment, the first subject of importance that engaged the attention of parliament, was the correspondence which had recently taken place between the British and the French governments.

Ministers inquired what possible advantage could result from a negotiation with France at this moment? They asked whether the consular government presented a greater certainty of a favourable termination of a treaty, than any of the revolutionary governments which had preceded

it? They recapitulated the proceedings of Bonaparte at Milan, Modena, Genoa, Venice, Malta, and Egypt, and resorted to them as so many unanswerable arguments against any confidential reliance on the advances now made by that general.

Mr. Pitt, with his accustomed eloquence, declaimed against the injustice and rapacity of republican France: "You cannot," said this statesman, "look at the map of Europe, and lay your hand upon that country against which France has not either declared an open and aggressive war, or violated some positive treaty, or broken some recognized principle of the law of nations. The all-searching eye of the French revolution looks to every part of Europe, and to every quarter of the world, in which can be found any object of acquisition or plunder. Nothing is too great for the temerity of its ambition; nothing too small for the grasp of its rapacity. This is the spirit which animated its birth, and this is the spirit which will not desert it till the moment of its dissolution.—This system arose out of the nature of the revolution, and has been invariably pursued, under Brissot, and under Robespierre, by Sieyes, as well as Barras. At present, a supreme power is placed at the head of this nominal republic, with a more open avowal of military despotism than at any former period. The different institutions, republican in form and appearance, are now annihilated. They have given way to the absolute power of one man, concentrating in himself all the authorities of the state, and differing from other monarchs only in this, that he wields a sword instead of a sceptre."—"Under these circumstances," said Mr. Pitt, at the close of an elaborate speech, "I see no possibility of such a peace as will be attended with established tranquillity; and as I cannot be content with its nominal attainment; I will not grasp at the shadow, when the reality is beyond my reach."

Lord Grenville maintained that Bonaparte, had two objects in his late proposition: the one, to slacken the efforts of the British nation; the other, to sow jealousies among the allies of England. "This same individual now so desirous of peace," added the foreign secretary, "was formerly eager to conclude the treaty of Campo Formio, for the express purpose of employing all the forces of France against England. It was he who, contemplating our ruin as the last exploit of his military career, sent his two confidential agents, Berthier and Monge, to the directory, and charged the latter to declare, that the French republic and the government of England were incompatible with each other."

The minority, on the other hand, animadverted on the precipitation of ministers in closing the door at once to all hopes of pacification. The Duke of Bedford reproached them with a design of retarding the return of peace until the moment when, passing through a series of revolutions, the monarchy of France should be restored. Considering this project as chimerical, he complained of the unnecessary prolongation of the war on account of the allies, whose disinterestedness and constancy had not been experienced, and at a time too, when the situation of Ireland was eminently critical, and the taxes were becoming daily more burthensome.

Mr. Whitbread, in the house of commons, endeavoured to prove, by a recurrence to the history of the contest, that the French republic was not the only country which had infringed the law of nations; but even supposing this actually to be the case, that consideration did not prevent a titled ambassador from repairing both to Paris and to Lisle, for the express purpose of treating for a peace with a government avowedly jacobinical. Without pretending to justify the usurpation of Bonaparte, he remarked that too general a stain had been thrown on his conduct as a magistrate. Was it he who had infringed the preliminaries of the treaty of Leoben and the armistice with the Archduke Charles? Was it he to whom was to be imputed the transgression of the treaty of Campo Formio? In whatever light the late expedition to Egypt might be surveyed, it ought not to be forgotten, that the project originated with the government which had been destroyed by the late revolution; and if this event interdicted negotiation with the first consul, the dismemberment of Poland, by the emperors of Russia and Germany, and the king of Prussia, ought equally to preclude all connection with these monarchs.

Mr. Fox, in reply to Mr. Pitt, said, "All parties are agreed in opinion that the present is a new era of the war: yet the right honourable gentleman does not seem to think any new arguments necessary to induce us to persevere in it. All the topics which have so often misled us—all the reasoning which has so invariably failed—all the lofty predictions which have been so constantly falsified by events—all the hopes which have amused the sanguine, and all the assurances of the distress and the weakness of the enemy which have satisfied the unthinking, are again enumerated and advanced as arguments for our continuing the war. I must lament, in common with every genuine friend of peace, the harsh and unconciliating language which ministers have made use of in their answer

to a respectful offer of negotiation. Such language has ever been reprobated, and considered as extremely unwise, by the most celebrated diplomatic characters. But ministers tell us they have not refused all discussion. They have declared the restoration of the house of Bourbon to be an event which would immediately remove every obstacle to negotiation. If the restoration of that house be the wish of the French nation, I for one shall be perfectly content to acquiesce; but as an Englishman, actuated by English feelings, I cannot wish for their restoration to the power which they abused. I feel for their situation; I respect their distresses; but I cannot forget, that the history of the century is little more than an account of the calamities arising from their intrigues. But it is held to be a degradation to treat with a usurper, a military despot, whose power, it is taken for granted, will be shortlived. Was not the government erected by Julius Cæsar a military despotism? and yet, it lasted for five or six hundred years. Cromwell was a usurper, yet France and Spain did not refuse to treat with him upon that account. We are told, again, that Bonaparte has declared it as his opinion, that the two governments of Great Britain and of France cannot exist together. Suppose it to be true that this absurd and puerile assertion was actually made by Bonaparte, has not the right honourable the chancellor of the exchequer said the same thing in this house?—In this at least they resemble one another; they have both made this assertion, and they are, perhaps the only two persons upon earth who have adopted this preposterous sentiment. If we are to reason from facts instead of assertions I should think it equally the interest and the inclination of Bonaparte to make peace. His measure of military glory is full: it may be tarnished by a reverse of fortune, and can hardly be increased by any new laurels; peace would secure to him what he has achieved, and fix the constancy of fortune. And if peace be of so much importance to him, the terms of peace would be advantageous to this country. But if another appeal be made to the sword, and if the events of war should be unfavourable to Great Britain and to her allies, does the right honourable gentleman think that Bonaparte will grant to baffled insolence, to humbled pride, to disappointed imbecility, the same terms which he would be ready to give now?" Mr. Fox concluded this memorable speech, which embraced a wide field of argument, and comprehended a retrospect of the events of the last ten years, in these words: "I have discharged my duty; I have told you my opinion. I think you

ought to have given a civil, clear, and explicit answer to the overture which was fairly and handsomely made to you. If you were desirous that the negotiation should have included all your allies, as the means of bringing about a general peace, you should have told Bonaparte so; but I believe you were afraid of his agreeing to the proposal. I know that public opinion, if it could be collected, would be for peace as much now as in 1797; and I know that it is only by public opinion, not by a sense of duty, not by the inclination of their minds, that ministers will be brought, if ever, to give us peace."

The conduct of his majesty's ministers, in rejecting the overtures made by the first consul, was approved by decided majorities in both houses, and it was accordingly determined to carry on the war on a large and extensive scale. To enable the allies to bring the greatest possible number of troops into the field, negotiations were immediately entered into with the emperor, the Duke of Würtzburg, and the Elector of Bavaria; the army of Condé, and the Swiss regiment of Rovera, were also taken into the pay of England, and it was proposed and agreed to by parliament, to enable the treasury to advance the sum of half a million of money, until the subsidiary treaties had been signed and adjusted. It occasioned, however, no small surprise, to find that the Russian forces, which, after serving in Holland, had been quartered during the winter in Guernsey and Jersey, were not mentioned upon this occasion; and some began to surmise that the Emperor Paul was already tired of a war from which he had hitherto derived neither benefit nor glory.

The question of the expediency of continuing the war, was not only incidentally introduced in most of the debates respecting the foreign subsidies, but was made the subject, on more than one occasion, of direct and formal motions by the minority. On the 28th of February Mr. Tierney moved, "that it is the opinion of this house, that it is unjust and unnecessary to continue the war for the purpose of restoring monarchy in France." Ministers indignantly repelled the insinuation conveyed in these terms, and denied that the restoration of monarchy was the object of the war: they opposed, however, Mr. Tierney's motion, which was negatived by a very large majority; and two other motions of similar tendency underwent the same fate in the course of the session.

The late expedition to Holland, which had terminated in many respects so inauspiciously to the British nation, became another subject of inquiry and crimination

against ministers; and on the 10th of February Mr. Sheridan prefaced a motion for examining into the causes of the failure of the late expedition, by a very copious speech, in which he acquitted the commander-in-chief, the officers, and the army, who had been sent to the Helder, of all blame; and attributed their misfortunes solely to the impolicy and rashness of ministers.

Mr. Dundas took the lead in opposing the motion: he insisted on the advantages which had accrued to Britain from the Dutch expedition, particularly the capture of the Dutch fleet, and the diversion of the French arms from the Upper Rhine to Holland; he objected to the motion, however, on more general grounds, as it consigned to parliament the task of publicly criticising military operations, which was not their duty or department. Such investigations, he contended, could produce no good, and would only clog and harass the measures of government.

Mr. Tierney, in supporting the motion, declared, "that the capitulation seemed to fix an indelible stain on the national character, and inflict a deep wound on the British soldier's honour. We owed it to our sovereign and our country to inquire into the causes of the disgrace; and if the expedition had failed through the folly of those who had planned it, to drag their delinquency to the light."

Mr. Percival allowed, "that capitulation, abstractedly considered, was not an honourable conclusion to a military expedition: but this was a mere abstract consideration. Two of the grand objects of the expedition had been attained. The Dutch fleet was captured, and a strong diversion effected in favour of the allies. The third object had been found unattainable, and the expedient which had been adopted for saving the troops was not disgraceful, because it was merely an adaptation to the imperious necessity of circumstances, and because much benefit had been already reaped from the invasion of Holland." On a division of the house, there appeared for Mr. Sheridan's motion 45, against it 216.

The subject excited a still more animated discussion in the house of peers, where a similar motion was introduced by Lord Holland. "We know," said his lordship, "that it is natural to impute the blame of unsuccessful expeditions to the commander-in-chief. In this country, it may not be so imputed; but in Europe the charge will be made, and it stands supported by the statements of a Russian general in the Petersburg gazette. It is necessary to demonstrate the truth by a fair investigation. At

a moment, especially, when it is decided that the war is to be renewed, and when new expeditions are rumoured to be in view, it is more than ever important to prove how much, or how little, of the public confidence is due to the errors of those who are to sketch the outlines of our future warfare."

Earl Moira coincided with the sentiments of the noble lord who had made the motion respecting the conduct of the illustrious personage who had headed the expedition, but objected to the motion, as tending to elicit information respecting the state of our secret friends in Holland, which ought not, in justice to them, to be brought forward. The hopes of the expedition were confessedly built on the co-operation of the Dutch; to determine the peculiar causes why the expected aid from that quarter had been disappointed, would produce the disclosure of wants and circumstances which it would be cruelty to our partisans in Holland to make public, and impolitic with regard to ourselves, as it might defeat the eventual success of similar operations.

The military and naval forces appointed for the service of the year 1800, were nearly the same as in the former year. Mr. Pitt, in detailing the means for raising this supply, estimated the income tax at five millions three hundred thousand pounds, exclusive of one million seven hundred thousand pounds, appropriated to the payment of interest for thirty-two millions and a half, but he expressed the strongest expectation, that it would turn out to a better account. He had negotiated a loan of eighteen million pounds, but the assignment of one million seven hundred thousand pounds of the income tax to the payment of a part of the interest, rendered three hundred and thirteen thousand pounds sufficient for the remainder. The consolidated fund he reckoned at about four millions; exchequer bills, three millions; and an advance of three millions, bearing no interest for six years, from the bank, as a premium for the renewal of the charter for twenty-one years, which, together with the loan, made up the sum of thirty-nine millions five hundred thousand pounds. These financial proposals, which underwent a variety of strictures from the vigilant observation of Mr. Tierney, were ultimately carried.

On the 17th of February Mr. Pitt having moved for an advance of five hundred thousand pounds to the emperor, it was opposed with great energy by Mr. Tierney; who conjured the house to recollect that the war had now continued seven years, at the expense of two hundred millions, on the pretext of its being just and necessary. Just

it could not be, if the object of it were to force upon the French nation the restoration of the Bourbons; nor necessary, because we had refused to negotiate when the opportunity was presented to us. If this sum were granted, much larger demands would follow; and thus we were to lavish our blood and treasure in a cause for which no one plain, satisfactory, intelligible reason could be assigned, and he denied the minister to name it.

Mr. Pitt rose, and declared that he found no difficulty in stating the object of the war in a single sentence, nay, even in a single word—*SECURITY*. It was also more than this: it was security against a danger the greatest that had ever threatened the world: a danger which never existed before in any period of society; which had been felt and resisted by all the nations of Europe, but by none so successfully and uniformly as, our own. Our resistance had not been confined to external force, it had joined internal policy and wise legislative measures to oppose jacobinism in the bosom (he was sorry to have found it there) of our own country. How was it discovered that jacobinism had disappeared in France? It was now centered in one man, nursed in its school, who had gained celebrity under its auspices, and was at once the child and the champion of its atrocities—Bonaparte. Our security in negotiation was to be this man, who was at the present moment the organ of all that was destructive in the revolution. Granting that two hundred millions had been expended for the world's "just and necessary," they had been expended for the best of causes—to protect the dearest rights, to defend the most valuable privileges—the laws, the liberties, the happiness of our country; and for such objects as much more would we spend, and as much more could we find.

On the annual motion for the renewal of the habeas corpus suspension act, in the course of this month, a warm debate ensued; and it was declared by Mr. Sheridan to be better to repeal the habeas corpus act at once, than thus insidiously to undermine it. No conspiracy, as ministers well knew, at this time existed; and it was monstrous, that persons should be confined for so many years without being brought to trial, or scarcely knowing of what they were accused.

Sir Francis Burdett said, he had not language to express his feelings on these repeated suspensions of the habeas corpus. When that act was removed, little difference was left between our own and any other government. He solemnly protested his belief, that ministers were afraid to bring the persons accused to trial. He af-

firmed, that, so far as he could judge, their innocence was their crime; and who, he asked, could doubt of their being brought to trial, if any traitorous design could be proved against them? He demanded a trial for them; and enforced this natural claim of justice, by relating to the house divers horrid abuses of power, which to his own knowledge had been committed under the suspension. "What," exclaimed this ardent patriot, "would the immortal Chatham have said, on the recital of such oppression? The thunder of his eloquence would have shaken the house. In his estimation, the cottage of the peasant was as sacred as the palace of the king. He would have raised a storm from which ministers would gladly have screened their heads."

In the house of lords this measure was again vigorously opposed, by the Lords King and Holland; but it finally passed both houses, by great and decided majorities.

Towards the end of March, Mr. Dundas stated, in a committee of the whole house, the prosperous condition of the East India company. He admitted the increase of debts and the decrease of *assets* in India and China to the amount of two millions seven hundred thousand pounds; but the increase of *assets* and the decrease of debt in Europe he computed at about three millions eight hundred thousand pounds; so that the company had gained, upon the balance, a million and upwards in the course of the year; but the charges of the late war were not yet ascertained!

The virtual rejection by the Irish parliament, during the last session, of the overture made by Great Britain towards the accomplishment of a legislative and incorporative union of the two kingdoms, would have sufficed to deter a less intrepid and persevering minister than Mr. Pitt from the prosecution of so great and difficult a project; but it was the characteristic of his genius to arm and fortify itself against all resistance, to contemn all obstacles, and to defy all opposition.

On the 15th of January, 1800, the Irish parliament met at Dublin. In the speech delivered by Lord Cornwallis on that occasion, he made no allusion to the project in contemplation. As it was, however, well known that it would at a very early period be revived, a resolution was taken by the members in the contrary interest to oppose it *in limine*; and when the address of thanks was proposed by Lord Loftus, Sir Lawrence Parsons moved an amendment, annexing to the wish of perpetuating a constitutional connexion with Great Britain, an equal solicitude for the preservation of an independent resident parliament. A violent debate ensued, which was rendered very

memorable by a most able and ardent speech of Mr. Grattan, who supported the amendment with all the powers of his superior talents and eloquence. In the first part of this elaborate harangue, he endeavoured to prove, that the final adjustment of 1782 excluded the idea of any ulterior arrangement; and he absolutely denied the competency of parliament to annihilate its own existence. The incompatibility of independent legislatures in the same empire had been, he affirmed, the doctrine which lost America; and an imperial parliament was once more to take its bloody station in the pages of the minister. "How strange were the ideas which the minister entertained of the functions of an Irish parliament;—it was incompetent to regulate the commerce of the country—it was omnipotent to overturn her constitution; it was inadequate to protect—almighty only to subvert and destroy.

"The constitution which he is now attempting to destroy, is one of the pillars of the empire; dear from its violation—dear in its recovery. Its restoration cost Ireland her noblest efforts. It is the habitation of her loyalty, as well as of her liberty; her temple of fame, as well as of freedom. But the field of imagination is that in which the British minister delights to rove; and by holding out visionary prospects and promises, he hopes ultimately to accomplish his designs. Where, indeed, he is to extinguish our power of legislation, to abrogate our highest court of judicature, to extort from us, by a financial agreement, a perpetual tribute, he is altogether a matter-of-fact man: but when he is to provide a compensation for all this prodigality of concession, then he becomes wholly poetic and prophetic; fancy gives him her wand—Amalthea takes him by the hand—Ceres follows in his train: the English capitalist and manufacturer will leave his mines, his machinery, his comforts, and his habits; he will conquer his prejudices and prepossessions, and come over to Ireland with a generous design to give her commerce for her lost constitution. A man who reasons may be answered by reasoning; but the minister in all this does not argue, but foretel: now you cannot confute a prophet—you can only disbelieve him. It forms the genuine harmony of the state, when the rich encourage and employ the poor, and the poor with confidence look up to the watchful care and guardian protection of the rich; both concurring to the same end, from that grand column of society, 'where all below is strength, and all above is grace.' How does the minister's plan accomplish this? He takes away our gentlemen and nobles, and supplies their place by English factors and commercial adventurers. This minister proposes to you

to give up the ancient inheritance of your country—to proclaim an utter incapacity to make laws for your own people;—and is this no attack upon the honour and dignity of the kingdom? The thing which he proposes to buy, cannot be sold—liberty! and his propositions are built upon nothing but your dishonour. I have heard of parliaments impeaching ministers, but here is a minister who impeaches parliament; nay, the parliamentary constitution itself: and he proposes to you to substitute the British parliament in your place; to destroy the body which restored your liberties, and to restore that body which destroyed them. Against such a proposition, were I expiring on the floor, I should beg to utter my last breath, and to record my dying testimony.”

This brilliant declamation was answered in a speech less eloquent than argumentative, by the new chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Corry; and the debate was prolonged till ten the next morning, when there appeared to be 96 votes only in favour of the amendment, to 138 who supported the address in its original form.

On the 5th of February, a message from the lord-lieutenant was delivered to each house of parliament, intimating the king's desire that the resolutions passed by the parliament of Great Britain should be submitted to the attentive consideration of the Irish legislature; and expressing his hope that the great object to which they related, might be matured and completed by the wisdom of the two parliaments, and the loyal concurrence of the people. On this great occasion, the secretary of state, Lord Castlereagh, to whose able management the business was intrusted, arose, and in a well-digested speech, entered into a very comprehensive view of the measure proposed, recommending it by arguments analogous to those of Mr. Pitt and other advocates of the union in the British parliament. On the other hand, those arguments were contested with at least equal ability, by the principal leaders of the opposition.

On moving the first resolution, after a vehement debate, the numbers were, in favour of the court 158, against it 116. The tumults of the populace of Dublin were upon this occasion very alarming; and a military guard of cavalry was found necessary to preserve the parliamentary advocates of the union from personal insult and violence.

On the 10th of February, the business was once more introduced into the house of peers by the Earl of Clair, late Lord Fitzgibbon, chancellor of Ireland, in a speech of extraordinary ability, and, in certain points of view, of distinguished excellence; but contaminated by a wretched spirit of bigotry and malignity, and abounding with

personalities unknown to the dignified and decorous proceedings of the British house of peers, and which it would pollute the page of history to notice. On moving the first resolution, this nobleman declared himself “satisfied in his judgment and conscience, from an attentive observation of what had passed in Ireland for the last twenty years, that the existence of *an* independent parliament had gradually led to her recent and bitter calamities.” And he avowed that he had, for the preceding seven years, pressed upon ministers the urgent necessity of union, as the last remaining resource to preserve this country to the British crown.

No peer in opposition ventured on this occasion formally to enter the lists against this distinguished orator. The Lords Dillon, Powerscourt, Farnham, and Bellamont, however, declared in successive speeches their disapprobation of the measure; which was defended by the law lords, Carleton and Kilwarden, and by various other peers: after which, the question upon the first resolution was put, and passed the house by a majority of seventy-five to twenty-six voices.

The succeeding resolutions were in the course of a few weeks carried through this house with the same or greater facility. The discussion of the fourth resolution, upon the 22d of March, was signalized by a masterly speech of the Lord Chief Baron Yelverton, whose characteristic liberality had happily preserved him, throughout the late scenes of distraction, from the disgrace of perverting his talents to serve the purposes of any party. “The great value of the arrangement of 1789, which he had assisted in forming,” his lordship said, “was, that it placed the Irish on a proud footing of national and legislative independence, and enabled them to say upon what terms they were willing to unite; whereas, if that adjustment had not occurred, they would perhaps, before this time, have yielded to a union of subjection, not a union of equality. Their independence had never since been violated; and they were not now desired to give up their legislative rights, but to perpetuate them by union. Their liberties would not be annihilated, but would be rendered immortal, by being placed on the same broad basis with those of Great Britain.” His lordship asserted the perfect competence of the two parliaments to enact the proposed measure, if conducive to the welfare and happiness of the two nations. To doubt the competency of the two legislatures to frame such a law, was to doubt their competency to answer the ends of their institution. The question was then put, and carried by a great majority, that twenty-eight tempo-

ral and four spiritual peers should represent Ireland in the imperial parliament; with an amendment, importing that on the extinction of three Irish peerages, one might be created, till the number was reduced to a hundred, and afterwards one for every failure.

In the course of these debates, three different protests, drawn with vigour and ability, were entered upon the journals of the house, signed by the Duke of Leinster, the Marquis of Downshire, the Lords Pery and Moira, the Bishop of Down, and about twenty other peers, expressive of their highest indignation at these proceedings.

On the 17th of February, the house of commons being in a general committee, Mr. Corry, chancellor of the exchequer, made an able speech in vindication of the measure, blended however, agreeably to the too frequent custom of the Irish parliament, with virulent party and personal reflections. Mr. Grattan retorting in high and bitter language, a vehement altercation arose, which was, in the sequel, productive of a challenge from the chancellor of the exchequer to that gentleman; and a duel ensued, in which two shots were exchanged by each, and Mr. Corry was wounded in the arm.

After a debate not less vehement than any of the former, the question of adjournment was put and negatived; and the first of January following fixed as the era whence the union of the two kingdoms was to date its commencement. From this period, the debates, referring merely to the details of the treaty, cease to be the proper topics of general history. The last great effort on the part of the opposition was made on the 13th of March, when Sir John Parnell moved that the king should be requested to convoke a new parliament before any final arrangement of the union should be adopted; and Sir Lawrence Parsons, arguing in support of the motion, declared, "that, sensible as he was of the great influence of the crown in the choice of members, he was nevertheless willing to put the fate of the question on the election of a new parliament." The venerable Saurin, the father of the Irish bar, also, on the same side, urged the expediency of attending to the sense of the nation; and, in the spirit of Somers and Locke, he maintained, that if laws should be enacted in opposition to the public will, constitutionally expressed, they would not be obligatory, and the right of resistance would revert to the people. The solicitor-general, rising in the warmth of passion, accused the father of the bar of unfurling the bloody flag of rebellion: however, Mr. Egan not only vindicated the expression, but retorted the accusation, by charging the ministry with unfurling the flag of prostitution and corruption. On the division, there appeared

104 voices for the motion, against 150 who opposed it. On the 27th of March, the whole business being completed, Lord Castlereagh moved an address to his majesty from the commons, declaratory of their approbation of the resolutions transmitted to them, "which they considered as wisely calculated to form the basis of a complete and entire union of the two legislatures: that by those propositions they had been guided in their proceedings; and that the resolutions now offered were those articles which, if approved by the lords and commons of Great Britain, they were ready to confirm and ratify, in order that the same might be established for ever by the mutual consent of both parliaments." This address being agreed to by the two houses, was immediately transmitted by Marquis Cornwallis, the lord-lieutenant, to England.

On the 2d of April, the joint address of the Irish legislature was the subject of a message from his majesty to both houses of the British parliament. The measure was opposed in the house of peers by Lord Holland. He contended that a union would not operate as a remedy for the discontents of the various descriptions of the Hibernian community. It would not ensure a redress of grievances, but would increase that influence which was already the object of general complaint. It was evidently offensive to the great body of the Irish; and if it should be carried into effect against the sense of the people, it would endanger the connexion between the countries, and might produce irreparable mischief.

Lord Grenville thought it unnecessary to debate the principles of a union, as no question had ever been more amply discussed in the history of parliament. He defended the measures as beneficial to both kingdoms. Adverting to the argument of the noble lord, that the introduction of Irish members would fortify the influence of the crown, he observed, that the mode chalked out for the election of members was such, under the genuine principles of the British constitution, as would render them free from the shadow of corrupt imputation. The mode of electing the peers was equally unobjectionable; it rendered their seats as independent of the crown as those of the British aristocracy, as they were chosen to sit for life. On a division, only three peers, the Earl of Derby, and the Lords Holland and King, voted against the motion, while eighty-two supported it.

On the same day, Mr. Pitt delivered his sentiments in favour of the union to the house of commons, assembled in committee. Assuming the sense of the house to be determinately favourable to the measure, he proceeded to discuss the particular

manner of carrying it into effect. As to the propriety of allowing one hundred Irish members to sit in the imperial parliament, though the particular number might not be of the first importance, he thought it sufficiently suited the proportional contribution of the two countries to the public exigencies of the empire. The mode of selection was the next point. He wished not to augment the influence of the crown. The selection adopted by the parliament of Ireland, was calculated rather to favour the popular interest. The members for counties and principal cities, would be sixty-eight; the rest would be deputed by towns the most considerable in population and wealth. Thus, the choice would provide at once for the security of the landed interest, and for the convenience of local information; and as the proposed addition would not make any change in the internal form of British representation, it would entail none of those dangers which might attend innovation. It would not expose us to the dangers of political experiments, under the specious name of reform; experiments which, whatever his opinion respecting reform might have once been, he was now convinced would be hazardous in the present circumstances.

As it might be wished that very few of the members thus sent from Ireland should hold places under the crown, he proposed that the number entitled to be placemen, should be limited to twenty, and that the imperial parliament should afterwards regulate this point, as circumstances might suggest.

The number of peers who should represent the whole body of Irish nobility, was fixed, he thought very properly, at thirty. Four would suffice to inform the parliament of the state of the church; and the rest would form a fair proportion, considered with reference to the case of Scotland, and to the number of Irish commoners. The election of the temporal peers for life he recommended as a mode more conformable to the spirit of nobility than that which was settled at the Scottish union. The right reserved for Irish peers, to sit in the house of commons, as representatives of the counties or towns of Great Britain, would furnish them with opportunities of acquiring parliamentary and political experience, and would render them fitter to serve their country, when called to a higher assembly. The permission of creating new peers for Ireland, he also justified; for though in Scotland the peerage might long maintain itself without any accession, from the great extent of inheritance allowed by the patents, there was a risk of the Irish peerage fast diminishing, unless it were recruited,

on account of the very limited nature of the successions.

In the article respecting the church, he noticed the clause introduced by the parliament of Ireland, providing for the presence of the clergy of that country at convocations which might be held in this island, and the propriety of leaving to the imperial legislature the discussion of the claims of the Catholics to future emancipation.

The next article, he observed would grant a general freedom of trade, with only such exceptions as might secure vested capital and prevent a great shock to any particular manufacture, or to popular fears and prejudice. It was stipulated, that almost all prohibitions should be repealed, and that only protecting duties to a small amount should be imposed on some few articles. If the British manufacturers should sustain partial loss, in consequence of any of the new regulations, their liberality would induce them to consider it as compensated by general advantage.

These observations convey the substance of many of the leading arguments of the great speaker who thus developed the plan of the union, although they are stripped, in their present shape, of those graces which enforced them.

The most elaborate answer to the minister, in opposition to the plan of the union, was delivered by Mr. Grey. His principal objections were founded on the unpopularity of the union among the Irish people: on the means of corruption and intimidation which had been used to accomplish the measure; and the great dissimilarity between the case of Ireland and that of Scotland, with respect to incorporating with England; an argument which he directed chiefly against those supporters of the measure, who had ascribed the progress of Scottish prosperity to the dissolution of her native parliament. A motion of Mr. Grey, for limiting the number of Irish placemen, who should sit in the united parliament, to nineteen, instead of twenty, was negatived without a division.

On the 28th of April, the house proceeded to the consideration of the sixth article, respecting the fair participation of Ireland in commercial privileges; upon which occasion, Mr. Law and Mr. Plumer appeared at the bar, as counsel for certain petitioners concerned in the woollen manufactures established in the north and west of England, who were filled with most alarming apprehensions at that part of the resolution which legalized the exportation of English wool in its raw state to Ireland. A capital of twenty millions, according to the statement made to the house, was engaged in the woollen trade; and if the resolution now

proposed were to pass into a law, this immense property might be nearly annihilated. A great number of witnesses were examined in support of the allegations of the petition; and Mr. Wilberforce, as member for Yorkshire, expatiated largely on the pernicious consequences of permitting this proposed unlimited exportation. He allowed, that to expect Ireland, as at present, to suffer the exportation of her wool to England would be unreasonable while that of English wool to Ireland was prohibited; but all that the English manufacturers asked was, that each country should henceforth enjoy the use of all the wool it might produce.

Mr. Pitt observed, that the radical policy of the union, so far as it regarded commerce, was to make the intercourse of the two countries, with respect to raw materials, and the whole of the trade between all parts of the united kingdom, as free as possible; and the tenor of the evidence confirmed him in the opinion, that no necessity existed for making the article of wool an exception to this general rule. He believed that the unrestrained and mutual intercourse of the two countries in this, as in all other respects, would be found equally beneficial to both.

On the division which occurred in consequence of an amendment subsequently moved by Mr. Wilberforce, the numbers were, fifty-three only in its favour, against one hundred and fifty-three, who gave their voices against it; and this was the greatest effort made in the English parliament on the part of those whose sentiments were hostile either to the general principle or the specific terms of the union.

Early in May, the remaining articles having been severally investigated and approved by very decisive majorities, Mr. Pitt moved that an humble address be presented to his majesty, acquainting him that the house had proceeded through the great and important measure of a legislative union, which they had the satisfaction to see was nearly in strict conformity with the principle laid down in his majesty's message. This was carried without a division; and the address and resolutions being forthwith transmitted to the house of peers, the assent of that assembly was obtained without any material alteration. A joint address, as is usual on great occasions, was presented to the throne. A bill, grounded upon the resolutions, was then introduced, and passed through both houses with great facility—the first day of the new year, January 1st, 1801, being the era from and after which the union of the two kingdoms was to take effect.

On the 2d of July, the royal assent was given to this important bill; and on the 29th of the same month the session was

terminated by a speech from the throne, in which his majesty expressed the peculiar satisfaction with which he congratulated the two houses of parliament on the success of the steps which they had taken for effecting an entire union between the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland. "This great measure," said the monarch, "on which my wishes have been long earnestly bent, I shall ever consider as the happiest event of my reign; being persuaded that nothing could so effectually contribute to extend to my Irish subjects the full participation of the blessings derived from the British constitution, and to establish on the most solid foundations, the strength, prosperity, and power of the whole empire."

The Irish session, also, which had been prolonged till the union bill passed in England, in order to its ratification with the several alterations and additions made by the British parliament, with other necessary regulations respecting the election of the Irish representatives to the imperial legislature, was terminated on the 2d of August, and with it the existence of the parliament of Ireland.

The uncommon failure of the harvest of 1800 rendered this year memorable for the pressure of wide-spread and real distress, as well as for the gloomy anticipations of severe scarcity. The interference of the legislature, when parliament again assembled, in attempting to remedy, or at least to palliate, the public calamity, was judiciously confined to recommendatory, rather than to coercive measures. The committee appointed to deliberate upon the subject suggested in their reports such methods of relief as appeared most effectual for diminishing the consumption of corn by economy and substitution; and held out encouragement to the extended growth of potatoes at home, and the importation of corn from foreign countries. The committee at the same time suggested the granting of bounties for the encouragement of fisheries; and proposed the temporary but entire disuse of corn in the distilleries. To give effect to the proceedings of the legislature on this important subject, his majesty issued a proclamation towards the close of the present year, recommending the greatest economy and frugality in the use of every species of grain, and "exhorting and charging all masters of families to reduce the consumption of bread in their respective families by at least one-third of the quantity consumed in ordinary times, and in no case to suffer the same to exceed one quarter loaf for each person in each week."*

* The word *charging*, in this extract from the king's proclamation, must, the editor supposes have crept into the text of this history through error.

In the month of May, in the present year, the life of our venerable sovereign was once more attempted: but that providential protection which had hitherto been extended over him, was again graciously manifested in his deliverance. On the 15th of May, just at the moment when the king had entered the royal box at Drury-lane theatre, and while he was bowing to the audience, with his usual condescension, a person who sat near the middle of the pit, rose up and fired a horse pistol apparently at his majesty. For some seconds the house remained in a silent agony of suspense, but no sooner had they begun to recover from their surprise than the man who fired the pistol was dragged into the orchestra, and carried into the music-room behind the scenes. On the Duke of York entering the apartment, the prisoner, who proved to be a discharged soldier of the name of Hadfield, exclaimed, "God bless your royal highness! I know you!" He added, that he had been with the Duke ever since the battle of Farnas—that he was tired of his life, and wanted to get rid

of it—and once or twice repeated, "The worst has not happened yet." On examining the royal box, a perforation was discovered in the canopy about fourteen inches above his majesty's head, and a flattened slug, which had rebounded from that place, was found in the orchestra. The veneration and affection which the nation bore to his majesty were on this occasion awakened into enthusiastic joy at his escape, and addresses of congratulation were presented by both houses of parliament, by the universities, and in fact by the whole kingdom. On the 26th of June Hadfield was arraigned for high-treason, but it was clearly proved that he had for some years laboured under a degree of insanity, in consequence of several desperate sabre wounds in his head, which he had received when acting as a serjeant in the British army in Holland, in 1794. He was therefore pronounced "not guilty, being under the influence of insanity at the time the act was done," but he was very properly ordered to be detained and kept in custody.

CHAPTER XVI.

Insurrection in the Western Departments of France—General Brune enters the Insurgent Districts at the Head of an Army computed at 60,000 Men—Defeat of the Rebel Force—Arrest of the Chiefs—Extinction of the Rebellion. CAMPAIGN IN EGYPT: The Turks assemble an Army of 80,000 Men—Treaty of El-Ariach, by which the French consent to evacuate Egypt—Rupture of the Treaty—Signal Defeat of the Turks at Heliopolis—Assassination of General Kleber—General Menou appointed his Successor—Hostile Policy of Menou. CAMPAIGN IN ITALY AND GERMANY: Siege of Genoa—French Army of Reserve collected at Dijon—Battle of Paullendorf—Bonaparte's Passage of the Great St. Bernard—Advances to the Relief of Genoa—Surrender of Genoa to the Austrians—Battle of Montebello—Battle of Marengo—Death of General Desaix—Armistice—Battle of Bleenheim—Preliminary Treaty between France and Austria signed at Paris—Ratification refused—Failure of the Negotiations for a Naval Armistice—Renewal of the Armistice between Austria and France—The French invade Tuscany and besiege Leghorn—Battle of Hohenlinden—Critical situation of the Austrian Monarchy—The Emperor obliged to sue for a separate Peace—Peace restored on the Continent by the Treaty of Luneville.

BONAPARTE, as yet uncertain of his destiny, cultivated the confidence and affection of all classes of the people of France. Among the first objects of his attention were the disturbances which raged in the western departments of the republic, and the leading feature of his policy in effecting their suppression was mildness and conciliation. With this view, he published a proclamation, addressed to the Vendéans, replete with paternal admonitions, and in which an amnesty was offered to all those who should within a given time lay down their arms and return to their allegiance to the republic.

The king of England might have exhorted the people to economy; but he would not have dared to dictate to them in relation to the consumption of bread in their respective families.—W. G.

Notwithstanding the endeavours of the first consul, and the exertions of General Houdoville, who had before contributed to the pacification of La Vendee, three chiefs only, and those not of the first consequence, could be prevailed upon to submit. The rest, who still kept up a communication with Great Britain, whence they were supposed to receive money, ammunition, and even artillery, appeared still desirous of carrying on the war, more especially as they imagined that the veteran troops of the republic would be marched into Italy, and that a body of English and Russians would be sent to their assistance in the spring. To the unavailing offers of clemency and pardon, succeeded the most energetic and vigorous measures against the insurgents; and while an army, stated u

amount to sixty thousand men, commanded by General Brune, advanced by rapid marches into their country, the five insurgent departments of the North Coast, Vienne, Morbihan, the Low Loire, and the Mayenne and Loire, were declared subject to military law, all correspondence either on the part of officers or public functionaries was interdicted, and such of the inhabitants as might be taken in arms were ordered to be instantly executed.

Alarmed at these measures, the chouans of Brittany proposed an accommodation, and the terms were settled at Montfaucon. Immediately after this, the troops entered the department of Morbihan, in the mountain and forests of which forty thousand men were said to be intrenched. After clearing the departments on both sides of the Loire, and driving the insurgents who had not submitted, before him, General Brune so disposed his forces as to surround the main body under the intrepid Georges, whom he defeated with great loss near Vannes. Georges, finding further resistance unavailing, at length laid down his arms, on the conditions proposed by the victor, which imposed upon him the necessity of disbanding his forces, and giving up all his arms. One of the insurgent chiefs still held out; this was Lewis de Frotte, a gentleman of Lower Normandy, who, notwithstanding his youth, had often found means to signalize his military talents. In consequence of the gallantry of this heroic chieftain, he had obtained the command of the extensive district of Lower Normandy; and as he was one of the last to accede to the former pacification, so he was among the first to recur to arms on the present occasion. Perceiving at length that his cause had become hopeless, he withdrew with the officers of his staff and an aid-de-camp to a deserted castle, in the department of Orne, where he endeavoured to open a treaty with General Brune; but the armistice being allowed to expire before he had made his peace, and the place of his retreat having been discovered, he and his companions were immediately arrested. On his trial, on the 17th of February, before a military commission at Verneuil, Frotte exhibited the most undaunted resolution, and having called for a glass of wine during his trial, he gave as a toast his favourite sentiment of "*Vive le roi.*" The next day, he and six other officers, his followers, were conducted to the place of execution, without exhibiting the least symptom of trepidation; on the contrary, they insisted upon looking death in the face, and met their fate with their eyes unbandaged.

The capture and execution of this chief-

tain were considered by the first consul as the conclusion of the civil war: he accordingly notified to the committees of legislation, "that the portion of the French territory which had been put out of the law was restored to the republic," and he did not fail to inform them that, on the seizure of Frotte, "a cross of St. Louis, a seal with the arms of France, and some poniards, of the manufacture of England," were found concealed about his person.

Bonaparte was now enabled to employ the whole of his forces against the allies. The insurgent departments, which had so lately threatened to occupy the attention of a large portion of his troops, contributed greatly to his subsequent success, by supplying him with levies, who, being accustomed to war, were unwilling to resume their former peaceful occupations. But amidst this splendid and successful career of ambition, the attention of the first consul was frequently directed towards the scene which he had so recently left; and although invested with supreme authority on the banks of the Seine, he could not recollect the borders of the Nile without a pang.

The army of Egypt, abandoned to its fate, considered the conduct of its former leader as treacherous; and the soldiers, losing all their respect for his person, loaded him with execrations. Notwithstanding the progress that had been made in mechanics and chemistry, the troops already experienced a deficiency of fire-arms, gunpowder, and lead, which were but inadequately supplied by means of the manufactures of Cairo. In addition to this, the soldiers, as yet unaccustomed to the food and climate of the country, were subject to frequent maladies, and while they all languished to return to France, numbers perished by fatigue, disease, and the sword.

The Turks, solicitous to obtain possession of a country which had been wrested from them by force of arms and false pretences, were occupied in making immense preparations for invading Egypt anew; nor did the defeats which they had lately experienced at Damietta and Cosseir, nor the overthrow of Mourad Bey, induce them to relax their vigorous exertions. The grand vizier, ambitious of rescuing a favourite province of the empire from the hands of the infidels, had assembled a numerous but undisciplined army for this purpose, and the pachas were repairing to his standard from every part of Asiatic Turkey. After a lapse of some months, the greater part of which time was spent in useless encampments, he reached Gaza, and was now occupied in obtaining camels and provisions, with a view of crossing the desert.

Although Kleber, now appointed to the

command of the French army of the east,* appeared conscious that little danger was to be dreaded from an armed mob of eighty thousand Musselmans, when opposed to French veterans, yet as he was at the same time aware that the ports of Egypt were blockaded by the English, so as to prevent the arrival of succours from Europe, his situation was far from being enviable. Within the space of a single year, nearly one-third of the army had been cut off; and as many hundred miles of a newly-conquered country were to be defended, it was difficult for him to assemble more than nine or ten thousand men at one place. In this dilemma, the commander-in-chief, perceiving the plague was beginning to exhibit symptoms of unusual malignity, deemed himself at liberty to renew, or rather to continue the negotiations begun by his predecessor. Accordingly, on the express invitation of Commodore Sir Sidney Smith, who possessed the entire confidence of the Turkish government, he deputed General Dessaix and citizen Poussielgue, who repaired on board the *Tigre*, to settle the terms on which the French army was to evacuate Egypt.

While this treaty was pending, the Ottoman army appeared before the fortress of El-Arisch, with fifty pieces of cannon; and the garrison of that place, like the rest of the French troops, discontented at their situation, and considering themselves abandoned, surrendered after an attack of seven days, carried on under Colonel John Douglas, although General Regnier had marched at the head of a strong detachment with the intention of raising the siege. This unexpected event contributed greatly to facilitate the treaty, which was at length concluded on conditions highly favourable to both nations; for while the French were allowed to return home with all the honours of war, Egypt, the object of contention, was to be restored to the Ottoman Porte.

The convention, which was signed in the camp of the grand vizier, before El-Arisch, on the 24th of January, 1800, was introduced by a preamble, in which it was stated, that "the French army in Egypt, willing to give a proof of its desire to stop the effusion of blood, and to terminate the unhappy difference which had arisen between the French republic and the sublime porte, consented to evacuate Egypt, agreeably to the terms of the present convention, hoping that this concession might lead to the general pacification of Europe." By the stipulations of the treaty of El-Arisch, it was provided, that the French army should withdraw, with arms, baggage and effects, upon Alexandria, Rosetta, and

Aboukir, in order to be embarked and transported into France, as well in the vessels belonging to that country, as in those that should be furnished by the sublime porte; that there should be an armistice for three months in Egypt; that commissioners should be named by General Kleber and the sublime porte, to make the regulations relative to the transport of the French army; and that in case of any differences arising, such differences should be adjusted according to the maritime regulations of England, by a commissary named by Sir Sidney Smith; that the places evacuated by the French army should be surrendered to the porte in the state in which they were, that the porte should take every means in its power to prevent the French being molested in their retreat to the head-quarters, and that none of the inhabitants should be called to account for their connexion with the French; that Catieh, and Salahieh, with Mansoura, Damietta, Suez, and Belbeis, should be surrendered at stated periods, and Cairo, the capital, delivered up within forty days. It was further agreed, that passports should be delivered to the French army, signed not only by the sublime porte, but also by Russia and Great Britain; that the means of subsistence, until the instant of embarkation, should be provided for the French army, the amount of which, in money, was stipulated; and that such of the French troops as were afflicted with the plague should remain in the hospitals of Egypt until they were cured, under the protection of the grand vizier, who engaged that they should be treated with all the attention and care due to humanity.*

* General Kleber transmitted without delay a copy of the convention, addressed to the directory, accompanied by a letter, vindicating, in an able and satisfactory manner, the policy and propriety of his conduct. In this letter, he stated, that the grand vizier had advanced against El-Arisch, and had, on the 30th of December, possessed himself of that fort. The most recent accounts, he said, stated the Turkish army at eighty thousand men, and it must still have increased. Forty-five thousand of these forces were already before El-Arisch, having fifty pieces of cannon, and wagons in proportion. Twenty other pieces of cannon were at Gaza, with the corps de reserve. The remainder of the troops were at Jaffa, and in the neighbourhood of Ramli. Active foraging parties supplied the vizier's camp with provisions; all the tribes of the Arabs were emulous to assist this army, and by their contributions it was furnished with more than fifty thousand camels. These forces were directed by European officers; and from five to six thousand Russians were every moment expected. To this army, General Kleber proceeds to state, that he had to oppose only eight thousand five hundred men, divided on the three points of Catieh, Salahieh, and Belbeis, and that his whole disposable force in Egypt did not exceed fifteen thousand men.

* See Book II. Chap. XI. Page 302.

The wisdom of this convention was at that period obvious; and its policy was afterwards abundantly confirmed by the test of experience: had it been permitted to be carried into effect, it would have immediately stopped the effusion of human blood, and prevented an enormous expenditure of treasure. But the English ministry, actuated by the apprehensions of the consequences to be expected from the return of a veteran army to Europe, at this critical period of the contest, transmitted secret orders to Vice-admiral Lord Keith, who then commanded in the Mediterranean, enjoining him "not to consent on any account to the return of the French army to France, or to their capitulating in any other manner than jointly to the allied powers, whose forces were employed against them, and surrendering as prisoners of war." These orders, which were dated the 15th of December, 1799, were afterwards revoked, by a despatch, dated March 28th, 1800, in which, after expressing his majesty's disapprobation of the terms entered into by the capitulation of El-Arisch, and declaring Captain Sir Sidney Smith not to have been authorized either to enter into, or sanction any such agreement, Lord Keith was informed, that "his majesty, from a scrupulous regard to the public faith, had judged it proper that his officers should abstain from any act inconsistent with the engagement to which Captain Sir Sidney Smith had erroneously given the sanction of his majesty's name."* But it happened most unfortunately, that in the interval of these two despatches, the war had been renewed, and the army of the grand vizier overthrown in the battle of Heliopolis.

No sooner did Kleber receive intimation that the treaty of El-Arisch would not be ratified, but that, on the contrary, the British admiral had sent a squadron to continue the blockade of the Egyptian ports, than he determined to act with promptitude and decision. He accordingly published an address to his army, in which he accused the English of perfidy and injustice, and concluded with this laconic sentence, "Soldiers! to such insults we shall reply by victories. Prepare for battle." This appeal was promptly obeyed, and an army of ten thousand men was collected in a few days. The event equally justified the hopes of the French general, and the fears of the British commodore.

On the 20th of March, hostilities recommenced. The advanced posts of the Turkish army were then at Mataria, the Heliopolis of the ancients, within five miles of

Cairo. At break of day, a heavy fire from sixty pieces of cannon apprized them of their danger. The French army, drawn up in two strong lines, extending from El-Kubbi towards Boulac, was flanked on the right by a wood of date-trees; here, they received the attack of the Turks, who had advanced into the plain between the villages of Mataria and El-Hanka. About noon, the French began to advance in lines, with a terrible fire of artillery and musketry; and immediately the whole Turkish army was seen flying in all directions. All attempts to rally proved abortive; and at one o'clock the grand vizier himself was obliged to fly, to prevent the enemy from cutting off his retreat. The whole loss of the French in this engagement amounted only to ten men killed, and forty wounded; while the Turks, who fought without order and without effect, sustained a loss in killed and wounded amounting to eight thousand. The next day, the French army, which had kept up a destructive fire upon the rear of the retreating foe during the whole night, took possession of Belbeis, whence the Turks retreated with precipitation to Jaffa, having lost half their army by the united operation of hunger, desertion, and the sword.

The French, rendered confident by their late victory, repaired to Cairo, which had been previously evacuated, and immediately laid siege to that populous city. After some skirmishes under the walls, a body of Turks, to the amount of nearly six thousand, abandoned the capital, which immediately surrendered; and the recent revolt of that city was punished by a fine of two millions of livres, levied upon its inhabitants. The first concern of General Kleber was to augment the fortifications, and all the other garrisons having been recaptured, the French army of Egypt appeared to be in a better situation than previously to the late convention. These advantages were considerably increased by the friendship of a formidable enemy. The commander-in-chief had the address, at this period, to conciliate Mourad Bey, by ceding to him the provinces of Girge and Assuan, on the condition that he should hold them as tributary to the French, and pay to the republic the same yearly subsidy that was formerly received by the Ottoman Porte.

In consequence of the declaration of Lord Keith, made on the receipt of his last despatches from England, that he had "received instructions to permit the French troops to return to France without molestation," General Dessaix, with a number of other officers, was permitted to return to France, and the negotiations recently broken off were resumed; but a horrid and

* See a collection of State Papers, relative to the war with France, Vol. XI* page 53.

unexpected catastrophe interrupted their progress, and terminated at once the military career and the life of the commander-in-chief. On the 14th of June, while General Kleber was walking with citizen Portain, an architect, on the terrace of the great square Esbequier, at Cairo, a wretch, suddenly approaching, struck him with a poniard, and inflicted a mortal wound. The assassin, still unsatisfied, repeated his stabs, and M. Portain, who had endeavoured in vain to ward off the blows, received no less than six wounds, none of which however proved fatal. The murderer, on the alarm being given, endeavoured to conceal himself in a heap of ruins near the spot, but upon being dragged from his place of concealment, and put upon his examination, he confessed that he was solicited to commit this crime by the aga of the Janissaries of the Ottoman army, under the command of the grand vizier. This infatuated man, who came from Aleppo, and had lately arrived at Cairo, had intrusted the secret of his murderous intention to four petty sheiks of the law, who, as they asserted, endeavoured in vain to dissuade him from his purpose, but did not give any information calculated to prevent the perpetration of his crime. A commission being forthwith appointed for the trial of the delinquents, the assassin was condemned to be impaled, and the four sheiks were all beheaded.

General Menou, who, affecting the habits and manners of a Musselman, had taken the name of Abdallah Bey Menou, succeeded to the command of the French army.* Elated by the recent successes of the troops now placed under his command, and aspiring to the fame of being the defender and preserver of Egypt, he adopted a system of policy very different from that of his predecessor, and in a letter addressed to Sir Sidney Smith on the subject of the pending negotiations, he said, "You demand the ratification of your court to the convention concluded at El-Arisch; I must also demand that of the consuls, who now govern the French nation, for any treaty that may be concluded with the English and their allies." On this point Sir Sidney Smith replied: "As General Kleber (for whose tragical fate he expressed the most heartfelt sorrow) did not, in the late preliminaries, which were agreed to, give us to understand that it was necessary the treaty which was to have followed them should be ratified by the consuls, this condition, now introduced by you in your preliminaries, has the appearance of a refusal to eva-

uate Egypt; and the grand vizier has commissioned me to require of you on that head a clear and precise answer." Notwithstanding this forcible representation, General Abdallah Menou persisted in his resolution to obtain the ratification of the consuls to the treaty now in contemplation, which was considered as equivalent to a declaration of war, and on this ground the negotiations were broken off, and hostilities resumed.

While the armies of France regained their former influence in Egypt, the house of Austria was anxious to prevent the French legions from renewing their conquests in Europe. The cabinet of Vienna, confident of its own strength, in consequence of recent successes, and enabled by the treasure of England to redouble its exertions, displayed, at this period, no small share of vigour and alacrity. The plan adopted for the campaign of the present year differed entirely from that of the former, and appeared to spring out of the new situation of affairs. In Germany, it was determined to remain entirely on the defensive, and by making Italy the theatre of war, to free the whole of that country from the dominion of France. Russian co-operation was no longer to be expected, for the Emperor Paul had already recalled his armies,* and was in effect no longer a member of the coalition; but a powerful diversion was intended to be made in the southern provinces of the French republic, by means of the English fleet in the Mediterranean, while the western departments were to be agitated at the same time, and the latent spark of insurrection fanned once more into a flame. Early in the spring, the number of the imperialists in Lombardy, Tuscany, and Piedmont amounted to one hundred and ten thousand men; and General Melas, who was now invested with the command, considered the success of his operations as certain; for, being in possession of all the strong places that defended the entrance to the Alps, from the fort of Bard to the citadel of Coni, he could oppose a superior force to the enemy, now commanded by General Massena, whose sphere of action was chiefly confined within the Ligurian frontiers.

The French army in the neighbourhood of Genoa did not exceed forty-five thousand men. The greater part of the cavalry had perished during the winter, and the infantry were exposed to privations of all kinds, being destitute of accoutrements, clothes, and even the proper quantity of food.

The Austrian general, after assembling his troops at Milan, marched with an army of eighty thousand men to obtain possession

* Menou had married a Mahometan woman, and, according to the account given by Bonaparte in a conversation with Dr. O'Meara at St. Helena, had really turned Musselman.—W. G.

* See Book II.—Chap. X. page 263.

of Genoa. His first operation was directed against the Bochetta, and on the 6th of April, General Soult, after an obstinate but ineffectual defence, was obliged to fall back towards Genoa; while Massena, perceiving it to be in vain to contend for the possession of this post, soon afterwards withdrew to the Ligurian capital, where he determined to hold out to the last extremity.

The scarcity in Genoa soon became so extreme as to induce the council of war to liberate all the German officers who had been taken prisoners; and a squadron of British ships, under Lord Keith, appearing at this juncture off the port, landed heavy cannon for the siege, and prevented the possibility of the arrival of any supplies by sea. While this fleet prepared to add the horrors of famine to those resulting from a bombardment, the Austrians gained several advantages, in consequence of which they were enabled to enter the suburbs of St. Peter d'Arena, and to take by surprise one of the gates of the city. Finding the French army reduced to this extremity, Melas, the Austrian general, transmitted a letter to Massena, stating that he had made a sufficient resistance for the support of his own glory, and that all further efforts must be unavailing. He offered to the French general an honourable capitulation. With this offer, Massena refused to comply, and in the mean time, the imperialists, who now surrounded the city on every side, determined on a general assault. This operation was accordingly undertaken at three o'clock in the morning of the 30th of April; and while General Ott attacked Quarto and St. Christino, General Gottesheim pressed the enemy close up to the wall, near the shore, within range of the fire of several sloops of war and launches belonging to the British fleet. But it happened unfortunately that the Austrians had not been able to obtain possession of the little fort of St. Martino, and as most of the posts seized on this occasion were retaken during the night, General Melas, who did not anticipate so strenuous an opposition, was forced to trust to famine, rather than to the sword, and from this time the siege was converted into a blockade.

Having left the Generals Ott and Hohenzollern before Genoa, he marched in person against Suchet and Rochambeau, who, with a body of twenty thousand men, defended the principalities of Oneglia, St. Remo, and the county of Nice. As all resistance to a force so overwhelming would have been useless, the French generals, after placing garrisons in the forts, retired beyond the Var, and were employed in defending the entrance into Provence, when the first intelligence of the approach of Bonaparte reached the enemy's camp. Such was the

incredulity of the Austrian general, that it was some time before he would give credit to the news; but the arrival of fresh couriers dissipated his ill-timed confidence, and he who had projected the invasion of France had soon to contend for the possession of Italy.

While General Brune was occupied in tranquillizing the western departments, and General Massena in the defence of the Ligurian capital, orders had been issued from Paris for the formation of an army of reserve, on which all the hopes of France, and much of the attention of Europe, were speedily to be fixed. The troops to be assembled on this occasion were to consist of sixty thousand men, composed partly of conscripts, from the various departments of the republic, and partly of veterans who had received permission to retire from the perils and fatigues of war, but who, in this exigency of their country, were again summoned to the field. Dijon was the spot to which the volunteers of all descriptions were invited to repair, and the names of the ten departments which should send the greatest number were to be solemnly proclaimed as most attached to the glory of the nation. The first consul, who was to assume the command of this chosen body, immediately published an address, in which he did not fail to resort to every topic that could inspire and animate the people:—

"You are desirous of peace," said he; "your government desires it with still greater ardour; its most earnest wishes, its constant solicitude, is for that, and that alone. But the English ministry, eager to debase France to the rank of a secondary power, and anxious to keep all the continental states at variance, on purpose to seize on their spoils, still reject the idea. The government, however, which was not afraid to offer, and even solicit this blessing, is well aware that it belongs to you to command it; and to command it, money, steel, and soldiers are necessary.

"Let all, therefore, be eager to participate in the common defence. Let the young men fly to arms: it is no longer the support of a faction, it is no longer for the choice of a tyrant, that they are called upon to take the field; it is for the safety of all that is dear to them, it is for the sacred interests of humanity, for the support of liberty, and for the honour of France.

"Already have the armies assumed that imposing attitude which is the constant presage of victory; and if some powers are still desirous of trying the fortune of war, the first consul, who has already promised peace, is about to conquer it, at the head of those warriors, whom he has conducted more than once to victory. But, in the midst of battle, he will invoke the object of his wishes; and, in the mean time, he solemnly engages to contend alone for the repose of France, and the happiness of the world."

While Bonaparte was thus preparing to relieve Genoa and overrun Italy on the one hand, he determined on the other to carry the war into Germany; and in conformity

with the genius of the nation over which he presided, and with the plans of Carnot, who was now once more reinstated in the office of minister of war, it was resolved that the French should act upon the offensive in both countries. Moreau, no less celebrated for his memorable retreats, than for his brilliant victories, was selected upon this occasion to command the army of the Danube; and, by occupying the attention of the Austrians in that quarter, to prevent them from detaching any more forces into Lombardy. The great outline of the present campaign did not differ materially from the two that preceded it; but the means were now better proportioned to the end; it was intended to act with large masses against inferior numbers, and by means of a combined movement with the armies of Switzerland, of Germany, and of Italy, to end the contest with the capture of Vienna.

To accomplish this grand achievement, the troops were immediately put in motion. One column, commanded by General St. Suzanne, crossed the Rhine on the 25th of April at Kehl; and another, led by St. Cyr, passed the same river at Neu-Breisach. The former, after a sharp action, assumed a position with his right at Vilstett, Giessen, and Tandt, and his left at Boderverer, Velassen, and Appenvir; while the latter rendered himself master of Friberg. A body of reserve, commanded by General Richepanse, soon afterwards effected a passage at Basle, and opened a way by which Generals Delmas and Le Clerc penetrated at the same time into the German empire.

A division, which at this critical period took place in the cabinet of Vienna, proved peculiarly inauspicious to the affairs of the house of Austria. The Archduke Charles, whose courage and patriotism had rendered him extremely popular, finding himself thwarted in his plans, had determined to resign; and as the chief effort was to be made in Italy, Field-marshal Kray was left to defend Germany with an ill-appointed army.

After a number of marches and counter-marches, made with extraordinary celerity, the two columns, under the command of Generals St. Suzanne and Lecourbe, effected a junction with the main army under General Moreau, and a French force, amounting to one hundred and ten thousand men, were thus concentrated in the encampment of General Richepanse, between the Rhine and the Danube. Marshal Kray, who had been deceived with respect to the intentions, as well as to the force of the enemy, was thus placed under the necessity of recurring to defensive

operations. He accordingly retired to a formidable position on the heights of Psu-lendorf, which, being strongly fortified, and defended by not less than sixty thousand men, was considered as impregnable. Here he was attacked on the 3d of May, by the centre and right of the French army, but after a long-contested and obstinate engagement, they were obliged to retire, and the imperialists remained masters of the field. On the following morning at sunrise the combat was renewed with increased vigour; and the centre of the Austrians obtained some advantage over the assailants; but a part of the right wing, commanded by Prince Joseph of Lorraine, was chased from Stockach, and their magazines were relinquished to the enemy. On the 9th the action was resumed with increased obstinacy, but the Austrians, finding their intrenchments forced on every side, were at length obliged to retreat, first to Biberach, and afterwards under the cannon of Ulm.

Thus Moreau, after overcoming all opposition, had penetrated into the heart of Germany, where he was employed in levying contributions and exacting supplies of grain and other provisions. In the mean time, the cabinet of Vienna, kept in constant alarm by his movements, and as yet uncertain of the final intentions of such an enterprising chief, was prevented from sending supplies to Italy, now become the scene of that contest which was to decide the fate of Europe.

At the period when the gallant achievements of Moreau in Germany were preparing future conquests for Bonaparte in Italy, the army of reserve, under the command of Berthier, had reached the borders of the Lake of Geneva. The first consul, having concerted with Carnot the plans of the campaign, left Paris suddenly on the 3d of May, and posting to head-quarters, at the expiration of six days reviewed his troops in the neighbourhood of Lausanne. Marching along the right bank of the Rhone, they arrived at the confluence of the Durance; but, before they could enter the valley of Aosta, it became necessary to traverse twenty Italian miles of a mountainous region, nearly impervious to man, and over which a carriage had never passed. Yet it was determined on this occasion, not only to march an army of sixty thousand men across the Great St. Bernard, but also to conduct ammunition, provisions, and even artillery by this route, although the soldiers must be obliged to pass in single files, exposed to perpetual danger, in consequence of the narrowness of the path that conducted them along the brink of immense precipices.

General Marmont, in compliance with the commands of the first consul, caused an offer to be made by sound of trumpet in the town of St. Pierre, situated on the declivity of the mountain, that a reward of from six hundred to a thousand livres would be given for the conveyance of each piece of cannon over the mountain. Influenced by this offer, a crowd of peasants flocked from every side, bringing their respective beasts of burden. Multitudes of the soldiers united their efforts with those of the rustics, and contributed to achieve this most arduous enterprise. General Marmont, who commanded the artillery, ordered trees to be felled, and hollowed in such a manner as to present a bed for the eight-pounders and howitzers. To each of these vehicles, one hundred men, harnessed with ropes, attached themselves; while others, by means of levers, prevented them from falling over the craggy summits. The chief of brigade, Gassendi, also contrived sledges, which supported cannon of large dimensions. The gun carriages were all carried in detached pieces, except those belonging to four-pounders, each of which was borne on a kind of litter by ten men. Winding along the sides of mountains covered with pines, they began to leave the habitations of men, and beheld the clouds forming below them, while above they perceived only regions clothed with eternal snow, and heard only the ominous sounds of the *avalanches* (masses of snow), which, being precipitated from the summits of the mountains to the abysses below, consign every object that comes in their course to inevitable destruction.* The soldiers, fainting with fatigue, at length reached the summit of St. Bernard, where they found a banquet prepared by the hospitable monks, the business of whose life it is to rescue the traveller from danger, and to administer to his necessities. Tables, placed upon the snow, presented bread, meats, and wine; and the monks, presiding over this unexpected but grateful repast, pressed the willing soldiers to partake of what they called their frugal fare. The descent to Verney, the first village in Piedmont, was accomplished with less exertion, but with still greater danger; several horses fell over the precipices, and every division occupied three hours in the march. Some of the soldiers, economists of time, glided along the surface of the polished snow to the foot of the precipice in the space of a few minutes, and Bonaparte himself was the first to set the example of

this new mode of descending into Italy. The whole of the army and artillery having at length passed the mountain, after three days of unexampled danger and exertion, the advanced guard, commanded by General Lannes, took possession of Aosta on the day of their arrival, which was the 14th of May.

On the 18th, the French forces entered the town of Bard, after a feeble resistance, and the fortress itself was compelled to surrender in the course of a few hours, after which the invaders established their head-quarters at Ivera. Having thus, with uncommon celerity and unexpected success, obtained a passage into the heart of Piedmont, Bonaparte determined to advance to the relief of Genoa, by the circuitous route of Milan, Lodi, and Placenza. Hitherto, the march of the invaders had resembled a triumph; Masserano, Chivasso, and all the towns between the Chiussella and the Sesia, were in possession of the French; while the inhabitants, either taught to dissemble by experience, or dazzled with the blandishments of liberty, received the French army with open arms, and termed them their deliverers. At this period, too, the army was increased by means of numerous succours; for General Turreau had arrived from Briancon, by the way of Suze, while the recent victories of Moreau enabled him to detach twenty-five thousand men, under the command of General Moncey, who had already entered the Cisalpine territories by the Simplon and Mount St. Gothard. A junction having been effected soon afterwards, the first consul forced the passage of Tesino, and after carrying the intrenched village of Turbigo, entered Milan on the 30th of May. Thus, within the space of a fortnight, Bonaparte, descending from the summit of the Alps, found himself in the midst of territories which he had before conquered, and was now employed in re-establishing the Cisalpine republic, the provisional government of which he confided to citizens Marliani, Sacchi, and Goffredo. All these splendid achievements were however incompetent to avert, or even to retard the fall of Genoa. A population of one hundred thousand inhabitants had consumed the provisions within this city, while the close blockade by the British squadron intercepted all supplies by sea. For the last fourteen days the citizens had been entirely destitute of bread, and the soldiers who composed the garrison were restricted to a daily allowance of six ounces of bread each, composed partly of bran and partly of Indian corn. The horses had been devoured for some time before, and such was the pressure occasioned by the scarcity, that the people

* By one of these *avalanches*, a cannon and three artillery-men in Bonaparte's army were carried away, and never more seen.

resembled skeletons, and vast numbers perished by hunger. In this extremity, General Massena received a message from General Melas, inviting him to an interview with Lord Keith, and the Generals Ott and St. Julien, who offered him a capitulation on the most honourable terms; but the French commander declared that no negotiation would be entered into if the word *capitulation* were mentioned. After a short delay, the overture being renewed and modified, a *convention* was signed on the 4th of June; on the bridge of Cornigliano, by the terms of which, the right wing of the French army, charged with the defence of Genoa, headed by the general-in-chief and his staff, were allowed to march out of the garrison, to the number of eight thousand one hundred men, and to take the route by Nice to France, while the remainder of the army, with their artillery and ammunition of all kinds, was to be transported by sea to Antibes.

But notwithstanding the conquest of Genoa was calculated to diffuse a momentary splendour over the arms of the imperialists, it appears evident, that the prolonged siege, and gallant defence of that city, produced all the subsequent misfortunes of the campaign, and occasioned the loss of Italy.

General Melas had long imagined the army of Dijon to be as fabulous as the soldiers of Cadmus; and when its existence was ascertained, so defective was his intelligence, that he deemed it to be composed at most of eighteen or twenty thousand men, intended to make a diversion in Italy, for the purpose of drawing off the Austrians from the blockade of Genoa. Roused at length from his dreams of security, he repaired in the beginning of June, and while Genoa was yet blockaded, to Piedmont, and assembled in haste the main body of his army, in order to defend the passage of the Po, and the approaches to Turin and Rivoli; but here he found to his surprise that the first consul, instead of proceeding immediately to the relief of Genoa, had crossed the Tessino, and established himself in the Milanese. On the receipt of this intelligence, the Austrians, under General Ott, fell back upon Montebello, near Voghera. The French, after concentrating their forces, took a strong position on the north banks of the Po, and on the 8th of June, the vanguard of the army, under General Lannes, passed that river opposite to San Giovanni, after a vigorous resistance. On the following day, urging their march to Montebello, they were furiously attacked by the flower of the Austrian army, consisting of fifteen thousand men, under the command of General Ott. For some time,

the conflict was doubtful: but at length, the position of the imperialists on the right being turned by the force under General Victor, and their centre pierced by the bayonets of the ninety-sixth brigade, the fortune of the day was decided, with a loss on the part of the Austrians of four thousand men, and twelve pieces of artillery.

This victory served as a prelude to one of the most decisive actions recorded in history. After a variety of skirmishes, which now occurred daily, the Generals Lannes, Victor, and Murat, who commanded the advanced guard, succeeded in driving the Austrians across the Bormida; but, notwithstanding these partial successes, General Melas, having at length formed a junction with the scattered detachments of his army, and concentrated his forces at Alexandria, determined to attack and give battle to the enemy. The Austrian army being divided into three columns, the right, consisting of infantry, commanded by General Haddick, ascended along the banks of the Bormida, while the centre, consisting also of infantry, under the command of General Kaine, followed the great road leading to the village of Marengo, and the left, composed entirely of light troops and artillery, made a detour round Castel Ceriolo, a small village which lies almost parallel with Marengo, and formed the extreme left of the French position. Bonaparte's disposition was as follows:—The village of Marengo was occupied by the divisions of Gardanne and Chambarlhac. Victor, with two other divisions, and commanding the whole, was prepared to support them. Behind the first line, was placed a brigade of cavalry, under Kellermann, ready to protect the flanks of the line, or to debouche through the intervals, if opportunity served, and attack the enemy. About a thousand yards in the rear of the first line, was stationed the second, under Lannes, supported by Champeaux's brigade of cavalry. At the same distance, in the rear of Lannes, was placed a strong reserve, or third line, consisting of the division of Carra St. Cyr, and the consular guard, at the head of which was Bonaparte himself. Thus, the French were drawn up on this memorable day, in three distinct divisions, each composed of a *corps d'armee*, distant from each other about three-quarters of a mile. The action commenced at eight o'clock in the morning of the 14th of June, and the attack of the Austrians, equally impetuous and irresistible, was supported by one hundred pieces of artillery, loaded with grape. Frequent charges of horse and infantry also were made, and the sabre and the bayonet were resorted to by turns.

General Berthier, perceiving the force

and intention of the imperialists, brought up the centre and the van-guard of the French army; and Bonaparte, riding along the ranks, encouraged the troops to withstand the fury of the enemy, who had already assailed the line not less than four times, without being able to make any considerable impression. At length, exactly at noon, while fortune was yet wavering, General Melas determined by one bold movement to secure the victory of the day. Having accordingly assembled ten thousand infantry, supported by a body of cavalry and artillery, he rushed into the plain of Marengo, against the right wing of the French. The grenadiers of the consular guard for some time resisted the shock, but the Austrian horse, and several squadrons of the light artillery, having made an evolution, as if to turn the flank of the enemy, the French, who had already begun to give way, fell into disorder, and their line was broken. General Victor, afraid lest a total rout should ensue, and learning at this crisis that the village of Marengo had been carried by the Austrians, ordered a retreat. This necessarily produced a correspondent movement on the part of the division under General Lannes, on which the enemy, now considering themselves certain of a triumph, took advantage of so fortunate an event to redouble their fire, and to increase their impetuosity.

At this time, and when victory seemed within his grasp, the strength of General Melas, who was then eighty years old, and had been many hours on horseback, entirely failed; and he was compelled to leave the field and retire to Alexandria, committing to General Zach the charge of completing a victory which appeared to be already gained.

While the imperial general was sending off couriers to publish the news of his victory throughout the different cities of Italy, Bonaparte, whose power, reputation, and perhaps life itself depended upon the fate of this contest, rode along the line, recalled the fugitives to their duty, invoked the memory of his former exploits, and assured the troops, "that it was his custom to sleep on the field of battle." Behind the centre of the French line, was a defile, having a wood on one side, and on the other a chain of vineyards, extending to the village of Marengo. Here, the first consul determined to make his final stand, and to defend the entrance to this pass to the last extremity. The Austrians, animated by success, redoubled their efforts, and the ground was everywhere strewed with the dying and the dead. To retreat was certain ruin to the French, as the Austrian cavalry were posted at the other extremity of the defile, eagerly wait-

ing the issue of the combat, and ready to complete the victory which their gallant comrades began to consider as already achieved. At four in the afternoon, after an astonishing struggle, the French still maintained their position. General Melas, irritated at the obstinate resistance made to his phalanx of veterans, resolved, in a fatal moment, to extend his wings, in order to turn the centre of the enemy, and by throwing his infantry into the vineyards and woods, to enclose the French, and to cut off their retreat. At this most critical moment the divisions of Generals Dessaix and Mounier, forming the reserve of the French army, were despatched at a distance. Bonaparte, whose eagle eye nothing could escape, seeing these seasonable succours approaching, and perceiving the Austrian line dangerously weakened by the last movements, determined upon one grand effort, to retrieve the fortune of the day. As the battalions of reserve came up, they formed in line of battle on the right. What had now happened had been foreseen: the battalions burned with impatience; the drummer's eye waited for the signal; the trumpeter with his arm raised prepared his breath! The signal was given, and the terrible *pas de charge* was heard. Dessaix, at the head of his troops, threw himself with impetuosity into the midst of the Austrian ranks, and charged them with the bayonet. Although twice repulsed, and even dismounted from his charger, he rushed into the hottest of the fight; the main body of the French, which had halted at his approach, on this once more assumed an imposing attitude; and the consular guard, both horse and foot, conducted itself with extraordinary valour, while the ninth demi-brigade of infantry determined to merit their appellation of "the incomparable." At the same moment, the younger Kellermann attacked the Austrian cavalry, and having thrown that force into confusion, the first line of the imperialists was broken, and obliged to retire on the second. Instead of giving way, the united column advanced, and endeavoured to retrieve the disaster by executing a charge with the bayonet; but the whole of the French army had now moved forward to support the reserve, and an Austrian division, consisting of not less than six thousand grenadiers, being surrounded, were forced to lay down their arms. In the midst of all these successes, General Dessaix received a mortal wound from a musket-ball. This served only to inflame still higher the military ardour of the troops, who were impatient to avenge the death of their beloved commander; and when Bonaparte was informed of his fate, he exclaimed, "Why have I not time to weep for him!" The

imperialists had still a third line of infantry entire, and this remained firm, until attacked by General Lannes, with the divisions under Vatin and Boudet, and the foot grenadiers of the consular guard. These troops, being supported by the artillery, under Marmont, the cavalry, commanded by Murat, and the horse grenadiers, headed by Bessières, soon pierced and broke this last defence, in consequence of which a complete defeat ensued, and the Austrian horse, infantry, and artillery, fled promiscuously towards one of the bridges laid across the Bormida, while the rear-guard, presenting an undaunted front, was cut to pieces in protecting the retreat of the main body.

Never was any combat more obstinate; never was any victory disputed with greater pertinacity. The two armies, consisting of one hundred and fifty thousand men, were engaged for fourteen hours, and they fought during a considerable part of this time within musket-shot. The loss of the Austrians upon this occasion has been estimated at fifteen thousand, of which seven thousand were taken prisoners, together with twelve standards, and twenty-six pieces of cannon, seven generals, and more than four hundred other officers: that of the French is undoubtedly underrated by themselves, when calculated at only five thousand killed and wounded.

Thus ended this memorable day. The darkness deprived both armies of the means of succouring the wounded, a great number of whom were left stretched upon the field of battle. The Austrians and the French, now becoming brethren from sad necessity, drew near to each other, and offered or sought mutual assistance. "The next morning," says an eyewitness, "I entered the great court at Marengo; I was there struck with a sight so horrible, that I shudder at its recollection: more than three thousand Frenchmen and Austrians, heaped one upon another in the yard, in the granaries, in the stables and out-houses, even to the very cellars and vaults, were uttering the most heart-rending lamentations, and crying out by turns for food, for water, and for the assistance of the surgeon. To add to the horrors of the scene, prisoners were brought in from every part, and their wants served only to increase the general misery."

The fate of General Dessaix filled the French army with grief. To his gallantry the fortune of the day was principally to be attributed, and his last words at once indicated the source of his heroic actions, and the predominance of that passion which has ever actuated the bosoms of those whom mankind have been pleased to consider as heroes. Various versions have been given

of his dying words, but the report of them as stated by young Lebrun, the son of the third consul, is this, "*Je finis ma carrière avec le seul regret de n'avoir pas assez fait pour vivre dans la postérité.*"—"I die with this regret only—that I have not done enough to live in the remembrance of posterity!" Born a noble, he became in the early period of the revolution an advocate for popular rights, and rose from the rank of a subaltern, in the royal regiment of Brittany, to that of general of a division in the army of the republic. After distinguishing himself in Germany, under Pichegru and Moreau, he repaired to Africa with Bonaparte, and having obtained the command of the Saïd, overcame the Mamelukes and the Arabs in a number of engagements. As his death was lamented, so his fame was unstained; for while, in consequence of his bravery and talents, he left behind him the reputation of an accomplished soldier in Europe, by a rare example of clemency and disinterestedness, he had in Egypt acquired the appellation of the *just sultan*.

As no action, since the battle of Pavia, in the year 1525, had been disputed with such inflexible obstinacy, so likewise no combat in modern times had been productive of greater events than the battle of Marengo. General Melas, who, notwithstanding his signal defeat, conducted himself like an able officer, and had two horses shot under him, was still at the head of a formidable army; but his position was alarming, for he was now shut up in a mountainous district, between the Bormida and the Tanaro, entirely destitute of provisions, and in a great measure cut off from the garrisons in Piedmont, as well as Tuscany and the Venetian states. Being conscious that, in case of the least check, his troops would be under the necessity of laying down their arms, and considering his present posture exactly similar to that of a besieged town, he agreed to a capitulation, such as the perils of his situation could alone justify. Accordingly, on the 16th of June, two days after the battle of Marengo, it was agreed that a truce should take place, until a messenger arrived from the court of Vienna; and in the mean time, the fortresses of Tortona, Alexandria, Milan, Turin, Pizzighitona, Arona, and Piacenza, as well as those of Coni, Ceva, Savona, Urbino, and the city of Genoa, were to be delivered up to the French; who, to ensure the fulfilment of the conditions, would permit the Austrian army to march only by divisions, and at different periods. On the execution of this capitulation, Bonaparte, after a brilliant campaign of only two months, confided the command of the army of Italy to Massena, and returned to Paris, in which city he ar-

rived at half-past two o'clock, in the morning of the 3d of July.

The French, victorious on the banks of the Bormida, were also destined to triumph on those of the Danube. No sooner had Moreau, the French commander-in-chief in Germany, received an account of the decisive victory of Marengo, and learned that the convention did not extend to Germany, than he determined to penetrate into the hereditary states of the house of Austria. To enable him to provide for the necessities of his troops, he immediately levied a contribution of six millions of livres on the circle of Franconia, and then put his troops in motion, for the purpose of obliging Marshal Kray either to withdraw from his present station, or to fight a decisive battle. The marshal, however, maintained possession of his camp at Ulma, notwithstanding Lecourbe, who had obtained possession of Augsburg, menaced the capital of Bavaria.

Finding that the Austrian field-marshal was not to be removed from his position by demonstrations, General Moreau crossed the Danube with the main body of his army, and on the 19th of June, attacked the troops under General Starray, who was advantageously posted at Blenheim, a plain already rendered famous in the military annals of Europe, in consequence of the victory gained by the Duke of Marlborough. Moreau, more fortunate than his countryman, Marshal Tallard, succeeded on the very spot where the latter had been discomfited by the allies; and after a short but vigorous action, obliged the Austrian general to abandon Ulm, and retire into Franconia. Indefatigable in his exertions, the French commander immediately marched in pursuit of the retreating enemy, and, having come up with him at Neubourg, another action and another victory on the part of the French ensued, on which occasion they had to lament the loss of Latour d'Auvergne-Corret, the great-grandson of Marshal Turenne, who fell, like his illustrious ancestor, in the arms of victory. Immediately after this engagement, the French army entered Bavaria, established their head-quarters at Munich, and were preparing for new exploits, when the armistice, that had taken place in Italy, was extended to Germany, and the continent once more experienced a short respite from the horrors of war.

While the imperialists withdrew their detachments from the country of the Grisons on one hand, so as to strengthen their position in Italy, and extended their front to the other, with an intention to cover the hereditary states, the French army formed one grand uninterrupted line of communications, from the borders of the Rhine, near

Frankfort, to the shores of the Mediterranean, in the neighbourhood of Lucca. At the period the armies of France assumed this imposing attitude, and were prepared, on the renewal of hostilities, to reconquer the whole of Italy, partly by means of arms and partly by new revolutions, it was deemed politic to make peace with the Barbary powers, as nothing could be obtained from them by a continuance of the war, and they might be rendered extremely serviceable by supplying the ports in the Mediterranean with corn and provisions. Accordingly, treaties were entered into and signed with the regencies of Tunis, Algiers, and Tripoli. At the same period, a negotiation took place between the French government and the plenipotentiaries from America, which, after some delay, terminated in an adjustment of all the existing differences between the two republics, and in a treaty highly favourable to both countries. By this treaty, which was negotiated as if a war had actually existed, it was among other articles agreed, that henceforth a firm, inviolable, and universal peace should exist between the two countries; that the restitution of captured vessels should be made on both sides; that the debts contracted by individuals of both nations should be paid, in the same manner as if no misunderstanding had ever existed; that the commerce between the two nations should be free, and their vessels treated like those of the most favoured nations; and that the citizens of each should enjoy all the rights, privileges, and immunities of the respective countries.

The differences subsisting between the European powers were not so easily accommodated; although, on the 28th of July, preliminaries of peace, founded on the treaty of Campo Formio, were concluded at Paris, between the Count de St. Julien, on behalf of his imperial majesty, and M. Talleyrand, on the part of the French republic. The intervention of the English ambassador at the court of Vienna prevented however the ratification of this treaty by his imperial majesty, who demanded that plenipotentiaries from Great Britain should be admitted to assist at a congress, to be held at Luneville.

Bonaparte, after some resistance, at length complied with an application that had been made on the part of Lord Minto, the minister who had so lately interdicted the ratification of the separate treaty; and M. Otto, a confidential agent of the French government, resident in London, was immediately instructed to propose a maritime truce, in return for which the cessation of hostilities was not to be interrupted on the continent. A project for this purpose was accordingly presented on the 4th of Sep-

tember, by which the ships of war and merchantmen of the two powers were to enjoy a free navigation, without being subject to search; neutral vessels were to be allowed to repair to Alexandria, Malta, and Belleisle, in order to furnish those places with provisions; the blockade of Brest, Cadiz, Toulon, and Flushing was to be raised; and his Catholic majesty, as well as the Batavian republic, was to be admitted to the benefit of these stipulations. In reply to these propositions, the English ministry professed their readiness to accede to a suspension of hostilities by sea, provided the terms were modified: they would not, however, permit the importation of naval and military stores into the ports of the enemy, or the introduction of more provisions at one time than were necessary for fourteen days consumption. In the midst of these discussions, which were protracted from the 24th of August to the 9th of October, the armistice on the continent was suffered to expire; and the emperor, himself, who, with the Archduke John, had repaired to the head-quarters of the army, was under the necessity of purchasing a new truce, for forty-five days, on terms that indicated the critical situation of the house of Austria, who, as a boon for this short respite, surrendered into the hands of the enemy the cities of Philipsburg, Ulm, and Ingolstadt. Nor was this all, for General Brune, now appointed to the command of the French army in Italy, taking advantage of the excesses committed by a band of insurgents in the mountainous districts in the neighbourhood of Arezzo, invaded Tuscany, and on the 15th of October entered Florence. A division of his army at the same time seized on Leghorn without resistance, Arezzo was soon afterwards taken by storm, and the inhabitants found in arms massacred; while Sommariva, who commanded the imperialists, conscious of his inferiority, was reduced to the necessity of evacuating the country.

Precisely three weeks after the plenipotentiaries had met at Luneville, for the purpose of renewing the negotiations for peace, a rupture of the armistice took place, and hostilities were once more resumed. The French, unable to force Austria into a separate treaty, and relying on the ascendancy they had obtained, determined to renew the contest. Augereau, at the head of the Batavian army, accordingly crossed to the right bank of the Rhine, while Macdonald, now stationed in the country of the Grisons, prepared to scale the Rhetian Alps, and descend with new succours into Italy.

Augereau, in the mean time, after defeating the raw levies of the Elector of

Mentz, was penetrating through Franconia to communicate with the most numerous army that France had ever sent into Germany, placed under the command of General Moreau. Having proceeded in quest of the Austrians, the advanced-guards encountered each other at Haag, where, as at Rosenheim, the imperialists obtained the superiority.

The Archduke John, now at the head of the imperial army, elevated by these unexpected successes, collected all his forces, and determined to attack the republicans. Early in the morning of the 3d of December, the Austrians marched towards Hohenlinden in three columns—the centre along the principal road to Munich, and the right and the left through the woods on each side of the great road. By one of those accidents by which the fate of battles and of empires is sometimes decided, the left wing of the Austrian army, misled by a deep fall of snow, which covered the ground at that season, bent its march towards Ebersperg, instead of taking the road to Hohenlinden. The battle commenced about nine o'clock, and the Austrians fought with great bravery, but General Richepanse, having pierced between the right wing and the centre, threw the imperialists into disorder, and their disasters soon became irretrievable. The left wing also, being cut off from the main body, was completely defeated; and the right, under General Kienmayer, suffered severely before the banks of the Isar could be attained. On this fatal day, ten thousand men were left on the field by the Austrians, while eight pieces of cannon, and other trophies of victory, fell into the hands of the republicans.

Nor were the French less fortunate in Italy. Macdonald, after scaling the Splügen, was prepared to turn the lines of the Mincio and the Adige. General Brune, at the same time, marched against the Austrian army, now commanded by the Count de Bellegarde, who in vain attempted to defend the borders of the Mincio, from Peschiera to Mantua. After losing twenty-four pieces of cannon, and about four thousand men, the imperialists retreated in considerable disorder, and were followed by the French, who passed the Adige and Brenta in pursuit of them, and encamped within a few leagues of the city of Venice.

At no period of its history, not even in the early part of the reign of Maria Theresa, was the situation of the Austrian monarchy more critical than at this juncture. The French, after the signal victory of Hohenlinden, had crossed the Inn and the Ips, and arriving at Steyer, in Upper Austria,

were within seventeen leagues of Vienna. The Gallo-Batavian troops at the same time approached the hereditary states by advancing along the Danube: Macdonald, in possession of the mountains of the Tyrol, had the option of either descending into Italy or Germany; while Brune, after a campaign of only twenty days, during which he had taken fifteen thousand prisoners, blockaded Mantua, and was ready to penetrate into the mountains of Carinthia, to form a junction with the victorious legions of General Moreau.

The Emperor Francis II. submitting to his hard fortune, and having previously obtained the consent of the cabinet of St. James', found himself under the necessity of suing for a separate peace. The conditions were indeed severe; but as he was now in a worse situation than at the treaty of Leoben, he was obliged to consent to immense sacrifices. The armistice, which was for forty-five days, was executed at Steyer, the head-quarters of General Moreau, on the 25th of December, and by the convention it was stipulated that the Tyrol should be wholly evacuated by the Austrians, and the fortresses of Brunau and Wurtzbourg delivered up to the French. These stipulations were soon after followed by a new engagement, entered into at Treviso, on the 16th of January, 1801, between the Generals Brune and Bellegarde, and by which a cessation of hostilities was obtain-

ed in Italy on the surrender of Peschiera, Serrione, Verona, Legnano, Ferrara, and Ancona.

In pursuance of the preliminary articles signed at Luneville on the 26th of the same month, Mantua was also delivered up; and by a definitive treaty, signed on the 9th of February, and ratified by the diet of the empire, on the 7th of September following, the Austrian Netherlands were ceded in perpetuity to France, as well as the whole of the left bank of the Rhine, with the country of Falkenstein and Frickthal. All the principal articles of the treaty of Campo Formio were at the same time confirmed, the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics were recognised, and the duchy of Tuscany, now converted into a kingdom, under the appellation of Etruria, was bestowed upon Louis I. the hereditary Prince of Parma.

This conclusion of a war which had lasted the same number of years as the siege of Troy, proved a subject of great exultation to the French nation. The first consul hastened to notify the joyful event to the legislative body, the tribunate, and the conservative senate; and while he congratulated the French nation on the one hand, he endeavoured to impress all the countries of Europe with the persuasion, that it was the ambition of England alone which still continued to disturb the tranquillity of mankind.

CHAPTER XVII.

NAVAL CAMPAIGN OF 1800: Blockade of Genoa—Loss of the Queen Charlotte—Attack on Quiberon—Surrender of Gorée—Expedition to Ferrol—To Cadiz—Capture of Malta—Surrender of Curacao—Confederacy of the northern Powers—Negotiation with Denmark—Revival of the Treaty of armed Neutrality—CIVIL HISTORY OF FRANCE: Conspiracy against the consular Government—Attempt on the First Consul's life by an Infernal Machine—State of St. Domingo—Election of Pope Pius VII.

THE naval power of Great Britain was never more conspicuous than during the present period. So decisive indeed had been her superiority on the ocean, that since the commencement of the war, not less than three hundred and twenty ships had been taken from the French, eighty-nine from the Dutch, and seventy-five from the Spaniards, of which seventy-eight were of the line; while on the other hand, only forty-nine had been captured from England, and of these, three only were vessels of force. In consequence of our unrivalled dominion on this element, it appears to have been in agitation, at the commencement of the campaign, to make a powerful diversion in favour of the allies, by means of an irruption into the southern provinces of

France; but the sudden return and singularly good fortune of Bonaparte prevented the execution of this design. Lord Keith, however, appeared with a strong squadron off Genoa, and assisted General Melas in conducting the siege of that city. Some ships, detached by the vice-admiral, in conjunction with others sent thither by the King of Naples, contributed greatly to the reduction of the fortress of Savona; and when the imperial commander found it necessary to convert the attack of Genoa into a blockade, the British cruisers intercepted all supplies, and actually produced a surrender in consequence of the famine that ensued.

The fall of this fortress, the second Toulon, as it has been called, of the Mediterra-

nean, served to console the gallant vice-admiral for the unfortunate loss of the *Queen Charlotte*, Lord Keith's flag-ship, mounting one hundred and twenty guns, and one of the finest ships in the British navy. On the morning of the 17th of March, being at that time four or five leagues off Leghorn, this stupendous vessel was discovered to be on fire. All the ships in the harbour, foreign as well as English, put off to her relief, and afforded her every possible assistance; but about eleven o'clock she blew up with a tremendous explosion, and suffered in a moment almost total destruction! By this event upwards of six hundred seamen and marines perished, and of the whole crew not more than one hundred and fifty escaped with their lives, amongst whom was the admiral, who happened at that moment to be on shore.

In the summer of the present year, the western departments of France were frequently menaced by the appearance of hostile armaments, and kept in continual alarm by partial debarkations. Sir Edward Pellew, in the *Impetueux*, with a flying squadron, and three troop-ships, made an attack on Quiberon, on the 4th of June. The *Thames* and *Cynthia* having cannonaded the south-west end, and silenced some batteries, Major Ramsay landed with a small body of soldiers and destroyed them; but fort Penthièvre proved too strong to be reduced. The same commander was also successful in an attempt upon the Morbihan, having seized several sloops and gun-vessels, and burned a national corvette of eighteen guns, by means of a detachment from the *Queen's* regiment, assisted by the gun-launches under Lieutenant Pinfold. Sir John Borlase Warren also succeeded in an attack on a convoy at anchor near a fort within the Penmarks; and in the destruction of fifteen sail of merchantmen, and four armed vessels intended for their protection, within the sands of Boverneuf bay. These exploits, combined with many others of a similar nature, were calculated to annoy the commerce of the enemy, and to put an actual stop to their coasting trade; but what was of still greater importance, they intercepted the supplies of wine, brandy, flour, and provisions, intended for the fleet at Brest. On the 7th of July, Captain Inman, of the *Andromeda*, with a detachment of armed vessels and fire-ships, made an attack on four frigates, one of which carried a broad pendant, anchored in Dunkirk roads, and Captain Campbell, of the *Dart*, succeeded in boarding and capturing one of them, which proved to be *La Desirée*, of forty guns, but the rest cut their cables and took refuge within the Braak sand.

In the month of April, the island of Goree, on the coast of Africa, a place of great strength and importance, surrendered to Commodore Sir Charles Hamilton, commanding the *Ruby* and *Melpomene* ships of war, without the slightest attempt at resistance.

Towards the middle of the summer, a secret expedition, on a large scale, was fitted out, which in no point of view realized the expectations of the public. The primary object of this formidable armament was the conquest of Belleisle; but the defence appeared too strong to invite, or perhaps to admit, the attempt; the expedition therefore proceeded to the coast of Spain, and arrived on the 25th of August before the harbour of Ferrol. After a fort of eight twenty-four pounders had been silenced by the fire of the *Impetueux*, *Brilliant*, and *Cynthia* ships of war, a debarkation was effected during the evening, in a small opening near Cape Prior, under the superintendence of Sir Edward Pellew, and the whole army, commanded by Lieutenant-general Sir James Pulteney, reached the shore without the loss of a single man. Sixteen field-pieces, attended by seamen from the men-of-war, to assist in dragging the guns, were landed at the same time. The reserve, followed by the other troops in succession as they gained the beach, immediately ascended a ridge of hills, and dislodged a party of the enemy, who had been stationed at that place to resist their advance. At daybreak the following morning, a more considerable body of Spaniards was forced to retire by the Earl of Cavan's brigade, so that the English remained in complete possession of the heights of Brion and Balon, which command the town of Ferrol, and the ships of war in its capacious harbour. In this prosperous state of affairs, and at the moment when the army expected to advance, a retreat was ordered to be effected by the general, who, as he remarks in his official despatch, published in the *London Gazette* of the 6th of September, "had now an opportunity of observing minutely the situation of the place, and of forming, from the reports of prisoners, an idea of the strength of the enemy; when comparing the difficulties that presented themselves, and the risk attendant on a failure on the one hand, with the prospect of success, and the advantage to be derived from it on the other, he came to the determination to re-embark the troops, in order to proceed without delay on the further destination." The embarkation of the troops and artillery was effected, by the indefatigable exertions of the captains of the squadron, without loss; and in the words of Sir John Borlase Warren, to

whom the command of the squadron was confided, "the ships and convoy proceeded in execution of their orders."

Soon after this failure on the coast of Galicia, another expedition, equally unsuccessful, was directed against the province of Andalusia. The city of Cadiz, now afflicted with an epidemical distemper, exactly similar to the plague, was threatened at the same time with a visit from a powerful armament. This force consisted of the squadron in the Mediterranean, amounting to twenty-two ships of the line, and twenty-seven frigates, with eighty-four transports and other vessels, making, in all, a fleet of one hundred and three sail, and having on board an army of twenty thousand men. Having, on the 6th of October, come to anchor in the bay of Cadiz, Don Thomas de Morla, the governor, immediately addressed a letter to the British admiral, in which he expressed his surprise at the arrival of a hostile squadron during the prevalence of a disease which "carried off thousands of victims, and threatened not to suspend its ravages till it had cut off all those who had hitherto escaped."

"I have too exalted an opinion of the English people, and of you in particular," adds the governor, "to think that you would wish to render our condition more deplorable. However, if in consequence of the orders your excellency has received, you are inclined to attract the execration of all nations, to cover yourself with disgrace in the eyes of the universe, by oppressing the unfortunate, and attacking those who are supposed to be incapable of defence; I declare to you, that the garrison under my orders, accustomed to behold death with a serene countenance, and to brave dangers greater than all the perils of war, know how to exhibit a resistance that shall not terminate but with their entire destruction. I hope," continued he, "that the answer of your excellency will inform me, whether I am to speak the language of consolation to the unfortunate inhabitants, or whether I am to rouse them to indignation and revenge."

In answer to this interesting letter, a joint reply was returned, in the name of Sir R. Abercrombie and Lord Keith, in which, after expressing a due compassion for the deplorable state of the city of Cadiz, they observed,

That a number of his Catholic majesty's vessels are armed, in order to join the naval force of the French, and to be employed in prolonging the troubles which affect all the nations of Europe, disturb public order, and destroy the happiness of individuals. "We have," added they, "received orders from our sovereign, to use every effort to defeat the projects of the common enemy, by endeavouring to take and destroy the ships of war which are in the harbour and arsenal of Cadiz. The number of troops intrusted to our command, leaves but little doubt of the success of the enterprise. We are not disposed to multiply unnecessarily the evils inseparable from war. Should your excellency consent to give up to us the vessels armed or arming in order to act against our king, and to prolong

the misfortunes of neighbouring nations, your crews and officers shall be set at liberty, and our fleet shall withdraw. Otherwise, we must act conformably to the orders which have been given to us, and your excellency cannot attribute to any other than yourself, the additional evils which you fear."

The brave Spaniard having stigmatized this proposal, as "insulting to the person to whom it was addressed, and but little honourable to those from whom it proceeded;" an attack now appeared inevitable, and every thing was prepared for effecting a landing, under the direction of Captain Cochrane, assisted by Captains Stevenson, Morrison, Lamour, and Aescough, but the weather proved so unfavourable that it was deemed proper to desist, and the enterprise was, in consequence, altogether abandoned.

Two other occurrences, more fortunate in their result, remain to be mentioned. Malta, so unjustly seized by Bonaparte in the course of his expedition to Egypt, had now experienced a blockade of two years, both by sea and land, during which time General Vaubois, the French governor, had been summoned not less than eight different times. At length, all hopes of receiving supplies from France having vanished, an attempt was made to save two frigates, *La Diane* and *La Justice*, in the harbour, but the former, while making an effort to escape, was overtaken and captured, while the latter, under cover of the night, was successful enough to elude the vigilance of the British squadron, and to effect her escape to France. A few days after this, General Vaubois assembled a council of war in the national palace; and it appearing that the magazines of provisions had been entirely exhausted for more than a month; that the liquors of all kinds were nearly expended; and that bread, the only food remaining for the garrison and the citizens, must fail in the course of a week, it was determined to capitulate, and on the 5th of September, the island was surrendered into the hands of the British. The possession of this island, although a subject of great exultation, became productive of much evil; for having first excited the resentment of one of our allies, it next led to the northern confederacy, and was ultimately made one of the most ostensible causes of the rupture of the peace of Amiens.

On the 13th of the same month, the island of Curaçao, in the West Indies, one of the few remaining colonies of the Batavian republic, following the example of Surinam, voluntarily placed itself under the protection of the arms of his Britannic majesty, upon conditions highly advantageous to the inhabitants.

But in the midst of these successes, a storm was gathering in the north, which,

after hovering for some time over Great Britain, threatened to burst on that country and involve it in ruin. No sooner had the Emperor of Russia received information of the surrender of Malta to the British navy, than he applied to the minister of Great Britain to obtain possession of the island, in conformity with an agreement made in the year 1798. But by this time the conduct of the northern courts began to rouse the jealousy of England, and Paul Petrovitch himself had given umbrage to the only power which could have gratified the first wish of his heart, by conferring upon him the grand-mastership of Malta, and the command of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem.

In the early part of the contest against the republic of France, Great Britain had enjoyed the open or secret approbation of every neighbouring court; but the scene was now changed, and that country which had commenced the war with all the states of Europe as her allies, now beheld the majority of them leagued against her naval ascendancy, and intent upon the reduction of her power. The maritime states complained that their neutrality was no longer respected, that their shores and harbours were violated by the British cruisers, and that even their men-of-war were not permitted to afford protection to the convoys intrusted to their charge. They urged at the same time the procrastination, delays, and expenses, incident to the English court of admiralty, and resolved to recur to decisive measures for the purpose of obtaining redress.

Sweden deemed herself greatly injured on a variety of occasions, but more particularly by the detention and condemnation of several merchantmen bound from the Mediterranean, under the convoy of a ship of war; carrying pitch, tar, hemp, deals, and iron, supposed to France, Spain, or Portugal, and which, after some resistance, were seized in the British channel, by Commodore Laforce, on the 30th of June, 1798, and brought into a British port. She also complained that one of her merchantmen, without a cargo, had been seized by an English squadron, and employed in a hostile enterprise against two Spanish frigates in the bay of Barcelona, by which stratagem they had both been captured.*

* After some delay, such of the vessels in the Swedish convoy as were bound for Portugal, were permitted to repair thither; and Sir William Scott, the judge of the British admiralty court, at length decided in the case of the *Maria*, the condemnation of which vessel, as well as the cargo, was followed by that of the remainder of the convoy. Upon this occasion the judge asserted; 1. That the right of visiting and of searching merchantmen upon the high seas, whatever be

Denmark was equally loud in the enumeration of her grievances. She asserted that a number of her vessels had been seized on the most frivolous prettexts, and carried into the ports of Great Britain, although no species of contraband property whatsoever had been found on board.

An event occurred soon afterwards, that occasioned much perplexity, and was productive of the most unpleasant consequences. Although the armed vessels of two of the northern powers had protested against a search, and one of them had actually resorted to small-arms, yet nothing in the shape of a regular engagement had yet taken place. This, however, occurred in the course of the summer; for the captain of the Danish ship of war, the *Freya*, having refused to permit the vessels under his protection to be examined by an English squadron at the mouth of the channel, although he freely offered to exhibit all their papers for inspection, an action immediately ensued, and after having two men killed and five wounded, the Dane struck his colours, and was carried with his convoy into the Downs.

As a rupture was apprehended on this occasion, the English ministry were naturally alarmed for the safety of the vessels employed in the Baltic trade. Lord Whitworth was accordingly sent to Copenhagen, in the character of plenipotentiary; while his mission was supported, and his arguments enforced, by means of a strong squadron, consisting of nine sail of the line, four bomb-vessels, and five gun-boats, under Admiral Dickson, which entered the sound, and anchored in Elsinour Roads. After a considerable time spent in discussion, a temporary adjustment took place on the 29th of August, in virtue of which the Danish frigate with the convoy was to be released; and the former "repaired in a port of his Britannic majesty, according to the usage followed among friendly and allied powers;" but the decision respecting the right of visiting merchantmen under convoy of a ship of war, was postponed.

So indecisive and inadequate did this negotiation prove, that in a few months the northern powers entered into an association for their mutual protection, and actually revived a treaty of armed neutrality, which had originated with Russia towards the

the ships, cargoes, or destination, is an incontestable right of the lawfully-commissioned cruisers of a belligerent nation. 2. That the authority of the sovereign of the neutral country being interposed in any manner of mere force, cannot legally vary the rights of a lawfully-commissioned belligerent cruiser. And, 3. That the penalty for the contravention of this right is the confiscation of the property so withheld from visitation and search

close of the American war. The Emperor of Russia, who had laid an embargo for a few weeks on all the ships and property of English subjects within his dominions, in consequence of the capture of the *Freya*, was the first to invite Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia to adopt this measure. In consequence of this invitation, the King of Sweden entered into a treaty on the 16th of December with the Emperor Paul, in which they laid down certain principles for the extension and security of commerce. By these new regulations, it was maintained, that any neutral ship might freely navigate on the coasts of the belligerent powers, and that every thing but what is expressly contraband shall be free. The description of a blockaded harbour is in this treaty limited and defined; the declaration of the officers commanding ships of war conveying merchandise, respecting their cargoes, is deemed sufficient; no search is to be allowed; and to protect the trade of the two countries, the contracting parties agreed to equip and provide squadrons. The Kings of Prussia and Denmark soon acceded to this confederacy, and the Emperor of Russia carried his resentment still farther, by once more laying an embargo on all the ships in his ports; he also issued orders to burn those detained in the harbour of Narva, in consequence of the escape of two vessels in contravention of his commands, and treated the crews with uncommon harshness and severity. These proceedings were immediately connected with the grand-mastership of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, and in the court gazette of St. Petersburg it was distinctly declared, that the sequestration on British property should not be taken off until the conditions of the convention concluded in the year 1798 were punctually fulfilled.

In addition to this disastrous intelligence, it was feared that Russia was about to declare in favour of France, while Portugal, the faithful ally of Great Britain, was threatened with subjugation; so that the prospect of public affairs became gloomy in the extreme; but it will be seen hereafter that the scene soon changed, the storm was dissipated, and England, by the vigour of her ancient institutions, her wealth, her valour, and a variety of fortunate incidents, at length acquired her former ascendancy.

The military history of France during the present year, has already been recorded, but the conduct of the consular government in the early stages of its authority yet remains to be narrated. It was undoubtedly the grand and primary object of those who were concerned in framing the new constitution of France, to establish an executive power in the nation which should possess

sufficient energy to pervade every part of the state, and to rule with a firm and steady hand that discordant mass comprehended under the general appellation of the French republic. But notwithstanding the acceptance of the new constitution by an immense majority of the French citizens, the government of Bonaparte was exposed to the attacks of very formidable enemies; from the fatal effects of which, nothing less than the magnitude of the power which he possessed could have protected him.

At this time, a self-appointed committee of royalists existed in Paris, styling themselves a committee of counter-revolution (the Chevalier de Coigny being the chief); this assembly maintained a regular correspondence with a similar committee in London, over which the Count d'Artois presided in person: and so confident had they become of success, that an overture was made by the Parisian committee to Talleyrand, the first minister of the consular government, and through him to Bonaparte himself, for the restoration of the Bourbons. This imprudent and dangerous communication led to the arrest of the chevalier and his colleagues, and to the seizure of all their papers. The lives of the conspirators were however spared, in consideration of the ample avowals made by them of their plans, and the unreserved denunciation of their associates, of whom General Pichegra was one of the chief.

On the other hand, the factions of the jacobins, although less openly hostile, were regarded as still more dangerous adversaries than the loyalists to the existing government; because more profound in their designs, and more daring and desperate in the means of accomplishing them. It seemed, indeed, extraordinary that a systematic concert should prevail between the two opposite factions; but they had both one object, and that was the subversion of the existing government. The first consul, apparently little affected by these intrigues and combinations, continued to afford every facility to the return of the emigrants to France, and during the first year of the consulate, these unfortunate refugees repaired in vast crowds to their native country. But towards the close of the year, an event occurred which gave a new and unfavourable bias to the political system.

On the evening of the 24th of December, as the first consul was going in his carriage from the Tuilleries to the opera, he passed through the Rue Vicaise, a narrow street, in which stood a car of uncommon construction, containing a barrel filled with combustibles, and placed in such a situation as almost to obstruct the way. The coachman drove with rapidity; but scarce-

ly had he passed the car an instant, when it blew up with a dreadful explosion; killed some, wounded others, and shattered the adjoining buildings to their foundation. The velocity with which the carriage moved, and the address displayed by the coachman in passing this vehicle, saved the first consul, against whose life this *infernal machine* was no doubt solely directed. Through the indefatigable exertions of M. Fouché, the minister of police, several of the assassins concerned in this murderous plot, framed, as it appeared, by a combination of royalists and jacobins, were discovered and brought to public execution. But the attempt made a deep and indelible impression upon the mind of Bonaparte, whose character from this moment acquired an adventitious tincture of suspicion and severity.

The state of the important island of St. Domingo excited, at this crisis, considerable anxiety in the mind of the first consul. That great colony had been for some time past entirely under the power of the celebrated negro chief Toussaint Louverture,

who had displayed extraordinary ability in conducting the affairs of government. Domestic slavery, so repugnant to every principle of nature, was wholly abolished, and it appeared, by practical demonstration, that even in the West Indies, the absolute dominion of the few over the many was not necessary to the existence of civil society.

Amongst the miscellaneous events of the present year, the election of a successor to Pope Pius VI. must be recorded. The conclave sat till the month of March, 1800, when the choice of the sacred college fell upon Cardinal Chairemonte, Bishop of Tivoli, who took the name of Pius VII. The new pope, who was accounted a man of intelligence, moderation, and discretion, was of the order of the Benedictines, and had been raised successively to the dignity of abbot, bishop, and cardinal. In a few weeks after his elevation, preparation having been made for his reception, he set out for his own dominions, and on his arrival, at Rome, on the 9th of July, the city was illuminated, and his holiness was received with every demonstration of joy.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Posture of public Affairs at the Commencement of 1801—Public Distress—Measures resorted to for its Alleviation—Population—Meeting of the first Imperial Parliament—The Right of Search (*note*)—Debates on the Address—Embargo on the Vessels of Russia, Sweden and Denmark—Change of Ministry—Its ostensible Cause—Coronation Oath (*note*)—Suspension of the royal Functions—Completion of the ministerial Arrangements—Hostile Conduct of Denmark and Prussia—British Fleet sails for the Baltic—Passes the Sound—Battle of Copenhagen—Departure of the British Fleet for Carlsrona—Death and Character of the Emperor Paul—Ascension of Alexander I.—Dissolution of the Northern Confederacy—Invasion of Portugal by Spain—By France—Humiliating Treaty made with France by the King of the Two Sicilies.

THE commencement of the year 1801 presented to Great Britain the most gloomy prospects. A scarcity, produced in the first instance by adverse seasons, and aggravated in a high degree by the waste of war, produced misery and discontent among the lower classes of the community; while, the burden of the taxes was felt by all, and one of them in particular was considered as peculiarly inequitable in its principle and inquisitorial in its operation.* In addition to these insuspicious circumstances, the battle of Marengo, by intimidating Austria, as well as the courts attached to her interest, had left England without a single efficient ally; and she was now reduced to the necessity of counteracting those convulsive and concentrated efforts of the enemy, which had hitherto proved less terrible by division. France, on the other hand, never appeared more formidable than at this mo-

ment; the treaty of Luneville had disarmed the resentment of the only state capable of coping with her in a military contest, and the northern confederacy, which had now nearly attained to its maturity, seemed entirely directed against the naval ascendancy and commercial prosperity of Great Britain.

Under these circumstances the British parliament assembled for the last time, on the 11th of November, 1800. Before the meeting of parliament, the increased price of provisions had been productive of a degree of public distress unequalled since the dreadful famine at the close of the seventeenth century. The crop of 1800, like that of the preceding year, had been generally deficient in every country in Europe. The scarcity, which was great and deplorable, bore every symptom of long continuance; and rumours of monopoly and forestalling increased the feeling of the evil, by imparting to it the aspect of injustice,

* The income tax.

rather than of misfortune. But it may be fairly disputed whether monopoly had any part in aggravating the existing scarcity, and it became clear that no alleviation of the evil was to be found in the legislative and judicial invectives which were uttered against these invisible agents. During this scarcity, the sober and industrious classes of the labouring poor sustained their hardships with laudable patience; and though there were some riots in the metropolis and other parts of the country, no general ebullition burst forth that required to be suppressed by bloodshed.

To alleviate the public distress, the dangerous measure of a *maximum* was, on the 5th of December, brought forward in parliament by the Earl of Warwick, who proposed to fix the highest value of wheat at ten shillings per bushel, although the actual price was at that time more than twenty. But the false and mischievous notion of an artificial scarcity, upon which this proposal proceeded, was exploded by the calm wisdom of parliament, and the motion itself was rejected with marked disapprobation. Instead of compulsory means, so inconsistent with the security of property, and the free spirit of the British constitu-

tion, the legislature confined its efforts to suggesting expedients for diminishing the consumption, and encouraging the foreign supply. High bounties were granted on importation; the baking of mixed and inferior flour was enforced by act of parliament, and the distillation of spirits from grain was prohibited. These were in general the enactments or exhortations of the legislature at this crisis of general privation, during which, much to the honour of the wealthier part of the community, the hand of charity was more liberally opened, than at any other period which the history of human suffering has to record.

Among other causes of dearth, the great increase of the national population was repeatedly mentioned; and in the course of the session, a bill was brought into parliament by Mr. Abbot, for ascertaining the population of Great Britain, which passed into a law; and upon an actual enumeration of the people, it appeared, to the general surprise, that they amounted to nearly eleven millions—a result exceeding the highest previous conjecture; and it is probable that the aggregate population of Great Britain and Ireland amounted at this period to sixteen millions.

GENERAL ABSTRACT,

Of the Returns made pursuant to an Act of Parliament, passed in the forty-first Year of his Majesty, King George III.

	HOUSES.			PERSONS.		OCCUPATIONS.			Total of Persons.
	Estimated.	By how many families occupied.	Uninhabited.	Males.	Females.	Persons chiefly employed in Agriculture.	Persons chiefly employed in Trade, Manufacture, or Handicraft.	All other persons not comprised in the preceding classes.	
ENGLAND.....	1,472,970	1,787,520	53,966	3,287,935	4,343,199	1,524,227	1,782,531	4,606,830	8,331,434
WALES.....	109,663	118,303	3,511	257,178	294,368	189,062	63,822	266,573	541,546
SCOTLAND.....	294,563	364,079	9,537	734,581	864,487	365,516	293,373	833,914	1,569,068
ARMY, including the Militia...				196,361					196,361
NAVY, including Marines....				126,279					126,279
Seamen in registered Shipping				144,558					144,558
Convicts on Board the Hulks.				1,410					1,410
Total.....	1,876,478	2,280,902	67,013	5,450,293	6,442,064	2,078,805	2,139,726	5,707,017	10,942,646

Published by order of Parliament, Dec. 1, 1801.

The discussion of the late negotiations, which occupied a part of this short, but integral session of parliament, produced no debates of importance; and the supplies being granted, parliament was prorogued on the last day of the year, by his majesty, in person. His majesty, before he retired, ordered the chancellor to read a proclamation, declaring that the individuals who composed the expiring parliament should be members on the part of Great Britain of the parliament of the united kingdom.

On the 1st of January, 1801, a royal declaration was issued concerning the style

and titles appertaining to the imperial crown of Great Britain and Ireland; and also to the ensigns armorial, flags, and banners thereof. In the new heraldic arrangements the *fleurs de lis* were wisely and seasonably omitted, the title of King of France was expunged; and the royal dignity was in future to be expressed in the Latin tongue by these words: "GEORGIUS TERTIUS, *Dei Gratia, Britanniarum Rex, Fidei Defensor*"—and in the vernacular language—"GEORGE THE THIRD, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith."

On the same day, the great seal of Britain was delivered up and defaced, and a new seal for the empire was given to the lord chancellor. A new standard, also, combining the three crosses of St. George, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick, was hoisted, amidst the discharge of artillery, in each of the three capitals of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the new year, thus rendered peculiarly memorable, was ushered in with every demonstration of joy.

The imperial parliament of Great Britain and Ireland assembled on the 22d of January, and proceeded to elect a speaker, when Mr. Henry Addington, who had so long and so ably filled the chair of the lower house of parliament, was again placed, by the universal suffrage, in that elevated situation. On the 2d of February, the king repaired to the house of lords, and being seated on the throne, he congratulated the senate on the union which had been so happily effected. The other topics of the speech embraced only painful and portentous occurrences :—

"The unfortunate course of events on the continent," said the king, "and the consequences which must be expected to result from them, cannot fail to be matter of anxiety and concern to all who have a just feeling for the security and independence of Europe. Your astonishment, as well as your regret, must be excited by the conduct of those powers, whose attention at such a period appears to be more engaged in endeavours to weaken the naval force of the British empire, which has hitherto opposed so powerful an obstacle to the inordinate ambition of France, than in concerting the means of mutual defence against the common and increasing danger. The representations which I directed to be made to the court of St. Petersburg, in consequence of the outrages committed against the ships, property, and persons of my subjects, have been treated with the utmost disrespect; and the proceedings of which I complained have been aggravated by subsequent acts of injustice and violence. Under these circumstances, a convention has been concluded by that court with those of Stockholm and Copenhagen; the object of which, as avowed by one of the contracting parties, is to renew their former engagements for establishing by force a new code of maritime laws, inconsistent with the rights, and hostile to the interests of this country. In this situation, I could not hesitate as to the conduct it became me to pursue. I have taken the earliest measures to repel the aggressions of this hostile confederacy, and to support those principles which are essential to the maintenance of our naval strength, grounded on the system of public law so long established and recognised in Europe."*

* **RIGHT OF SEARCH.** *The question stated.*—It is laid down as a principle in the British courts of admiralty, "That the right of visiting and of searching merchantmen upon the high seas, whatever be the ships, cargoes, or destination, is an incontestable right of the lawfully commissioned cruisers of a belligerent nation."†

† See Sir William Scott's decision in the case of the *Maria*, page 362.

The debates on the address were animated and interesting. In the peers, Earl Fitzwilliam, who had hitherto contended strenuously for the continuance of the war, and

The origin of this claim is very ancient. About the end of the twelfth century, the free states of Italy, then possessing nearly the exclusive commerce of the south of Europe, in conjunction with other cities of Catalonia and Arragon, promulgated a maritime code, known by the name of *Il consolato del Mare*, which immediately attained to high reputation, and was almost universally regarded as the maritime law of Europe. By an article of this famous constitution, it was enacted, that a neutral cargo should be safe on board enemies' ships; but that an enemy's property found on board a neutral vessel should be considered as lawful prize—the captor paying the amount of the freight to the ship owner, and the right of confiscation evidently implied the right of search, and was indeed altogether null without it. For several centuries, this was the acknowledged basis of maritime jurisprudence in all the western and southern parts of Europe; but in process of time, Holland, gaining the ascendancy in the commercial world, and being deeply interested in the question, her merchants having engrossed the carrying trade of Europe, endeavoured to establish the opposite principle, that free bottoms make free goods; or, as it was then technically expressed—" *Le pavillon neutre couvrir la marchandise*," saying always the goods *contrebande de guerre*. And the Dutch government so far succeeded in their attempt, as to obtain from France this concession in their favour in the commercial treaty concluded in 1662; and from England in that of 1668, renewed in 1674.

The northern powers, who had never recognised the authority of the Italian code, insisted on various occasions with great energy upon the right of neutrality: and during the seven years' war, the Danish counsellor Hubner, who was much employed in the difficult negotiations which took place on the subject with the belligerent powers, published a celebrated treatise on the rights of the neutral flag, which has ever since been regarded by those nations as decisive of the question, so far as relates to the exemption from search claimed by those vessels which are under the protection of a regular and authorized convoy. England, from the rapid increase of her naval and commercial power, was, beyond any other nation, interested in maintaining the ancient constitution; but in the war which commenced in 1775, generally styled the American war, the Empress of Russia, whose influence in the north of Europe was unbounded, revived a project, of which the primary author was Frederick the Great of Prussia, for establishing and securing, by the intervention of an armed force, the rights of neutral powers. This design was carried into effect by the famous convention of neutrality, concluded at St. Petersburg in 1780, to which Russia, Denmark, Sweden, Prussia, and Naples, became parties; France, Spain, Holland, Austria, Portugal, Venice, and Tuscany, formally expressed their approbation of this treaty; and Great Britain herself yielded in silence to the necessity.

To re-establish this system of armed neutrality the courts of Russia and Sweden now entered into a convention, which was duly executed by those powers at St. Petersburg on the 16th of December, 1800, and to which Denmark and Prussia subsequently became parties. In this treaty, it is declared, that the high contracting powers shall strictly prohibit the exportation of all contra-

the restoration of the Bourbons, frankly acknowledged "that the contest was hopeless;" he however insisted on the propriety "of an inquiry into the causes of the failure, when such large and almost unbounded powers had been intrusted to ministers, and when they had had the whole of Europe to assist in the common cause; it was also necessary to be informed, why, instead of succeeding against an ancient enemy, they had at once plunged the nation into a contest with her allies!" He added, "that the new conflict in which we were about to engage, was, as far as Sweden and Denmark were concerned, one of our own seeking, as we had it now in our power to suspend the discussion of the question relative to the neutral code, in the same manner as in 1780, when this country was in a less difficult situation than at present."

The Earl of Fife, a nobleman little accustomed to speak in public, made a deep impression both on the house and the nation in this debate. He professed he had no desire either to give offence to his majesty's ministers, or to court the approbation of those who opposed them; neither would he inquire whether the contest on our part was just or unjust, necessary or unnecessary, but he would frankly declare that no war was ever worse conducted. After remarking that he had paid particular attention to the history of the country, and seen and been intimate with all the different parties, from the death of Mr. Pelham to the present hour, his lordship proceeded as follows: "In this horrid contest, our blood and treasure have been spent in the extravagant folly of secret expeditions; grievous and heavy taxes have been laid upon the people, and wasted in expensive embassies, and in subsidizing proud, treacherous, and useless foreign princes, who would have acted much better for themselves, had we saved our money and taken no concern with them.

band merchandise whatever; that when a merchant-ship is not under convoy, the captain shall not oppose the searching of his vessel by a ship of war or privateer of a belligerent; but that when, on the contrary, the merchant vessel or vessels of the contracting powers are protected by convoy, the "declaration of the officers who shall command the ship of war, or ships of war, of the neutral state, which shall be conveying one or more merchant-ships, 'that the convoy has no contraband goods on board,' shall be sufficient; and that no search of his ship, or the other ships of his convoy, shall be permitted." In support of these claims, the parties to the treaty of armed neutrality engaged to equip a number of ships of war and frigates, and pledged themselves, in case the merchant-ships of their subjects should be illegally searched, seized, or detained, in contravention of the articles of this treaty, to have recourse to reprisals against such power as should refuse to do them justice; and endeavour, by every possible means, to give effect to such reprisals.

I do not mean to condole on our present state in having no such friends—I only wish we had always been in that situation. I lament our present scarcity," added the earl, "but great as our demerits are, it comes not from the Almighty, but from the effects of this ill-conducted struggle. What have we gained by our boasted conquests? If a proper regulation for commerce were made, I wish they were all sold, and the money arising from them applied to liquidate the national debt, and release the people from those taxes which bear hard on the rich and on the poor; on their income, their industry, and, what is worse, upon their liberty."

Lord Grenville, on the other hand, defended the conduct of the ministers, and maintained that the claim of searching neutral vessels originated in the law of nations and the rights of nature, and that the assertion of this right constituted the foundation of her commerce and her wealth, and was the bulwark of the naval and military glory of Great Britain.

Earl Spencer contended, that whenever an inquiry should be instituted into the conduct of ministers, it would redound to their honour, but this was not a period for investigation, but for action. As to the new contest which awaited us, it could not possibly be avoided; and we retained strength and ability enough to conduct it to a happy issue. On a division of the house, the address was carried by a majority of seventy-three to seventeen voices.

In the commons, Dr. Lawrence, a doctor of civil law, accustomed to practise in the court of admiralty, maintained, that forbearance was at present the best policy, and that it had been followed in times far less critical, by the magnanimous Queen Elizabeth, who claimed and exercised the right of searching neutral ships, as well as by Charles II. and the administration of 1780. He observed that the convention of St. Petersburg, which had given rise to so much complaint, embraced three points; by the first of which, free bottoms made free goods; the second conceded the claim to detain contraband commodities, and the third respected the nature of blockade. He remarked that on the two first points various decisions had been pronounced, particularly in the West Indies, calculated in a high degree to provoke and irritate the northern powers; and he concluded by animadverting on the rashness of those ministers who, after complaining of the arrest of British vessels by Russia, had committed an act equally violent as to Denmark and Sweden.

Mr. Pitt, after repelling a variety of objections, insisted, "that our very existence as a nation depended on our possessing and exercising the right of searching neutral

vessels," and he lamented that any member of that house "should have begun to doubt, only when our enemies were ready to begin to combat;" he maintained that our claims on the present occasion arose not only out of positive treaties, but out of the law of nations: and he asked, "if we were to permit the navy of our enemy to be supplied and recruited † to suffer blockaded ports to be furnished with stores and provisions? and allow neutral nations, by hoisting a flag on a sloop or a fishing-boat, to convey the treasures of South America to Spain, or the naval stores of the Baltic to Brest or to Toulon." After a number of animated speeches on the same subject, the house divided, when the majority in favour of the ministers was two hundred and forty-five to sixty-three.

The minister, secure in his majorities, determined from the first, either to overawe or to dispel the northern confederacy. Accordingly, an order in council was issued, dated the 14th of January, imposing an embargo on all Russian, Danish, and Swedish vessels in the ports of Great Britain; but the court of Berlin, although a party to the league, was treated upon this and every other occasion with peculiar deference and respect. Preparations were also made to send a fleet into the Sound, and to hazard all the evils likely to result from a war, which threatened to exclude the British flag from the navigation of the Baltic, and her commerce from the shores of the Elbe, the Ems, the Vistula, and the Weser.

Nor were the northern powers inattentive to their own immediate safety: the most active preparations had for some time past taken place, in all the ports of Russia, Sweden, and Denmark. Their combined navy, if fitted out by a simultaneous movement, would have amounted to nearly eighty sail of the line; and these, together with the numerous gun-boats and floating batteries which they either possessed already, or could have easily constructed, might have rendered their narrow seas and difficult coasts impervious to the vengeance of an enemy.

In the midst of these preparations a change took place in the British cabinet. The union of the two islands was, not without reason, regarded by Mr. Pitt as the transaction which reflected the greatest lustre upon his administration; and although he had uniformly opposed the claim of Catholic emancipation during the existence of the separate legislature of Ireland, he had, it was understood, in order to facilitate this favourite object, given, in concurrence with his colleagues, assurances to the Irish Catholics of a complete participation in all political privileges, as soon as the union

should have taken place. When this proposition was stated in the cabinet council, the king, astonished and alarmed at the nature and extent of the claim, in very peremptory terms refused his assent to the measure being brought forward by ministers in parliament; on the ground that his assent could not be given in consistence with the oath which he had taken at his coronation.* The mind of the king was, by some means, not accounted for, deeply impressed with this idea; and the cabinet ministers, with the chancellor of the exchequer at their head, being resolved to carry their point, resorted in this emergency to an expedient, which had been found effectual on other occasions, namely, an offer to resign.† This offer, the monarch accepted, and after much consultation the offices of first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer, were conferred upon Mr. Addington, the speaker of the house of commons. The post next in dignity, that of secretary for foreign affairs, hitherto held by Lord Grenville, was given to Lord Hawkesbury. Earl St. Vincent was placed at the head of the admiralty, in the place of Earl Spencer; Lord Eldon, chief justice of the common pleas, formerly Sir John Scott, succeeded Lord Loughborough in the court of chancery. Lords Hobart and Pelham were nominated secretaries of state, in the room of Mr. Dundas and the Duke of Portland. Mr. Yorke succeeded Mr.

* *The Coronation Oath*, as settled at the period of the revolution, and first used at the coronation of William and Mary, in the year 1689, consists of the following questions and answers:

"Will you solemnly promise and swear to govern the people of this kingdom of England, and the dominions thereunto belonging, according to the statutes of parliament agreed upon, and the laws and customs of the same?"

"I solemnly promise so to do."

"Will you, to your power, cause law and justice in mercy to be executed in all your judgments?"

"I will."

"Will you, to the utmost of your power, maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the gospel, and the Protestant reformed religion as by law established? And will you promise unto the bishops and clergy of this realm, and to the churches committed to their charge, all such rights and privileges as, by law, do, or shall appertain unto them or any of them?"

"All this I promise to do."

Then the king or queen, laying his or her hand upon the gospel, says, "The things which I have here before promised I will perform and keep. So help me God."

† Some curious speculators refined so far on the resignation of Mr. Pitt, as to imagine, that the sensible differed entirely from the real cause of this event; and that, despairing of an honourable termination of the war, he voluntarily seceded, in order to give his friend, Mr. Addington, an opportunity of negotiating a peace, and with the view of resuming his situation on the accomplishment of that great desideratum.

Windham as secretary of war. His brother, the Earl of Hardwick, was destined to the vice-regal office in Ireland. Lord Levisham was placed at the head of the board of control; and in this general change, the Duke of Portland and Lord Westmoreland alone retained their stations in the cabinet, the former as president of the council, and the latter as lord privy seal.

On the 10th of February, Mr. Addington resigned his office as speaker of the house of commons; and on the following day Sir John Mitford was chosen in his stead. The agitation of the king's mind had however so materially affected the state both of his bodily and mental health, that the new arrangements, although nearly completed, were not formally announced, and a total interruption of the regal functions ensued, during which the former ministers continued to discharge the duties of their respective offices.

On the same day that Mr. Addington resigned his office of speaker, the Earl of Darnley moved for an inquiry into the state of the nation. On this occasion, Lord Grenville acquainted the house, that his majesty's servants, not being able to carry into effect a measure which they deemed essential to the tranquillity and prosperity of the empire, had tendered to his majesty the resignation of their several employments, and that his majesty had been graciously pleased to dispense with their services. On which representation, the Earl of Darnley consented to postpone his motion.

The routine of parliamentary business went on as usual during the illness of the king; but his majesty having now happily recovered, the appointments of the new ministers were announced in the accustomed and regular form; and on the 17th of March, Mr. Addington was sworn into his high office; and Mr. Pitt was divested of that power which he had exercised, in times the most eventful and important, for the long period of seventeen years.

While these changes in the British cabinet were in agitation, the cabinets of the northern powers were occupied in measures to enforce the rights of neutrals, and to extort from Great Britain a renunciation of those claims, which the king had so lately pronounced essential to the maintenance of our naval strength. Denmark, which had taken the most efficacious measures for excluding the vessels of Great Britain from the navigation of the Elbe, in the course of the spring took possession of Hamburg. The King of Prussia, irritated at the seizure of one of his vessels, the Triton, laden with contraband goods, had already seized on the bailiwick of Ritzebuttle, and the

port of Cuxhaven, under pretence of securing the independence of the north of Germany; and soon determined to recur to a measure which had given a new turn to the politics of England, and is supposed to have had no small influence on the peace that ensued. His majesty of Prussia, after publishing a declaration complaining of the oppressions practised by Great Britain, ordered a body of troops to enter Hanover, on the 30th of March, seized on the capital, levied contributions, and obliged the generals and officers to engage not to serve against the house of Brandenburg.

In the mean time, a British fleet, consisting of eighteen ships of the line, and four frigates, together with a number of gun-boats and bomb-vessels, in all fifty-four sail, had been fitted out in the north sea, and on the 19th of March proceeded from Yarmouth roads for the Baltic. The command of this expedition was intrusted to Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, assisted by Vice-admiral Lord Nelson, and Rear-admiral Totty, the last of whom was so unfortunate as to lose his flag-ship on a sandbank off the coast of Lincolnshire.

As it was hoped that Denmark, whose trade and prosperity had experienced an unexampled increase during the war, might be prevailed upon to sue for forbearance, the first efforts of this armament were directed against her capital, while Mr. Vansittart, a new minister plenipotentiary, was instructed to endeavour if possible to detach the court of Copenhagen from the northern alliance. But the Prince-regent of Denmark, who had governed many years in the name of his father, frankly declared, that he was determined to remain faithful to his engagements.

On the 30th of March, the English squadron passed the sound, without encountering any resistance. After anchoring about four or five miles from the island of Huin, Sir Hyde Parker, in company with Lord Nelson and Rear-admiral Greaves, surveyed the formidable line of ships, radeaus, galleys, fire-vessels, and gun-boats, flanked and supported by extensive batteries on the two islands called the crowns; these were supported by two ships of seventy guns, and a large frigate in the inner road of Copenhagen, while two sixty-four gun vessels, without masts, were moored on the flat towards the entrance in the arsenal.

Lord Nelson, who had made an offer of his services to conduct the attack, and had for that purpose shifted his flag from the St. George to the Elephant, a vessel of smaller size, immediately gave directions for buoying the channel of the outer deep and the middle ground, after which the de-

tachment,* consisting of twelve sail of the line, with frigates, bombs, and fire-ships, selected for the assault, passed in safety and anchored off Draco. On the morning of the 2d of April, the vice-admiral made the signal to weigh and engage the Danish line of defence, which was found to consist of six sail of two deckers,† eleven frating batteries, mounting from twenty-six twenty-four, to eighteen eighteen pounders, and one bomb-ketch, together with several schooner-rigged gun-vessels; these were supported by the Crown Islands, mounting eighty-eight cannon, and four sail of the line moored in the harbour's mouth, together with some batteries thrown up on the island of Amak.

In the mean time, the shallowness of the water and the intricacy of the navigation prevented the complete execution of the projected plan: the Bellona and Russel grounded before they had reached the stations assigned to them, while the Agamemnon, being unable to weather the shoal of the middle, was obliged to anchor. These vessels were intended to outflank and overawe the batteries of the Crown Islands, as well as the two outer ships in the harbour's mouth.

The action began at five minutes past ten; half an hour afterwards, the first half of the fleet was engaged, and before half-past eleven the battle became general. The Elephant's station was in the centre, opposite to the Danish Commodore Fisher, who commanded in the Dannebrog, a sixty-two gun ship. The distance was nearly a cable's length, and this was the average distance at which the action was fought. The Glutton had her station immediately astern of the Elephant, and the Ganges, Monarch, and Defiance ahead, the distance between each not exceeding half a cable. At one P. M. few if any of the enemy's ships had ceased to fire. The Isis had greatly suffered by the superior weight of the Provestein's fire; and had it not been

for the judicious diversion made in her favour by the Desirée, who raked the Provestein, and for the assistance afforded by the Polyphemus, the Isis would have been destroyed. The Monarch was also suffering severely under the united fire of the Holstein and the Zealand, while the Bellona had received serious injury by the bursting of some of her guns. The division of the commander-in-chief acted according to the preconceived plan, but could only menace the entrance to the harbour. The Elephant was warmly engaged by the Dannebrog, and by two heavy praams on her bow and quarter. Signals of distress were flying on board the Bellona and the Russel, and of inability in the Agamemnon. The contest had not yet declared itself in favour of either side; but in this posture of affairs the signal was thrown out on board the London, Admiral Parker's ship, for the action to cease. Lord Nelson, who was then walking the starboard side of the quarter-deck, said to Captain Foley, with considerable agitation—"Do you know what's shown on board of the commander-in-chief?"—"Why, to leave off action!"—"Leave off action," he repeated, and then added with a shrug, "Now, damn me if I do.* You know, Foley," added he, "as I have only one eye, I have a right to be blind sometimes," and then, with an archness peculiar to his character, putting the glass to his blind eye, he exclaimed, "I really do not see the signal." The brave Captain Riou, perceiving the blank in the original plan for the attack of the crown batteries, owing to the Bellona and Russel having grounded, and to the Agamemnon having anchored, proceeded down the line with his squadron of frigates† early in the engagement, and bravely attempted, but in vain, to fulfil the duties in which three ships of the line had been directed to assist him; and the general signal of recall, made by the commander-in-chief, had the good effect at last of saving Riou's squadron from destruction. When the gallant Riou, who had been previously wounded in the head by a splinter, found that he was obliged to retreat, he nobly exclaimed, "What will Nelson think of us!" At this moment, his clerk was killed by his side; and by another shot several of the marines shared the same fate. The captain then exclaimed, "Come, my boys, let us all die together!" and the words were scarcely uttered, when a raking shot severed him in two, and deprived the British service of one of its greatest ornaments. The action still continued with

* The *Elephant*, Lord Nelson and Captain Foley; *Defiance*, Rear-admiral T. Greaves and Captain R. Retalick; *Monarch*, J. R. Mose; *Bellona*, Sir T. B. Thompson; *Edgar*, G. Murray; *Russel*, W. Cumming; *Ganges*, T. F. Foremanle; *Glutton*, W. Bligh; *Isis*, J. Walker; *Agamemnon*, R. D. Vancourt; *Polyphemus*, J. Lawford; *Ardent*, T. Bortie; *Amazon*, 38, E. Riou; *Desirée*, 40, H. Inman; *Blanche*, 36, G. E. Hammond; *Alcmene*, 32, S. Sutton; *Dart*, 30, J. F. Devonshire; and the *Arrow*, 30, W. Bolton. In addition to these, there were several other smaller vessels, principally bombs and fire-ships, and Captain J. Rose of the *Jamaica*, 26 guns, had the command of six gun-brigs, which were to have raked the southernmost ships of the Danish line, had the current permitted.

† *Danish Ships of the Line*. The *Vagren*, *Provestein*, *Jylland*, *Holstein*, *Infodstratten*, *Dannebrog*, and *Zealand*.

* See "The Life of Admiral Lord Nelson, by Clarke and M'Arthur," vol. II. page 270.

† The *Blanche*, *Alcmene*, *Dart*, *Arrow*, *Zephyr* and *Ouer*.

unabated vigour; but about two, P. M. the greatest part of the Danish line had ceased to fire; some of the lighter ships were adrift, and the carnage on board the vessels of the enemy, who reinforced their crews from the shore, was dreadful. The Danish commodore's ship was now on fire, and was found to be drifting in flames before the wind, spreading terror and dismay throughout the enemy's line. The usual lamentable scene then ensued; and the British boats rowed in every direction to save the crew, who were throwing themselves from her at every port-hole; few, however, were left unwounded in her, and fewer still could be saved. About half-past three, she blew up with a terrible explosion. After the Dannebrog was adrift, and had ceased to fire, the action was found to be over along the whole line astern of the British fleet, but the ships ahead, and the crown batteries, as well as the prizes made by the British, still continued to fire. Lord Nelson, losing his temper at this, observed, "That he must either send on shore and stop this irregular proceeding, or send in our fire-ships and burn the prizes." He accordingly retired into the stern gallery, and wrote with great despatch the following letter:—

"To the Brothers of Englishmen, the brave Danes.

"Lord Nelson has directions to spare Denmark, when no longer resisting; but if the firing is continued on the part of Denmark, Lord Nelson must be obliged to set on fire all the floating batteries he has taken, without having the power of saving the brave Danes who have defended them."

(Dated) "On board his majesty's ship Elephant,
"Copenhagen Roads, April 2, 1801.

(Signed) "NELSON AND BRONTE,
"Vice-admiral under the command of Admiral
"Sir Hyde Parker."

This despatch was conveyed on shore through the contending fleets, by Captain Sir Frederic Theesiger, who acted as his lordship's aide-de-camp; and who found the prince near the Sally port, animating his people, and sharing their dangers.* This letter, which exhibited a happy union of policy and courage, was written at a moment when Lord Nelson perceived, that in consequence of the unfavourable state of the wind, the admiral was not likely to get up to aid the enterprise; that the principal batteries of the enemy, and the ships at the mouth of the harbour, were yet untouched; that two of his own division had grounded; and that others were likely to share the

same fate. The firing from the crown batteries, and from the leading ships of the British, did not cease till past three o'clock, when the Danish Adjutant-general Lindholm, returning with a flag of truce, directed the fire of the batteries to be suspended. The signal for doing the same was then made to the British ships, and the action closed after five hours' duration, four of which were warmly contested, and during which the whole of the Danish line, to the southward of the Crown Islands, amounting to seventeen sail, were sunk, burnt, or taken.*

This mission of the adjutant-general's was "to ask the particular object of sending the flag of truce," to which Lord Nelson replied:—

"Lord Nelson's object in sending the flag of truce was humanity; he therefore consents that hostilities shall cease, and that the wounded Danes may be taken on shore; and Lord Nelson will take his prisoners out of the vessels, and burn or carry off his prizes, as he shall think fit.

"Lord Nelson, with humble duty to his royal highness the Prince of Denmark, will consider this the greatest victory he ever gained, if it may be the cause of a happy reconciliation and union between his own most gracious sovereign and his majesty the King of Denmark.

(Signed) "NELSON AND BRONTE.

"On board his majesty's ship Elephant, Copenhagen Roads, April 2, 1801."

On this, his royal highness, listening to the voice of humanity, sent his Adjutant-general Lindholm again on board the Elephant, and a negotiation was entered upon, which terminated in an armistice for fourteen weeks, during which "the treaty of armed neutrality," as far as related to Denmark, was to be suspended.

In recording the memorable engagement off the city of Copenhagen, the gallantry displayed by the Danes ought not to be passed over in silence. Notwithstanding the long peace they had enjoyed, the batteries both afloat and ashore were manned, and the guns served, with a degree of promptitude and valour that would have conferred credit on veteran troops, and which served to show how unnecessary it is that a nation should engage frequently in war for the purpose of keeping up a martial spirit. The English vice-admiral himself confessed that the combat was far more terrible than the action at Aboukir; and when it is recollected that two captains of the British navy, Captain Riou and Captain Mosse, lost their lives, and Captain Sir T. B. Thompson a leg; and that the total of killed and wounded of the British amounted to nearly one thousand; while the loss of the enemy was stated in Lord

* While the battle raged in its utmost fury, the crown prince, who was entreated by the officers in his train to retire, heroically replied: "I return thanks for the care you take of my person; but as Providence has placed me at the head of so brave a nation, I deem it a duty to be the first to set an example."

* Lord Nelson's Despatches, London Gazette Extraordinary, April 15, 1801.

Nelson's despatches at four times that number, it must be allowed that the resistance was not contemptible.*

As soon as the disabled vessels were refitted, the British squadron sailed to Carlsrona, and on the 18th of April arrived off that port. Sir Hyde Parker lost no time in informing the governor, that the Danish court had been induced to conclude an armistice, by which the disputes between the courts of Copenhagen and St. James' had been accommodated, and "to require an explicit answer from the court of Sweden, relative to its intention to abandon the hostile measures, adopted in conjunction with Russia, against the rights and interests of Great Britain." To this Vice-admiral Cronstedt replied in the name of the king, "that it was the unalterable resolution of his Swedish majesty not fail for a moment in fulfilling, with fidelity and sincerity, the engagements he had entered into with his allies; but that he would not refuse to listen to equitable proposals for the accommodation of disputes, provided they were made by plenipotentiaries, sent on the part of the King of Great Britain to the united powers." On receiving this answer, the admiral left the bay without firing a gun: and all future hostilities with the northern states were happily prevented by the death of the Emperor Paul, who fell by the hands of his courtiers, on the 23d of March. To delineate the character of this monarch, is foreign to the purpose of this work. It is sufficient to say, that it was a compound of folly and vice. The only palliation which his conduct seems to admit, arises from the presumption that his mental faculties were deranged; but whether that species of insanity under which he was supposed to labour originated in any other causes than pride, passion, and intemperance, is a problem which history will scarcely descend to investigate.†

* Killed: Officers	20
Seamen, marines, and soldiers	234
	—254
Wounded: Officers	48
Seamen, marines, and soldiers	641
	—689
Total killed and wounded	943

† The history of the Emperor Paul's assassination, given upon the authority of one of the assassins, is thus described by an English author, who maintains that the resolution was taken by the actors in this catastrophe from an opinion, "that to save the empire it was necessary that the emperor be removed!"

"It was the custom of the emperor to sleep in an outer apartment next to the empress, upon a sofa, in his regimentals and boots, while the grand-duke and dutchesse, and the rest of the imperial family, were lodged, at various distances, in apartments below the story which he occupied. In the dead of the night of the 10th of March, O. S. Count P—

Thus perished, at a very critical period, and by the same means, that son of Peter III. who, after a short reign, fell a sacrifice

Z— (late a disgraced courtier) and the rest of the conspirators, amounting to eight or nine persons, having previously changed the guard, passed the drawbridge, easily ascended the staircase which led to Paul's chamber, and met with no resistance till they reached the anti-room, when a faithful husar, who always slept at the emperor's bedroom door, awaked by the noise, challenged them and presented his fusée; much as they must have all admired the brave fidelity of the guard, neither time nor circumstances would admit of an act of generosity, which might have endangered the whole plan; Z— drew his sabre, and cut the poor fellow down. Paul, awaked by the noise, sprung from his sofa; at this moment the whole party rushed into his room; the unhappy sovereign, anticipating their design, at first endeavoured to intrench himself in the chairs and tables; then recovering, he assumed a high tone, told them they were his prisoners, and called upon them to surrender.

"Finding that they fixed their eyes steadily and fiercely upon him, and continued advancing towards him, he implored them to spare his life; declared his consent instantly to relinquish the sceptre, and to accept of any terms they would dictate. In his raving, he offered to make them princes, and to give them estates, and titles, and orders without end. They now began to press upon him, when he made a convulsive effort to reach the window; in the attempt he failed, and indeed so high was it from the ground, that had he succeeded, the expedient would only have put a more instantaneous period to his misery. In the effort, he very severely cut his hand with the glass: and as they drew him back, he grasped a chair, with which he felled one of the assailants, and a desperate resistance took place. So great was the noise, that notwithstanding the masonry walls and thick double folding doors which divided the apartments, the empress was disturbed, and began to cry for help, when a voice whispered in her ear, and imperatively told her to remain quiet, otherwise, if she uttered another word, she should be put to instant death.

"Whilst the emperor was thus making a last struggle, the Prince Y— struck him on one of his temples with his fist, and laid him upon the floor: Paul, recovering from the blow, again implored his life; at this moment, the heart of P— Z— relented, and upon being observed to trebble and hesitate, a young Hanovrian resolutely exclaimed, 'We have passed the rubicon; if we spare his life before the setting of to-morrow's sun, we shall be his victims!' Upon which he took off his sash, twined it twice round the neck of the emperor, and giving one end to Z—, and holding the other himself, they pulled for a considerable time with all their force, until their miserable sovereign was no more; they then retired from the palace without the least molestation, and returned to their respective homes.

"At seven o'clock, the intelligence of the demise of Paul, by apoplexy, as it was stated, spread through the capital, and his son Alexander, who had already mourned his father's fate, mounted the throne of the unfortunate monarch. The punishment that awaited the assassins was slight in the extreme; Count P— Z— was ordered not to approach the imperial residence, and the governor of the city, another of the principal conspirators, was transferred to Riga!"—*Carr's Travels in Russia*, &c. 1804.

to the masculine ambition of a female, and the treason of a few contemptible conspirators. Dazzled by the exploits of Bonaparte, Paul contemplated the first consul of France with the same degree of enthusiasm as had been formerly shown by his unfortunate father in respect to Frederick the Great. A private correspondence had actually taken place between them, compliments were interchanged, and projects of a new and portentous kind broached. Seven thousand Russian prisoners in France were immediately liberated without exchange, or ransom, and after being clothed in new uniforms, and armed from the depôts of the republic, placed at the disposal of the enraptured czar. To fill up the measure of this wonderful change in the sentiments of the court of St. Petersburg, Count de Kalitschew, a Russian nobleman, was despatched to Paris, in the character of ambassador extraordinary; and that prince, who had afforded an asylum to the unfortunate remains of the Bourbon family, and who kept a court for Louis XVIII. and recognised him as the legitimate sovereign of France, now acknowledged the French republic, and testified his admiration for her first magistrate.

No sooner had Alexander I. son of the deposed emperor, succeeded to the throne of his father, than he published a ukase, revoking several of the acts of the late government, and restoring the British seamen to liberty. Baron Lisakewitsch, the Russian minister at the court of Denmark, having notified these events to Admiral Parker, the admiral immediately returned to Kiøge bay, to await the orders of his court, in consequence of this new and interesting change, and in the mean time the benefits of the armistice were extended to the court of Stockholm.

Nearly about the same period, Lord St. Helens arrived at the court of St. Petersburg, in quality of minister plenipotentiary for England; and by a convention signed in the Russian capital on the 17th of June,*

* This treaty, which fixed the limits of the right of search, defined the articles that should be considered contraband of war, and determined the characteristics of a blockaded port, amongst other articles, stipulated:—

“That ships of neutral powers shall navigate freely to the ports, and upon the coasts of the nations at war.

“That the effects embarked on board neutral ships shall be free, with the exception of contraband of war, and of enemy’s property; and it is agreed not to comprise in the number of the latter, the merchandise of the produce, growth, and manufacture of the countries at war, which shall have been acquired by the subjects of the neutral power, and shall be transported for their account, which merchandise cannot be excepted in any case from the freedom granted to the flag of the said power.

“That in order to avoid all equivocation and

the emperor on the one hand allowed the right of search, under certain restrictions, by ships of war, but not by privateers; while on the other, the merchandise of the produce, growth, and manufacture of the countries engaged in war, might be purchased and carried away by the neutral powers; but by a subsequent explanatory declaration, the commerce between the mother country of a belligerent and her colonies was expressly excluded from the benefit of this arrangement. It was also stipulated by one of the articles, that Sweden and Denmark should receive back their ships and settlements on acceding to this treaty, and with these terms they both very readily complied. Thus Great Britain, partly by the sudden demise of the Emperor Paul, and partly by the thunder

misunderstanding of what ought to be considered as contraband of war, his Imperial majesty of all the Russias, and his Britannic majesty, declare, conformably to the 11th article of the treaty of commerce, concluded between the two crowns on the 10th (21st) of February, 1797, that they acknowledge as such only the following objects, viz. cannons, mortars, fire-arms, pistols, bombs, grenades, balls, bullets, fire-locks, flints, matches, powder, saltpetre, sulphur, helmets, pikes, pouches, swords, sword-belts, saddles and bridles, excepting, however, the quantity of the said articles which may be necessary for the defence of the ship and of those who compose the crew. And all other articles whatever not enumerated here, shall not be reputed warlike and naval ammunition, nor be subject to confiscation, and of course shall pass freely, without being subject to the smallest difficulty, unless they can be considered enemy’s property in the above settled sense.

“That in order to determine what characterizes a blockaded port, that denomination is given only to that where there is, by the disposition of the power which attacks it with ships stationary, or sufficiently near, an evident danger in entering.

“That the ships of the neutral power shall not be stopped, but upon just causes and evident facts: that they be tried without delay, and that the proceedings be always uniform, prompt, and legal.

“That the right of searching merchant ships belonging to the subjects of one of the contracting powers, and navigating under convoy of a ship of war of the said power, shall be exercised only by ships of war of the belligerent party, and shall never extend to the fittings-out of privateers, or other vessels which do not belong to the imperial or royal fleet of their majesties, but which their subjects shall have fitted out for war.

“That there shall be no pretence for any search, if the papers and certificates on verification are found in due form, and there exists no good motive for suspicion. In the contrary case, the captain of the neutral ship of war (being duly required thereto by the captain of the ship of war or ships of war of the belligerent powers) is to bring to and detain the convoy, during the time necessary for the search of the ships which compose it, and he shall have the faculty of naming and delegating one or more officers to assist at the search of the said ships, which shall be done in his presence, on board each merchant ship, conjointly with one more officers selected by the captain of the ship of the belligerent party.”

of her navy, saw a confederacy dissolved which aimed at the decrease of her maritime greatness, and was calculated to involve her in a new and disastrous war. But at the very moment when England had concluded a peace with her new foes, she was subject to the mortification of beholding an ancient but feeble ally punished for her fidelity.

No sooner had the peace of Luneville been signed, than the consular government of France determined to punish Portugal for its attachment to the only remaining enemy of the republic. Queen Mary, the widow of her uncle Peter III. incapacitated, partly by age and partly by a mental malady, from the exercise of the royal functions, still retained the semblance of sovereignty; but the kingdom was governed by her son, under the name of regent. The Prince of Brazil, conscious that his country had been repeatedly saved, and his family continued on the throne, in consequence of the support and protection of Great Britain, from whom he now expected the assistance of an auxiliary army, was devoted to that power, and, notwithstanding the menaces of the court of Madrid, had hitherto rejected the idea of any treaty that tended to exclude British ships from the ports of Portugal.

The King of Spain, actuated by attachment to his family, had suspended the vengeance of his ally, until, being at length fearful of an invasion on the part of the republic, he reserved for himself the task of chastising his son-in-law. He accordingly published a manifesto, on the 27th of February, 1801, in which he complained that Europe had been scandalized at Portugal presenting a secure asylum to the squadrons of the enemy, from which they were enabled to issue forth and seize on the vessels of Spain, and on those of a republic united to him by friendship. This manifesto, in which the Spanish monarch intermingled his own complaints with those of France, announced the recall of the Spanish ambassador from the court of Portugal, and concluded with a declaration of war against that country.

The counter-manifesto, published by the court of Lisbon, on the 21st of April, was replete with energy, and worthy of the most prosperous days of the Portuguese monarchy. After congratulating the nation on retaining its independence, notwithstanding the subjugation of so many other countries, the prince-regent maintained that Portugal had always evinced a scrupulous fidelity to its promises in respect to foreign states; that war had been declared against them because they had observed the faith of treaties; and that the measures now

taken by the enemies of Portugal were intended to degrade and debase her by reducing her to the necessity of supplicating for the preservation of her commerce. "Portuguese!" continued the prince, "we will preserve the courage and the sentiments of honour transmitted to us by our ancestors; justice is on our side; the true God, propitious to our cause, will punish by means of our arms the injuries committed by our enemies; he will crown with glory our generals and our legitimate sovereign, while our zeal, the equity of our cause, and the remembrance of our exploits, will secure us victory."

The prince of peace, having been declared generalissimo of the Spanish army, immediately entered Portugal, and in the course of less than two months overran that country. Having penetrated by two different routes into Alentejo, he obtained possession of Campo-Major, and all the fortified places in that extensive province, compelled the enemy to retire beyond the Tagus, and transmitted the trophies of his victorious career to Madrid. The prince-regent, finding all his efforts to resist the Spaniards in vain, was obliged to consent to a treaty of peace, which was signed at Badajoz, on the 6th of June. By this treaty, Spain obtained possession of the province of Olivenza, and it was stipulated that no armed ships appertaining to the enemies of that country should be admitted into the harbours of Portugal.

But these proceedings did not appear in exact conformity with the interests and views of France, and General St. Cyr, who had been invested with the character of ambassador to the court at Madrid, immediately placed himself at the head of a body of twenty-four thousand troops, entered Portugal, and invested the fortress of Almeida, within thirty leagues of the capital. No sooner was this event known at Lisbon, than the court became alarmed for its safety, and as the subsidy of three hundred thousand pounds, voted to that state by the British parliament, was unaccompanied by a body of troops, as had been originally intended, a peace soon afterwards took place between Portugal and France. By this treaty, which was signed at Madrid, on the 29th of September, Portugal engaged no longer to admit either British ships of war or merchantmen into her harbours; the limits of the dominions of the republic in Guiana were extended; and commercial immunities highly favourable to France were obtained. On the other hand, the British ministry, being apprehensive lest the island of Madeira should be delivered up to the enemy, sent a squadron thither, with a small body of land forces under

Colonel Clinton, who, debarking on the day of his arrival, obtained possession of the forts which command the bay of Fionchiale.

In the mean time, such of the states of Europe as had not yet made their peace with France, being terrified into submission by the victories of Marengo and Hohenlinden, and bereaved, in consequence of the treaty of Luneville, of all efficient co-operation, were eager to solicit forgiveness, and to bow at the feet of the conqueror. The King of the two Sicilies, alarmed at the approach of an army under General Murat, withdrew his troops in succession from the territories of Tuscany and Rome; and at the moment when the French were once more about to enter his kingdom, he contrived, by the powerful intercession of Russia and of Spain, to prevent the re-establishment of the Parthenopean republic. The treaty, however, by means of which he purchased his safety, was humiliating; for he agreed to shut the ports of Naples and

Sicily to the ships of war of Great Britain and the Ottoman Porte, and to renounce, along with Porto Longone, his possessions in the isle of Elbe, the presidial states in Tuscany, and the principality of Piombino. But, what was infinitely more disagreeable to this prince, he not only stipulated by the specific article to pay the sum of five hundred thousand livres, by way of indemnification for the lives lost and the damages sustained by the French party, during the late disorders in the kingdom of Naples; but he was obliged also solemnly to agree to permit all those who had been either imprisoned or banished on account of their political opinions, to be liberated, and return to their native country.

Amidst this career of triumph on the part of the first consul, the eyes of all Europe were suddenly directed towards Africa, and fixed on that scene where the English were fated to equal the most splendid achievements of the French nation.

CHAPTER XIX.

CAMPAIGN IN EGYPT: State of the French Army—A British Army sails for Egypt—Arrives in the Bay of Aboukir—Debarcation—The British Army advances—Battle of the 13th of March—Battle of the 21st—Death of General Abercrombie—Offer to renew the Convention of El Arisch rejected by the French—Rosetta surrenders to the Anglo-Turkish army—The Commander-in-chief, leaving Alexandria to be invested by General Coote and Admiral Bickerton, proceeds against Cairo—Defeat of the French by the Turks—Surrender of Grand Cairo—Siege of Alexandria—Fall of Alexandria, and the final Expulsion of the French from Egypt.

EGYPT, the scene of his former exploits and triumphs, was never absent from the mind of Bonaparte. Reclined beneath the canopy of power, and wielding the sceptre of a potent state, he still recollected those gigantic plans of ambition, which had induced him to wrest the regions watered by the Nile from the Turks and Mamelukes, that he might be enabled to drive the English from their possessions on the banks of the Ganges. He affected to consider the army of the East as composed "of his own children;" and while he gave orders for fitting out a strong squadron for its relief, under Admiral Gantheaume, an active and enterprising commander, he took care to supply the troops with arms, and even to increase their numbers by means of small detachments of conscripts. Kleber, whose memory was still dear to the soldiers, had added at once to their reputation and their security by the decisive battle of Heliopolis.* He had also increased their numbers by the formation of a Greek legion, which supplied the loss of the veteran troops,

while celerity was given to their movements by the establishment of several squadrons of camels, so that a body of infantry could at any time traverse the desert, or fly to the assistance of a distant post menaced by the enemy; to facilitate the communication, bridges were also thrown across the arms of the Nile, and a superiority on that river maintained by means of a flotilla of armed gallees.

Menou, who had succeeded to the command of the French army, and been confirmed in that office by the first consul, had never distinguished himself as a warrior. Since the residence of the French in this part of Africa, he had not filled any important department, or performed a single exploit worthy of record; and the troops, accustomed to be conducted by gallant and fortunate chiefs, placed little reliance on a leader whom they considered as a financier rather than a general. His disputes with Kleber, a commander at once adored by the soldiers, and worthy of their esteem, had long since rendered him unpopular with the mass of the army; and in addition to this, he had to contend with a party, some

* Book II. chap. XVI. page 349.

of which aspired to the supreme command, while others, discontented with their situation, and considering themselves in the light of exiles, languished to return to that country which they had left with reluctance. At this period, the successful rebellion of Passwan Oglou filled the mind of the grand vizier with terror and dismay; while the fierce jealousy of D'jezzar, the victorious Pacha of Syria, and the sudden change that had occurred in the politics of the Emperor Paul, added to his numerous and recent disasters, induced him to make an attempt, which proved unsuccessful, to renew with Menou the negotiations which had been begun with Bonaparte, and continued with Kleber.

Such was the situation of the French at this moment; powerful, but divided on one hand, and menaced by eastern hordes, numerous indeed, but contemptible, on the other. The English ministry, perceiving themselves foiled by their own wavering policy, in consequence of which they had at one time disapproved, by anticipation, the treaty of El Arisch, and at another wished to ratify the same treaty when it was too late, at length determined on the expulsion of the French from Egypt; and this gallant service was reserved for troops, the greater part of which had been coasting along the shores of Spain and the borders of the Mediterranean. After landing and re-embarking at Ferrol, and afterwards menacing Cadiz, part of the fleet sailed for Malta towards the end of the year 1800, while the remainder wintered at Minorca.

In the mean time, the plan of campaign was formed and developed. Judging from intercepted letters that the French were thinned by disease, and dispirited by so long a seclusion from Europe, it was supposed that the conquest would not be difficult; and it was determined that the field should be taken by three different armies at the same time, for the purpose of co-operating in the attainment of this great object. While those very enemies who so lately menaced India were to be opposed by a body of troops from that remote quarter of the globe, under the command of General Baird, the grand vizier was to penetrate across the desert, and at the same period, the English, under convoy of a powerful armament, were to land near to that spot where the remembrance of their gallant achievements was still fresh in their recollection.

The fleet, destined for this purpose, having accordingly rendezvoused, on the 1st of January, 1801, in the spacious bay of Marmorie, on the coast of Caramania, waited for the purchase of purchasing cavalry horses, collecting transports, and procuring

gun-boats to cover the landing, as well as vessels of a lighter burthen, to enter the lakes. But notwithstanding the endeavours of the English ambassador at the court of the Ottoman Porte, to inflame the tardy zeal of the Turks, a considerable delay intervened, and several French vessels entered Alexandria in the mean time, with supplies of troops, ammunition, and stores, for the enemy. At length, the British squadron, consisting of about one hundred and seventy-five sail, under the command of Lord Keith, weighed anchor on the 23d of February, and sailed with an army of fifteen thousand three hundred and thirty men,* to subjugate an enemy with the strength of whom the commanders themselves were notoriously unacquainted. It happened also that not a single officer in the army was acquainted with the interior of the country, nor had they even a map which could be depended upon. To complete this state of uncertainty, Major Makarras, of the engineers, who had been despatched to reconnoitre the country, was killed; and Major Fletcher, another artillery officer, severely wounded. During the passage, the Greek and Turkish vessels separated from the squadron amidst a heavy gale, in which one of the ships laden with mules had foundered; and as the cavalry and horses were embarked on board of them, this circumstance produced considerable disappointment. After a boisterous passage, however, of six days, the Arab's tower was descried; and in the course of the next morning the

* Sir Robert Wilson, in his history of the British Campaign in Egypt, states that the *efficient* force of the army at the highest computation did not exceed twelve thousand men; and the following list of the forces is extracted from that publication:

Guards—Major-General Ludlow.	
1st. or Royals,	} Major-general Coote.
2d bat. 54th,	
92d,	
8th—13th—90th—	} Major-general Craddock.
2d. or Queens,	
50th,	
79th,	
18th—30th—44th—89th—	} Major-general Lord Cavan.
Minorca,	
De Rolle's,	
Dillon's,	} Major-general Stuart.
RESERVE.	
40th, flank companies,	} Major-general Moore.
23d,	
28th,	
42d,	
58th	
Coriscan Rangers,	} Major-general Moore.
Detach. 11th dragoons,	
Ditto, Hompesch's regiment.	
12th dragoons—26th ditto,	} Brigadier-general Finch.
Artillery and pioneers,—Brigadier-general Lawson.	
The whole under the command of Sir Ralph Abercrombie.	

convoy arrived in Aboukir bay, rendered memorable by the celebrated battle of the Nile.

From the unfavourable state of the weather, it was found necessary to delay the debarkation of the troops till the morning of the 8th of March.* The first division of the army, amounting to nearly six thousand men, under Major-general Coote, having got into the boats, a rocket was fired at three o'clock in the morning, on which they immediately towed towards the Mendovi, and anchored in a central position at some distance from the shore. At nine, gun-boats, armed launches, and cutters, having been stationed for their protection, another signal was made, in consequence of which they advanced towards the beach, under the superintendence of Captains Cochrane, Stevenson, Scott, Lamour, Aphorpe, and Morrison, of the royal navy, and fearless of the preparations of the enemy, steered directly for that part of the shore where they were likely to meet the greatest opposition; for the French had occupied a sand-hill, styled by them "la hauteur," and lined all the adjacent heights with artillery and infantry; so that on the approach of the flotilla within this amphitheatre of fire, the castle of Aboukir, together with the guns, to the number of fifteen, poured down a most terrible and incessant discharge of shot, shell, and grape, which forced the boats to incline a little from their original direction, although, instead of being daunted, the men answered every discharge by a huzza!

The reserve, under Major-general Moore, having leaped on shore, the 23d regiment, and the flank companies of the 40th, led by Colonel Spencer, rushed up the eminence, and charging with fixed bayonets, forced the artillery, infantry, and dragoons, to give way in succession. But while the guards, under Major-general Ludlow, were landing, and before they had time to form, they were suddenly attacked by a body of cavalry from behind the sand-hills, some of the troopers actually leaping at the same time into the sea, where they killed several men while crowded in the boats and incapable of using their arms. Being at length repulsed, the troops advanced in succession to support the reserve, which by this time had obtained possession of the commanding ground in front. In their progress, they fell in with a column of the enemy, which had intended to attack them in flank, but

being overawed by the daring march and unexampled hardihood of the assailants, it retreated towards Alexandria, after maintaining an irregular fire for some time. On the retreat of the French force, the English advanced three miles from the coast, and encamped with the right to the sea, and the left inclining to the lake of Maadie. (46)

The loss of the British on this occasion in killed and wounded, including seamen and marines, exceeded seven hundred, while that of the French, in consequence of the protection afforded by the sand-hills, did not amount to more than one half that number. The possession of the enemy's position, the capture of seven pieces of cannon and a howitzer, together with the discomfiture of a large body of men protected by a fortress, strong batteries, and a nearly inaccessible eminence, constituted the exploits of this day. But the result was not to be measured by any common rule, or estimated by arithmetical calculation: the French now perceived that they had no longer Turks, or even Mamelukes, to contend with; they felt that soldiers of a European nation had landed in Egypt, and from this moment their ultimate possession of that country became problematical.

The judicious arrangements of the admiral had enabled a body of six thousand men, together with three hundred and fifty seamen, who either conducted artillery or acted as pikemen, to land in the course of the first day, and during the next day, the remainder being carried on shore, immediately effected a junction. On the 12th, the whole army moved forward and arrived within sight of the enemy, who, to the number of five thousand four hundred infantry, and six hundred cavalry, were now encamped on an advantageous ridge of sand-hills, forming a fine glacis, with their right towards the canal of Alexandria, and their left to the sea.

On the morning of the 13th, orders were given to attack the French, with an intention to turn their right flank. The English army marched in two lines from the left, the reserve covering the movement on the right, and keeping parallel with the first line. Scarcely had they advanced out of the wood of date trees, in front of Mandora

(46) The French force on this occasion, according to their writers, amounted to no more than 1200 men, opposed to them were 6000 English troops, whom the great extent of the bay of Aboukir enabled to land at once. The action was however vigorously contested on the part of the former, the 61st regiment repeatedly overthrew an English division of treble its force, and the field was only given up to an overpowering superiority of numbers. The English are represented to have lost fifteen hundred men in this engagement.

* On the 7th, Sir Sidney Smith, who first landed to reconnoitre the lake of Maadie, made a trivial but laughable capture, which excited the merriment of the whole fleet: the gallant knight, after driving the enemy from a small battery, succeeded in making three captives, and returned to his vessel with a French colonel, an Arabian poney, (a jackass), and its Egyptian driver.

Tower, when the enemy left the heights on which they had been formed, and moving down by their right, commenced a heavy fire of musketry and cannon on the 92d regiment, which formed the advanced guard of the left column; and at the same time the enemy's cavalry, under the orders of General Bron, charged down a height on the 90th regiment, forming the advanced-guard of the right column. This regiment, undismayed, firmly maintained its ground, and allowing the cavalry to approach, poured in upon them a volley so destructive, as to arrest their progress and alter their destination. A few of the dragoons, however, advanced to the British ranks, and were bayoneted in their attempt to break them. The army, now formed in two lines, pushed on with the greatest vigour, preserving always the strictest regularity; while the foreign brigade emulated the British. As the army advanced, the French, under the command of General Lanusse, were compelled to quit their position, and to retreat over the plain to the heights of Nicopolis, within their lines before Alexandria; but before they could wholly effect this movement, Dillon's regiment, which had advanced on the left, charged with the bayonet, and having carried two guns, placed on the canal of Alexandria, turned them immediately against the enemy. Sir Ralph Abercrombie, wishing to follow up his success, and by a *coup de main* to carry the important position on which the French had now retired, advanced across the plain, ordering General Hutchinson, with the second line, to move forwards to the left, and secure a projecting rising ground; General Moore being at the same time directed to the right, that both flanks might be assaulted at the same moment. The enemy now began to play from all their field artillery and heavy ordnance, while the British army, having advanced into the plain, found itself under one of the most terrible and destructive fires to which troops were ever exposed. On this occasion, Sir Ralph Abercrombie having advanced to reconnoitre the ground, had a horse shot under him, and was saved by the 90th regiment from being either killed or taken prisoner. The French, no longer in danger, had only to load and fire. Aim was unnecessary, the bullets could not fail to do their office. For several hours, did the English troops remain patiently suffering this exterminating fire, and never betrayed the least irresolution. If a word was heard, it expressed only a wish to be led to the assault. At length, the British commander deeming it prudent to desist, the army was withdrawn at sunset, and ordered to reoccupy that position

which was so shortly to be the theatre of its glory and revenge. The loss of the English in this sanguinary conflict amounted to eleven hundred men killed and wounded. The French of course suffered less, but about five hundred of them were put *hors de combat*, in addition to which they lost four field-pieces, and a great quantity of ammunition.

The English now began to fortify their new position by means of heavy cannon, brought on shore for that purpose; and as a defensive warfare on the part of an invading army always assumes an unprosperous aspect, the late retreat appeared in every point of view to be eminently sinister. The arrival of General Menou from Cairo, with a large reinforcement of troops, rendered the situation of the British army still more critical; but on the other hand, the castle of Aboukir, which had sustained a siege of eight days while in possession of the Turks, and assailed by Bonaparte, surrendered to the British on the 18th of March, after holding out against the besiegers only five days.

No sooner had Menou entered Alexandria, than he determined to give battle to the English. Instead of adopting a cautious and destructive system of warfare against troops unaccustomed to the country, he resolved, notwithstanding the jealousies that prevailed in his own army, to stake the fate of Egypt on a single combat. The necessary dispositions were accordingly made for an attack the next morning before daylight, by a body of about twelve thousand men; and in the general orders issued on the preceding evening describing the order of battle, it was expressly stated, "that the design was to drive the English into the lake Maadie."

On the memorable 21st of March the British army was as usual under arms at three o'clock in the morning; all was tranquil till half-past three, when the report of a musket, followed by the firing of a cannon, was heard at the extremity of the left. This demonstration was, it afterwards appeared, only a feint, for in a little time afterwards loud shouts were heard in the front of the right, which fully certified the enemy's intention; a roar of musketry immediately succeeded, and by break of day the action had become general. The first onset, as is usual on the part of the French, was impetuous, and was expected by them to be irresistible; but the steady valour of the 58th and 28th regiments, supported by the 23d and the 42d, checked the ardour of the assailants, and repulsed them in two successive charges, during which the British infantry, although broken and in part dispersed, contended hand to hand

with well appointed cavalry. At this critical moment, General Stuart, with the foreign brigade from the second line, advanced in the most perfect order, and poured in so heavy and well directed a fire, that nothing could withstand it, and the enemy fled or perished. It was in this charge of the cavalry that the gallant Sir Ralph Abercrombie, always anxious to be the most forward in danger, received a mortal wound. On the first alarm, he had mounted his horse, and finding the right was seriously engaged, he proceeded thither. When he came near the ruins, where, at the commencement of the action, the 58th regiment was posted, he despatched his aides-de camp with orders to different brigades, and while thus alone, some dragoons of the French cavalry penetrated to the spot, and he was thrown from his horse. One of them, supposed to be an officer, then rode at him, and attempted to cut him down; but just as the edge of the sword was falling, the natural heroism of the general, and the energy called forth by his perilous situation, so invigorated his veteran arm, that seizing the sword, he wrested it from the hand of his adversary; and at that moment the French officer was bayoneted by a soldier of the 42d regiment. Sir Ralph Abercrombie was scarcely aware of the wound he had received in his thigh, but he complained severely of a contusion in his breast, received, as he supposed, by the hilt of the sword in the personal rencontre. Sir Sidney Smith was the first officer who came to the commander-in-chief, and to him Sir Ralph presented the sword he had so gloriously acquired, as a substitute for the sword of Sir Sidney Smith, which had been accidentally broken.* Sir Ralph, as the enemy's cavalry was by this time repulsed, walked to the redoubt on the side of the guards, from which he could command a view of the whole field of battle. The French, although driven out of the British camp, by no means gave up the contest on the right. A second charge of cavalry was attempted by their reserve against the foreign brigade, but this effort proved as unsuccessful as those by which it had been preceded. Their infantry, no longer able to keep in a body, acted *en tirailleurs*, except that a battalion still maintained its station in front of the redoubt, on each flank of which the tri-coloured flag was planted. The ammunition of the English was by

* A singular circumstance happened almost immediately afterwards. Major Hall, aid-de-camp to General Craddock, while on a mission with orders, had his horse killed. Seeing Sir Sidney Smith, he begged to mount his orderly man's horse. Sir Sidney was turning round to bid him give it to the major, when a cannon-ball struck off the dragon's head: "This," exclaimed Sir Sidney Smith, "is destiny; the horse, Major Hall, is yours."

this time totally exhausted, and the regiments of the reserve were obliged to remain without firing a shot, some not having one round left, and for a time there was only one cartouch for the guns in the battery.

While such was the state of the contest on the right, the attack on the centre had also continued. As soon as day dawned, a column of French grenadiers had advanced, supported by a heavy line of infantry, to the assault of this part of the position. The guards posted at that place at first threw out their flanks to oppose them, but these being driven in when the column approached very near, General Ludlow directed the brigade to fire, which they did with great precision, and with considerable execution. The French general advanced to turn the left flank of the guards, but finding all his efforts ineffectual, he was compelled to desist. The left of the British was never seriously engaged; it was only exposed to a partial firing of musketry, and a distant cannonade. At length General Menou, finding that all his movements had failed, and that the British lines had suffered no serious impression, determined to retreat. This operation was effected in good order, notwithstanding the galling fire from the British cannon on the left, and also from the king's cutters on the right, which had during the whole action most gallantly remained in that situation, although exposed to a body of the enemy advantageously placed within half musket-shot.

During the battle, a body of chosen troops, consisting of about nine hundred, which, in consequence of a series of brilliant achievements in Italy, had acquired the appellation of "the invincibles," actually succeeded in a certain degree in piercing between the walls of an ancient ruin and a modern battery, which they attempted to storm three different times. But repeated volleys of grape and ball, together with a charge of bayonets, nearly annihilated the whole of this celebrated corps, who perished on the ground they occupied, while the officer who bore the famous standard embroidered with their exploits,* exclaimed "Long live the republic," and surrendered the standard at the same moment with his life.†

* *Le passage de la Servia—Le passage du Tugliamento—Le passage de l'Isone—Le prize de Gras—Le pont de Lodi.*

† Sergeant Sinclair of the 42d regiment, and a private in the Minorca corps, both claimed this trophy, and it appears that each merited the honour; Sergeant Sinclair first took it, but being ordered forwards by an officer, he gave it to a private, who was killed. When the Minorca advanced, the French had recovered their colour; but the private wrested them from the man who had possession of them, and they bayoneted him.†

† Sir Robert Wilson's History of the British Expedition to Egypt.

Amidst so general a display of gallantry, it is difficult to select those regiments which claim a superior degree of merit; but it is allowed that the 28th and 42d particularly distinguished themselves on this occasion, while the foreign brigade contributed greatly, by its spirited movement in advance, to decide the fate of the day. The guards, also, during the attack on the centre, conducted themselves with equal coolness and intrepidity; and the conduct of Major-general Ludlow, who fought at their head, as well as that of Major-general Moore, who was wounded while leading on the reserve, together with Brigadier-general Stuart and Colonel Paget, at once merited and obtained the praise of the commander-in-chief.

The loss of the enemy on this memorable day, has been estimated at from three to four thousand men, including many of the principal officers. Their cavalry suffered severely; General Roize, the commander of that force, perished in the field, and two other generals died soon after of their wounds. Of the British, thirteen hundred and six rank and file, with seventy officers, were killed, wounded, or missing. Eight officers of the staff, of whom five possessed the rank of general, were included in this list, as was also the commander-in-chief. Sir Ralph Abercrombie could not be prevailed upon to leave the field until after the defeat of the French, and the conclusion of a combat which had continued nearly seven hours. At length, fainting with the loss of blood, he was carried on board the *Foudroyant*, where he died seven days afterwards, to the inexpressible regret of the whole army.*

* **SIR RALPH ABERCROMBIE, K. B.**—This gallant chief was the son of George Abercrombie, Esq. of Tillehodie, in Clackmannanshire, and was born about the year 1738, or according to his epitaph at Malta, in 1733. After receiving a liberal education, he entered by choice into the army, in 1756, and was advanced through the regular gradations to the rank of major-general, which he attained in Sept. 1787. On the breakingout of the revolutionary war, in 1792-3, he was employed on the continent, and had the local rank of lieutenant-general conferred upon him. In the action on the heights of Cateau, he commanded the advanced-guard, and was wounded in the battle of Nimeguen. In the year 1795, he was created Knight of the Bath, and appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in the West Indies. On his arrival, he obtained possession of the island of Grenada, and soon afterwards of the settlements of Demarara and Essequibo. His next conquests were the islands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent; and in February, 1797, the Spanish island of Trinidad capitulated to him. On his return to Europe, he was appointed lieutenant-governor of the Isle of Wight, from which he was, in 1798, elevated to the office of governor of Fort Augustus and Fort St. George. Previous to this, he was appointed commander-in-chief in Ireland, where he laboured to maintain the discipline of the army, to suppress the rising

Thus ended a conflict, in which the number of prisoners did not exceed two hundred, and the cannon taken amounted only to two. But notwithstanding this, and although a numerous army was yet to be overcome, lines nearly impregnable to be stormed, and two fortified towns to be taken, this action, fought on the barren isthmus of Aboukir, by its moral and political, as well as its military effects, eventually decided the sovereignty of the whole of this portion of Africa.

Two days after the battle of Aboukir, Sir Sidney Smith, at the request of General Hutchinson, on whom the command of the army devolved, repaired to the enemy's

rebellion, and to protect the people from the licentiousness of military rule, with a care and skill worthy of the great general, and the enlightened and beneficent statesman. But circumstances rendering it necessary that the civil and military command of that country should be vested in the same person, he was removed, on the appointment of the Marquis Cornwallis, to the chief command in Scotland. When the memorable enterprise against Holland was undertaken in 1799, Sir Ralph Abercrombie held a principal command under the Duke of York; and it was confessed, even by the enemy, that no victory could have conferred more honour than was derived from the talents, activity, and bravery he displayed in forwarding the purposes of that ill-fated expedition. A more favourable enterprise, however, soon afforded our gallant hero an opportunity of immortalizing his name. This was the expedition undertaken for the purpose of dispossessing the French of Egypt. But it was, as has been seen above, his destiny to fall in the moment of victory; and on his removal from the field of battle to the *Foudroyant*, he heroically exclaimed, "I can feel no pain, when I think of the bravery of those fine fellows whom I have just left."

The successor of the general, in a well-written eulogium, pays a due tribute of respect to his memory: "We have sustained an irreparable loss," says he in his first public despatch, "in the person of our never sufficiently to be lamented commander-in-chief, who was mortally wounded in the action (of the 21st), and died on the 28th of March. I believe he was wounded early, but he concealed his situation from those about him, and continued in the field, giving his orders with that coolness and perspicuity which had ever marked his character, till long after the action was over, when he fainted through weakness and loss of blood. Were it permitted," continues General Hutchinson, "for a soldier to regret any one who has fallen in the service of his country, I might be excused for lamenting him more than any other person; but it is some consolation to those who tenderly loved him, that as his life was honourable, so his death was glorious. His memory will be recorded in the annals of his country, will be sacred to every British soldier, and embalmed in the recollection of a grateful posterity."

In private life, Sir Ralph had in his manners some degree of reserve; but he was truly amiable, honourable, and virtuous, attached to his country and his profession, and in every relative duty most exemplary. No man ever felt more deeply the awful responsibility attached to a commander-in-chief; and he regarded victory itself as of no value but as it tended to promote the interests and the repose of society.

lines, for the purpose of making an offer to renew the convention of El Arisch; but notwithstanding the late defeat, Menou haughtily replied, "that no attention would be paid to any proposal so injurious to the army of the east." In the mean time, the commander-in-chief was gratified by the arrival of the captain pacha, with a reinforcement of six thousand men, in consequence of which, detachments of Turks and English were despatched, on the 25th of March, under Colonel Spencer, to Rosetta, which commands the navigation of the Nile. The French having retreated after a feeble resistance, that important place was immediately occupied; and the fall of Fort St. Julian, which surrendered on the 8th of April, opened a communication with the Delta, through which fresh provisions for the army were regularly obtained. Sir Sidney Smith, with an armed flotilla, soon after this navigated the river as high as El Aft; while the British general ordered the canal of Alexandria to be cut, so as to let the waters of the sea into lake Mareotis, and thus strengthen the position of the English camp, as well as to cut off all direct communication between the garrison of Alexandria and the interior of Egypt.

The success of the Anglo-Turkish detachment at Rosetta, the capture of the neighbouring fort, which secured the navigation of the river, and the movements of the allies on the side of Palestine, induced General Hutchinson to intrust the blockade of Alexandria to General Coote and Admiral Bickerton, with a view of marching into the heart of the country. Every thing appeared propitious to his design: in the course of a few days more, a reinforcement of three thousand men landed from England; intelligence was also received from Cosseir of the arrival of the first division of the detachment of Bombay troops, while General Baird was expected in a short time with the remainder. Mourad Bey, never sincerely attached to his new allies, and alarmed by the recent victories of the English, deserted the French cause, and intimated his readiness to join their adversaries. D'jezzar Pacha, suspending for a while his hatred to the Turks, had already sent a body of well appointed cavalry to the grand vizier, who had by this time crossed the desert; while his highness made an offer of the assistance of two thousand horse, about six hundred of which body, equipped and disciplined, arrived soon after in the English camp. The commander-in-chief accordingly proceeded with a detachment of the army to Rosetta, whence he marched to El Aft, and then advanced to Rhamanieh, where the enemy, consisting of three thousand infantry, and eight hundred cavalry, under General Grange, happened to be post-

ed. This body of troops, deeming it imprudent to wait an attack, retired during the night, leaving a small garrison in the fort, which surrendered the next morning. As the French retreated with great celerity, General Hutchinson followed them with all possible speed, and in the course of his march, captured a convoy of five hundred camels, with an escort of six hundred men, destined for Alexandria; while Captain Stevenson, an active and enterprising officer, who commanded the flotilla on the Nile, captured, on the 14th of May, a gunboat and several galleys, laden with heavy artillery, brandy, and clothing for the enemy. This acquisition was however rendered less valuable by the plunder of the Arnauts, a body of troops who had served without pay; while the danger arising from the plague, now raging in the interior, became greatly increased by communication with the inhabitants.

The French having made a forced march, with the view of attacking and defeating the Turkish army before the arrival of succours now advancing to its assistance, the British camp was filled with apprehension, and many prognosticated that a defeat similar to that at Heliopolis would ensue. Nor was this at all improbable, when the manners and character of the Turkish nation are considered. During the present campaign, however, the Turks must be allowed to have conducted themselves with an extraordinary degree of valour and good conduct. Encouraged by the prosperous career of the English, their expected junction, and the presence of officers of that nation in their camp, the grand vizier had advanced from Belbeis against an enemy, the very name of which had so often forced him to turn pale. On the morning of the 16th of May, a body of five hundred cavalry, supported by three light field-pieces under Jahir Pacha, attacked a strong detachment of the French from Cairo, consisting of about four thousand infantry, six hundred horse, and fourteen pieces of cannon. His highness first detached Mehemmed Pacha to the assistance of his advanced-guard, and soon afterwards moved forward himself with the main body; in consequence of which, the enemy, who had retired into a wood of date trees, was obliged, after having experienced some loss, to retreat to El Hanka, seven miles from the scene of action. On this occasion, all the evolutions of the Ottoman army were performed under the superintendence of Colonel Holloway, while the artillery were served by Major Hope, Captain Lacy, and Captain Leake. This action, which was insignificant in some points of view, was in others productive of a wonderful effect. The Turks, who by long experience had

been taught to consider the French as invincible, from this moment contemplated them with diminished terror. They began to entertain greater confidence in their own exertions, and were desirous, if possible, to wipe away the ignominy occasioned by so many defeats.

In the mean time, the English army, now strengthened by the arrival of fifteen hundred Mamelukes, under the command of Osman Bey, the successor of Mourad, had advanced without interruption to Gazeh, opposite Cairo, which was garrisoned by about four thousand Frenchmen; while the Turks, flushed with a success equally novel and unexpected, prepared to form a junction, and to besiege that city in concert. Accordingly, after a variety of delays, partly arising from the low state of the river, and partly from the bar at Rosetta, the heavy cannon were brought up, and batteries erected. The city of Cairo was still capable of sustaining a siege, and perhaps of holding out until the periodical inundation of the Nile rendered the operations against it of no avail. But General Belliard, who commanded in that place, instead of protracting the war by a strenuous defence, or retiring into Upper Egypt, where all pursuit would have been ineffectual, sent a flag of truce to the English camp, and agreed to surrender the fortress. A convention was accordingly drawn up, and executed on the 27th of June, in which it was stipulated that the French forces of every description, as well as the auxiliaries, were to evacuate Cairo, the citadel, the forts of Boulac, Gazeh, and all that part of Egypt occupied by the detachment under the command of the general of division Belliard. The members of the commission of arts and sciences, and such of the inhabitants of Egypt as might be desirous to follow the fortunes of the vanquished, were to retire by land to Rosetta, with their arms, baggage, field-artillery, and effects, at the expense of the allied powers, whence they were to be embarked for one of the ports of the French republic in the Mediterranean. It was also provided by a specific article, that the terms, which were nearly the same as those allowed by the treaty of El Arisch, should be communicated to General Menou, who was to be at liberty to accede to them for Alexandria, provided his acceptance should be notified at the head-quarters of the English troops, before that city, within the space of ten days. In conformity with the capitulation, the French, escorted by a strong detachment under General Moore, proceeded to the place of their destination, where they embarked for France to the number of about thirteen thousand six hundred men; and on this occasion,

they must be allowed to have evinced a noble testimony of their respect to the memory of General Kleber, by carrying his corpse along with them to their native country.

General Menou, declining to accede to the terms of the treaty of Cairo, reposed his last hope on the timely arrival of succours intrusted to the care of Admiral Gantheaume. That officer, with a squadron of four sail of the line, and a frigate crowded with troops, had left Toulon, and steered for the Levant. As his destination was known, all the English commanders in that quarter were on the watch for him; he however had the good fortune to elude the vigilance of the detachments under Sir Robert Calder and Sir John Borlase Warren, as well as the fleet commanded by Lord Keith. Being afraid to approach Alexandria, then closely blockaded by Rear-admiral Bickerton, he steered along the adjacent coasts, with an intention of disembarking the forces in such a situation as to enable them to form a junction with their countrymen. With this view, he attempted a landing both at Durasso and at Derne, but the unfavourable state of the weather, and the still more unfavourable disposition of the inhabitants, frustrated his intentions, and compelled him to put to sea. The French admiral was, however, fortunate enough to fall in with the *Swiftsure*, a British ship of war, of seventy-four guns, under the command of Captain Hollowell, and to capture that vessel; but this event, although it contributed not a little to the exultation of the French, did not in any degree relieve the army of the east from the precarious situation to which it was now reduced.

In the mean time, General Hutchinson, after endeavouring to settle the disputes which had unhappily arisen between the Turks and the Mamelukes, and placed a detachment of the Indian forces in Cairo, returned with the army to Alexandria. The capture of the capital, and the arrival of General Baird with five thousand men from Bombay, soon after the capitulation, as well as of some succours from Europe, enabled the commander-in-chief to press the siege of Alexandria, with a body of sixteen thousand troops, and the superiority of the allies in point of numbers rendered the conquest of Egypt no longer doubtful. Major-general Coote accordingly embarked with a considerable detachment on the inundation, and effected a landing to the westward of the city; he immediately invested the strong castle of Marabout, situated at the entrance of the harbour; which, notwithstanding its importance, surrendered after a very feeble defence. On the east of the town two other attacks

were also made by the Generals Craddock and Moore, who obtained possession of some fortified heights on the right; while Colonel Spencer maintained his position on a hill, whence he had driven a body of the enemy by means of a charge of bayonets, with about two hundred of the 30th regiment. Seven sloops of war having entered the western harbour of Alexandria in consequence of the reduction of the fort, Major-general Coote determined to move forward and to occupy an advanced position. The troops, being now supported by the armed vessels under Captain Cochrane, as well as by the flotilla on the lake, commanded by Captain Stevenson, advanced in three columns, under a heavy fire of cannon and small arms, forcing the enemy, who had abandoned their wounded, as well as seven pieces of cannon, to retreat before them.* Two days after this, batteries were opened against the redoubt de Bain; and in the course of the succeeding night, Lieutenant-colonel Smith succeeded in an attempt to surprise the advanced-guard. In this extremity, General Menou, being closely pressed by the commander-in-chief on the east, and Major-general Coote on the west side of the city, and despairing of any relief, in consequence of the failure of the expedition under Gantheaume, deemed it prudent to capitulate. A negotiation for that purpose was accordingly entered into, and the same terms granted as to the garrison of Cairo; and on the 30th of August the English took possession of the intrenched camp, the heights above Pompey's Pillar, and Fort Triangular.

The glorious campaign in Egypt termi-

* An interesting incident happened at this stage of the siege. An old man working on the parapet of a redoubt was struck by a cannon-ball, which took off both his legs. He fell into the arms of his own son, a corporal in the same regiment. The captain pacha, hearing of this circumstance, sent the veteran sufferer a handful of sequins, with an assurance that care should be taken of him for life, but he expired soon after the amputation.

nated with the fall of Alexandria. The exertions of every branch of the public service were splendid and meritorious. The army in Egypt gratified the warmest wishes and expectations of their country, and the seasonable and efficient co-operation of the navy entitled them to a participation in the laurels gathered by their countrymen. The nation which had sent forth this band of gallant warriors, was not slow in remunerating their services. A monument was voted, to perpetuate the services of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, while his widow and son were gratified with a peerage, and a pension of two thousand pounds a year. Major-general Sir J. Hely Hutchinson, who claimed so little but deserved so much of the honour of the campaign, in addition to the ensigns of the Bath, received the rank of lieutenant-general, and was created a baron of Great Britain, with two thousand pounds a year annexed to the patent. Admiral Lord Keith was advanced to the honour of the British peerage, while on Major-general Coote was conferred the honour of the order of the Bath. The thanks of both houses of parliament were voted to the army and navy; and each regiment which had served during this campaign, was permitted to add an embroidered *Sphinx* to its colours, and to have "EGYPT" inscribed in the field. At Constantinople, the inhabitants and the court manifested on this occasion the most enthusiastic joy; the cannon of the seraglio were fired, the city was splendidly illuminated, and the grand signior, to testify his gratitude, established the order of the Crescent; and Lords Hutchinson, Keith, and Elgin, with Admiral Bickerton, and Majors-general Coote and Baird, were admitted to the honours of this new order of knighthood, while fifty gold medals were struck, and distributed among the officers of the army who had particularly distinguished themselves.

During this arduous contest, the English army lost in killed twenty-two officers, and five hundred and five privates.† The loss

† Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, in the British army, during the campaign in Egypt.

	Officers.			Gr. mrs.			Sergeants			Drms.			Rank & File			Horses.		
	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.
At Aboukir, March 8th, 1801.	4	26	1				4	34		5	1		94	540	32			
Battle of the 13th of March.	8	70		1			7	61	1	7			163	965	1	19	5	
Skirmish on the 18th of March.			3	1			1	1					7	6	12	23	12	7
Battle of the 21st of March.	10	60					9	48		3			224	1082	28	2	3	
At Rhamanieh, 9th of May.		4						1	1	1			4	18		10	5	
Before Alexandria.		6						4	1	1			13	112		3		
Total.	22	166	4	1	1	1	20	149	2	2	17	1	505	2723	73	57	25	7

of the French in the campaign of 1801 amounted, in killed and prisoners, to upwards of six thousand;* and their whole loss during the three years that they remained in possession of Egypt, amounted to not less than thirty thousand men. In addition to which, they lost, in the different actions and fortresses, one thousand and three pieces of cannon, and nearly five hundred unserviceable pieces. In the naval they suffered equally with the military

department in this disastrous expedition, and in addition to fifteen ships of the line taken or destroyed, eight frigates, and two hundred sail of merchantmen, were lost to their country: and of the whole number of French troops sent into Egypt with the first expedition, and landed in that country at various periods during its occupation by the enemy, only twenty-four thousand returned to their native country.

CHAPTER XX.

Threat of Invasion—Spirit of the English Nation—French Influence upon the Continent—The Elector of Bavaria, the Ottoman Porte, and his Holiness the Pope, conclude Treaties with France—NAVAL CAMPAIGN: Conquest of the Enemy's Settlements in the East and West Indies—Repulse of the English Fleet under Sir James Saumarez at Algiers, and the loss of the Hannibal—Victory off Algiers—Minor Exploits of the British Navy—Unsuccessful Attack on the French Flotilla in the Harbour of Boulogne—Preliminary Treaty of Peace signed in London—Ratified by the First Congress at Amiens—Definitive Treaty—Restoration of a general Peace.

WHILE the possession of Egypt was as yet uncertain, the consular government determined to direct all its efforts against the only enemy either unsubdued or unhumiliated by the arts and arms of France. Large bodies of troops were accordingly collected in the maritime departments of France; ships, guns, and flat-bottomed boats were built and equipped; the ports of Belgium and of Holland were crowded with armed vessels; and the variety and extent of the preparations evidently indicated a hostile attempt against Great Britain. This menace was first recurred to during the reign of Louis XIV. and not unfrequently practised in that of his succes-

sors. But at this epoch, when Great Britain possessed an immense superiority in respect to naval force, and had actually blockaded all the principal ports of the enemy, it is difficult to conceive how a flotilla, filled with troops, insufficient to alarm, far less to subdue a powerful nation, could cross even the narrow seas, without being intercepted by the numerous squadrons which were connected by a chain of cruisers so disposed as to surround the coasts, and shut up all the harbours belonging to the French and Dutch. In the mean time, camps had been formed at Bruges, Gravelines, Boulogne, Brest, Granville, Cherbourg, and St. Maloes, and the deeds about to be performed by those armies which had forced the passage of the Bormida, the Danube, the Inn, and the Salza, and gained the battles of Marengo and Hohenlinden, were vaunted in the proclamations and manifestoes of the rulers of France. They affected to consider the English as a nation rendered effeminate by wealth, and unwarlike by commerce; and it was confidently predicted that the steel of the French would prove more than a match for the gold of the Britons.

On the other hand, the whole island was in motion; and from Penzance to the Orkneys, as well as from the shores of the German ocean to the confines of St. George's channel, one uniform spirit of patriotic defiance was breathed by the inhabitants. At this critical period, the volunteer battalions and companies were increased, a numerous and respectable body of yeoman cavalry was formed, the fencible regiments were disciplined into a knowledge of the military art, and the militia,

* RETURN of the disposal of the French army in Egypt, by the British and Turkish forces:—

	Military Estab.	Civil Estab.
Killed in the different actions, and dead of their wounds, . . .	3000	
Prisoners taken in battle, . . .	3500	
Surrendered by capitulation in the garrison of Cairo, . . .	13,672	82
Surrendered by capitulation in the garrison of Alexandria, . . .	10,508	686
Soldiers dead by the plague and other maladies since the landing of the English, . . .	1500	
	<hr/> 32,180	<hr/> 768

General Regnier, in his "State of Egypt," asserts that on the arrival of the English in that country, the French army consisted of only 21,804 efficient troops; and that the allied British and Turkish army employed to effect their expulsion amounted to 90,700 men! But this is obviously a gross exaggeration; and it is proved by authentic documents, that the actual number of British troops, including the Indian reinforcements, never exceeded 24,000.

many regiments of which had served in Ireland, received a considerable augmentation by means of the supplementary levy. It appears from the votes of supply* for this year, that including all orders and descriptions of men ready to act by sea and land, the amount approached to nearly half a million.

The chief magistrate of France, surrounded by a brilliant assemblage of troops, affected to blend all the state of the ancient kings of France with that of the emperors of the west; being surrounded by numerous guards, attended by the prefects of the palace, and appearing on great occasions alone in the presence of the people. Foreign potentates and princes bent before the consular chair, and the *dictum* of modern Gaul appeared to regulate the movements of the whole continent. Those continental powers which had waged war against the republic, were now eager to supplicate for peace, and ready to submit to any terms which the victor thought fit to impose. The Elector Palatine of Bavaria about this time negotiated a treaty, by which he renounced the dutchies of Juliers, Deux Ponts, and their dependencies, together with the bailiwick of the palatinate of the Rhine, situated upon the left bank of that river. The surrender of Alexandria, and the consequent evacuation of Egypt, soon afterwards produced a peace between France and the Ottoman Porte; and it was expressly stipulated, that whatever indulgence might be granted to any power in that quarter of the globe, should be extended to the republic, while all former treaties were to be considered as renewed.

But the policy of Bonaparte was still more eminently displayed by a pacification with another power, an intimate alliance with which contributed not a little to the tranquillity of France. By a convention with the pope, ratified on the 10th of September, 1801, the first consul was not only acknowledged to possess all the privileges of the ancient monarchy, so far as concerned public worship, but new and essential immunities were obtained for the Gallican church. His holiness agreed to procure the resignation of the prelates who had adhered to the old establishment, and the chief magistrate was to nominate to the vacant sees. A new and more suitable formula

of prayer was introduced;† and the holy father covenanted in behalf of himself and his successors, that those who had acquired the alienated property of the church should not be disturbed.

By a concordat, agreed to soon afterwards, the apostolical and Roman faith was declared to be the religion of the state, and the Catholics were to pay one-tenth of their taxes to defray the expense of public worship. But, on the other hand, its processions and ceremonies were to be subjected to the civil power, while the chief consul was to be declared the head of the Gallican church, and the bishops and priests were to make a solemn promise of fidelity.‡

The naval campaign of the present year was, as usual, brilliant on the part of Great Britain; and the fleets, squadrons, and detachments, whether employed for home defence, or occupied in distant quarters of the globe, distinguished themselves by their zeal and devotion to the glory of their country. On the western side of the Atlantic, the naval power of Britain retained its wonted and resistless superiority. In the month of March, Admiral Duckworth made an easy capture of the Swedish island of St. Bartholomew, as well as of the Danish settlements of St. Thomas and Santa Cruz, which were of course restored to those powers, in virtue of the treaty of St. Petersburg. The islands of St. Martin and St. Eustatia were also reduced nearly at the same time, and with the same facility; while in the east, the Batavian settlement of Ternate, the chief of the Molucca islands, surrendered on the 21st of June, after a vigorous resistance, to a small squa-

* Domine, salvam, fac rempublicam;
Domine, salvos fac consules."

† Substance of the CONCORDATUM between Bonaparte and the pope.

1. The catholic, apostolical, and Romish religion shall be declared the religion of the state.

—2. This religion shall be protected in its exterior worship and its ceremonies; with the exception of the processions, which shall not take place, but when the prefects shall judge that they will not be attended with inconvenience.—3. The chief consul is declared head of the Gallican church.

—4. All the bishoprics of France shall be vacated, but the former titular bishops shall receive new bulls on the presentation of the chief consul.—5.

The bishops, priests, and curates shall make the promise of fidelity.—6. Three prelates shall never have leave to return to France, viz. the cardinals of Rohan and Montmorency, and the bishop of Arras.—7. Upon the publication of the concordat, there shall be established in each *arrondissement* an office, where the Catholics shall inscribe their names, and where they shall pay, to defray the expenses of public worship, a tenth of their taxes.—8. All the parochial churches shall be restored to the communes.—9. In the approaching nomination of cardinals, three hats shall be given to France upon the presentation of the chief consul.

* The supplies voted in 1801 were,	
For the sea service, including 39,000	
marines,	135,000
Regular forces, including cavalry and	
infantry,	193,187
Militia, including Irish,	78,046
Fencibles of both countries,	31,415

Total land and sea force, exclusive
of volunteers, . . . 437,648
VOL. I. 3 C 33

dron of armed vessels, under the command of Captain Hayes.

In the Mediterranean, two severe actions took place, the first of which proved unfortunate, but the second removed the tarnish from the British arms, and restored them to their usual lustre. Admiral Sir James Saumarez, one of the most brave and skilful officers in the British navy, commanded a squadron of ten ships of the line, which blockaded the port of Cadiz. Receiving intelligence that three French line-of-battle ships and a frigate were lying at anchor in the road of Algezira, under cover of the batteries on shore, he conceived the bold design of attacking them in that situation. On the 6th of July, he proceeded with six sail of the line, under a favourable breeze, in the sanguine hope of capturing the French ships, but on a sudden the wind failed, and the English squadron could not, with every effort, engage the enemy in a regular or close action. The Hannibal, Captain Ferris, in bearing up, unfortunately took the ground in a position where she lay exposed to a tremendous fire from one of the land batteries. Admiral Saumarez, perceiving the dangerous situation in which the Hannibal was placed, made an attempt to silence the battery, by running his own ship between her and the shore: but this manœuvre did not succeed, for being himself placed at a distance of only three cables' length from another battery, the admiral was compelled to retire, and to his inexpressible chagrin, to leave the Hannibal a prey to the enemy: Captain Ferris, although at length forced to strike, maintained the contest with distinguished constancy, and suffered a loss of three hundred and forty-three men in killed and wounded, before he surrendered his vessel into the hands of the enemy. (47)

The French, unaccustomed to triumph on the ocean, seemed much elated with this advantage, which their public prints magnified into a great naval victory; three of their ships of war having, as they asserted, beaten six of the English, and the destruction of the modern Carthage was predicted from the loss of her Hannibal! The failure of this enterprise cast a mo-

mentary shade over the reputation of the British admiral, who was ardently impatient for an opportunity to avenge his country, and to re-establish his own renown.

By the indefatigable exertions of the British officers and seamen, who received every assistance from the garrison of Gibraltar, the whole squadron, with the exception of the Pompee, was speedily refitted and ready for sea, when a new and more propitious opportunity occurred of distinguishing their valour. The three sail of French line-of-battle ships engaged in the late action, had been reinforced by five more, under the command of Don Juan Joaquin de Moreno, as well as by a French seventy-four, carrying a broad pendant.* These vessels, together with the Hannibal, which was with some difficulty warped into deep water, and a number of frigates and gun-boats, got under weigh with an intention of returning to Cadiz safe, in consequence of their numbers, and assured, as they imagined, of an easy victory, in case of a contest with a detachment which had been so recently foiled. Notwithstanding the great inferiority of his force,† Sir James Saumarez once more hoisted the signal for battle, and followed the enemy, who had just cleared Cabareta point, at eight o'clock in the evening of the 13th of July. Captain Keates having received orders to attack the sternmost ship, and keep between the fleet and the shore, the Superb accordingly made sail, and began the engagement at eleven o'clock at night, by firing on several of the ene-

* COMBINED SQUADRON.

Ship's Names.	Guns.	Captains.
Admiral Real Carlos	112	Don J. Esqueru.
San Hermingeldo	112	Don J. Emperan.
San Fernando	94	Don J. Malina.
Argonauta	80	Don J. Harreta.
S. Augustin	74	Don R. Jopete.
S. Antonio	74	(French broad pendant)
Formidable	84	
Dessaix	74	
Indomptable	84	
Hannibal		This vessel returned to Algezira before the action.
Besides four frigates, and two armed vessels and gun-boats.		

† BRITISH SQUADRON.

Ship's Names.	Guns.	Captains.
Cæsar	80	Rear-admiral Sir James Saumarez. Capt. Jahleel Brenton.
Spencer	74	
Venerable	74	Captain Darby.
Superb	74	Hood.
Audacious	74	Keates.
Thames	32	Peard.
Calpe	12	Hollis.
Louisa	8	Hon. Capt. Dundas.
		Lieutenant Truscott.

(47) When the numbers of the opposing squadrons are considered, this may be ranked among the most brilliant events of the war. Admiral Lincoln, the French commander, had under him three sail of the line, and one frigate—the British force was at least equal. Besides the capture of the Hannibal, of 74 guns, the French historians state, that another of the British vessels struck her colours, although she contrived afterwards to escape; and that the whole British loss amounted to fifteen hundred men.—*Relation des Batailles*, &c. tom. i. p. 93, &c.

my's ships, which formed a cluster, and in consequence of the darkness engaged with each other through mistake. The *Cæsar*, in the course of a few minutes, began also to open on a Spanish three-decker that had hauled her wind; but the Spanish ship was soon afterwards observed to be in flames, and shortly afterwards ran on board another vessel of the same force, to which the conflagration extended with uncommon rapidity, so that, after the lapse of a short but awful period, they both blew up. These vessels proved to be the *San Hermingeldo* and the *Real Carlos*, each of one hundred and twelve guns, and twelve hundred and fifty men, the former carrying the admiral's flag, and both of them officered from the noble families in Spain. In the mean time, the English commander, perceiving from the first that these ships could present no formidable resistance during the rest of the action, passed on to the aid of the *Superb*, Captain Keates, then engaged with the *St. Antonio*, of seventy-four guns, carrying the broad pendant of Commodore Le Roy, which had been before silenced, and now struck her colours. After the firing had ceased, it became so dark, that none of the enemy's squadron were visible; the *Cæsar*, however, continued her course during a heavy gale, in chase of the remainder of the fleet, and at the approach of the morning could only discover one French ship, which proved to be the *Formidable*, of eighty-four guns, endeavouring to reach the channel leading through the shoals of Conil. But as the wind suddenly failed at this moment, one ship alone was enabled to bring her to action; and Captain Hood, after a spirited engagement, had nearly silenced the enemy, when his mainmast, which had been wounded before, was unfortunately shot away, and a calm ensuing, the *Formidable* effected her escape into Cadiz. The *Venerable* soon afterwards struck on a bank, and was for some time threatened with shipwreck, but fortunately she was at length extricated from her perilous situation, with the loss of her mast only, and returned with the fleet to Gibraltar. Thus ended an action, in which the superiority of the enemy was immense; and although the confused state of the fleet, and the accidental destruction of two first-rates, rendered the victory less difficult, yet the original design of the admiral to engage ten sail of the line, with one eighty and four seventy-four gun ships, evinced a degree of gallantry which reflected honour on the English name; and Sir James Saumarez was gratified with the thanks of the two houses of parliament,

and rewarded with a pension of twelve hundred pounds a year. (48)

During the naval campaign of this year, Captain Rowley Bulteel, in the *Belliqueux*, with a convoy of East-Indiamen, which were mistaken by the enemy for men of war, captured the French frigates, *La Concorde* and *La Medee*, the former of forty-four, and the latter of thirty-six guns, in the neighbourhood of Brazil, forming part of a squadron which had committed great depredations on the coast of Africa. The fleet, under Vice-admiral Rainier in the *East Indies*, seized a number of valuable prizes, particularly two Dutch ships in the neighbourhood of Java. Captain T. Manby in the *Bourdolois*, belonging to Rear-admiral Duckworth's detachment in the West Indies, nearly about the same time dispersed a small armament fitted out by Victor Hughes for the purpose of intercepting the outward-bound convoy. In the Mediterranean, an action singularly severe was fought on the 10th of February, between the *Phoebe*, Captain R. Barlow, and the French frigate, *L'Africaine*, of forty-four guns and seven hundred and fifteen men, of whom many were soldiers bound for Egypt; the commander of the frigate, though incapable of contending with the British vessel, would not yield until his ship became a mere wreck, with five feet water in her hold; all his guns were also dismounted, and his decks crowded with the dying and the dead; the number of the latter amounted to two hundred, and the wounded to one hundred and forty-three, while the loss on board the *Phoebe* amounted only to one killed and twelve wounded. Lord Cochrane, in the *Speedy* sloop, of fourteen four-pounders

(48) It is difficult to discover on what particular grounds these honours were bestowed upon Sir James Saumarez. In this country, pensions and titles are fortunately unknown, but, we presume, the thanks of Congress would never have been voted to an officer who had been defeated by a force inferior by one half to his own; and who, in a subsequent encounter, with more equal numbers, gained no additional eclat. The French force, according to their historians, consisted of nine sail of the line, two of which put back to Algizira. In the confusion of the night, two of the largest vessels, after mistaking each other for an enemy, took fire, and were totally consumed. Five sail were thus left to combat the four English vessels, but in consequence of the darkness of the night, no general engagement took place. Four of the Spanish vessels sailed into Cadiz without opposition; the fifth, the *Formidable*, found herself at daybreak in the vicinity of three British vessels of the line. One of these (the *Pompee*) was totally dismantled in a few minutes, and after a severe engagement with the other two, Admiral Linois succeeded in getting into Cadiz.—*Relation des Batailles*, &c. tom. i. p. 94

and fifty-four men and boys, performed a brilliant exploit, by boarding and capturing the Spanish Zeebeck frigate, of thirty-two guns, and three hundred and nineteen seamen and marines, off Barcelona. His lordship also distinguished himself about the same time, in the same vessel, along with Captain Pulling, of the Kangaroo sloop of war, and after a spirited and successful attack on a convoy, anchored on the coast of Spain; on which occasion, a detachment from the British vessels landed and blew up the tower of Almarana.

But one of the boldest and most interesting exploits of this campaign, still remains to be recorded. Lord Nelson, having collected a flotilla, determined to attack the enemy in their own ports, and thus put an end to the menace of invasion. He accordingly hoisted his flag on the 2d of August, as vice-admiral of the blue, on board the *Medusa*, and proceeded with two sail of the line, two frigates, and several smaller vessels, to Boulogne, where the French had assembled a great number of gun-boats, armed brigs, and lugger-rigged flats. Perceiving that twenty-four of these were anchored in a line in front of the harbour, a signal was hoisted, on which the bombs weighed with a favourable wind, and threw their shells with such effect, that in the course of a few hours, three of the brigs and flats were sunk, and six driven on shore.

Lord Nelson, who upon this occasion had evinced great humanity, by issuing strict orders to spare the town, was of opinion that the remainder of the flotilla might be captured by a bold and well-concerted evolution, to be performed by the boats of his squadron. He accordingly directed the expedition to be undertaken on the night of the 15th of August, by five divisions (one of which carried howitzers), under the command of five captains of the royal navy.* Having left the *Medusa* within half an hour of midnight, they immediately steered for the harbour's mouth, and the firing commenced before one, but owing to the darkness of the night, with the tide and half tide, which must always make attacks in the night on the coasts of the channel very uncertain, the divisions separated; and from all not arriving at the same moment with Captain Parker, was to be attributed the want of success. "The most astonishing bravery," says Lord Nelson, in a letter to Earl St. Vincent, dated August the 16th, "was evinced by many of our officers and men, and Captain Somerville, Cotgrave, and Parker, exerted themselves to the utmost."

(Captain Jones, owing to the rapidity of the tide, was thrown to the westward of the line.) "Conn, in the command of the howitzer boats, did every thing that was possible; indeed all behaved well, and it was their misfortune to be sent on a service in which the precautions of the enemy had rendered it impossible to succeed. We have lost," adds the vice-admiral, "many brave officers and men, one hundred and seventy-two killed and wounded. My gallant, dear friend, Captain Parker, who was my aid-de-camp, had his thigh very much shattered; I have my fears for his life.* The loss has been very heavy, and the object was great. The flotilla, brigs, and flats, were moored by the bottom, to the shore and each other, by chains; therefore, although several of them were carried, yet the very heavy fire of musketry from the shore, which overlooked the flotilla, forced our people to desist, without being able, as I am told, to set them on fire."

The failure of this expedition of course occasioned great exultation in France; but the government of that country exhibited an unusual degree of moderation on this occasion; and treating the late engagement as a mere skirmish, observed, "that the advanced guard of the grenadiers of Italy" had displayed their ordinary bravery, and obtained their usual success. But the first consul had long been aware that neither his ports nor his fleets were secure from the enterprise and valour of English seamen, and was no longer desirous of intrusting their safety to the chances of failure, or the caprices of fortune. In addition to this consideration, the situation of the French colonies in America had become a source of perpetual vexation, and he had been for some time apprehensive of the fate of Egypt, the surrender of which was not yet known in Europe. Ambitious of every species of glory, he now appeared desirous of the blessing of tranquillity, and of adding to his military renown the title of "The pacificator of Europe."

While every shore re-echoed with the thunder of hostility, and opposing fleets and armies by turns threatened the coasts of Britain and of France with insult and invasion, the inhabitants of both countries had become heartily tired of a war, long since devoid of any fixed or rational object. Fortunately, too, it was the interest of their respective rulers to close the scene of carnage, and either to feel or affect to feel sentiments of moderation. After so many splendid acquisitions on the continent, Bonaparte evidently panted for peace, which by restoring

* Captains Somerville, Cotgrave, Parker, Jones, and Conn.

* His lordship's fears were but too well grounded; he died of his wounds.

the islands of the West Indian archipelago to the republic, would confer reputation and stability on his administration; while in England, the new ministry became anxious to strengthen the protection of the crown by means of the gratitude of the people. For some time past, an active intercourse had taken place between the two governments. Flags of truce and of defiance were actually displayed at the same time, and in the same strait; so that while Boulogne and Dunkirk were bombarded and blockaded by hostile squadrons, the ports of Dover and Calais were frequently visited by the packet boats and the messengers of the courts of St. James's and the Tuilleries. At length Lord Hawkesbury, the English secretary of state for foreign affairs, after a long but secret correspondence with M. Otto, the French negotiator, announced, on the first of October, the signature of the preliminaries of peace between England on the one part, and Spain, France and Holland on the other. This intelligence was immediately communicated in a note to the lord-mayor, and diffused general satisfaction throughout the whole kingdom. At the end of eleven days, the ratification of the preliminary treaty on the part of the first consul, was brought from Paris by Colonel Lauriston, who, as well as the French plenipotentiary, was drawn through the streets of the metropolis in his carriage by the populace. Amiens, the city assigned for the discussion of the definitive treaty, was visited in the course of a few months by the ministers of the respective powers: on which occasion, the Marquis Cornwallis represented Great Britain; citizen Joseph Bonaparte, counsellor of state, France; Don John Nicholas Azara, Spain; and Roger John Schimmelpenninck, Holland.

During the sitting of the congress at Amiens, public expectation was amazingly excited by alternate hopes and fears, but at length the long expected treaty was signed, ratified, and promulgated according to the established form. This event diffused the most lively joy throughout the British empire; all ranks and descriptions of men hailed the return of the halcyon days of peace with rapture; while bonfires, illuminations, and entertainments, exhibited but a faint expression of the general joy. Nor were the French less eager to celebrate a period, which to them might be considered less a cessation from the innumerable evils of war, than a triumphal epoch, when the independence for which they had so long combated was not only ascertained, but their innumerable acquisitions solemnly recognised in the face of Europe and of mankind.

DEFINITIVE TREATY OF PEACE.

Between his Britannic Majesty on the one part; and the French Republic, his Majesty the King of Spain and the Indies, and the Batavian Republic, on the other part.

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French people, being animated with an equal desire to put an end to the calamities of war, have laid the foundation of peace, in the preliminary articles signed at London the 1st of October, 1801, (9th Vendemaire, year 10.)

And as, by the 15th article of the said preliminaries, it has been stipulated, that plenipotentiaries should be named on each side, who should proceed to Amiens, for the purpose of concluding a definitive treaty, in concert with the allies of the contracting powers.

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland has named for his plenipotentiary the Marquis Cornwallis, knight of the most illustrious order of the Garter, privy counsellor to his majesty, general of his armies, &c.; the First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French people, the citizen, Joseph Bonaparte, counsellor of state; his Majesty the King of Spain and the Indies, and the government of the Batavian Republic, have named for their plenipotentiaries, videlicet: his Catholic Majesty, Don Joseph Nicholas d'Azara, his counsellor of state, knight of the great cross, of the order of Charles III., ambassador extraordinary to the French Republic, &c.; and the government of the Batavian Republic, Roger John Schimmelpenninck, their ambassador extraordinary to the French Republic: who, after having communicated to each other their full powers, which are transcribed at the end of the present treaty, have agreed upon the following articles:

Art. I. There shall be peace, friendship, and good understanding between his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, his heirs and successors on the one part; and the French Republic, his Majesty the King of Spain, his heirs and successors, and the Batavian Republic, on the other part. The contracting parties shall give the greatest attention to maintain between themselves and their states a perfect harmony, and without allowing on either side, any kind of hostilities, by sea or land, to be committed for any cause, or under any pretence whatsoever.

They shall carefully avoid every thing which might hereafter affect the union happily re-established, and they shall not afford any assistance or protection, directly or indirectly, to those who should cause prejudice to any of them.

II. All the prisoners taken on either side, as well by land as by sea, and the hostages carried away, or given during the war, and to this day, shall be restored, without ransom, in six weeks at latest, to be computed from the day of the exchange from the ratifications of the present treaty, and on paying the debts they have contracted during their captivity. Each contracting party shall respectively discharge the advances which have been made by any of the contracting parties, for the subsistence and maintenance of the prisoners in the countries where they have been detained. For this purpose, a commission shall be appointed by agreement, which shall be specially charged to ascertain and regulate the compensation which may be due to either of the contracting powers. The time and place where the commissioners,

who shall be charged with the execution of this article, shall assemble, shall also be fixed upon by agreement; and the said commissioners shall take into account the expenses occasioned not only by the prisoners of the respective nations, but also by the foreign troops, who, before they were made prisoners, were in the pay, or at the disposal, of any of the contracting parties.

III. His Britannic majesty restores to the French Republic, and her allies, namely, his Catholic majesty and the Batavian Republic, all the possessions and colonies which belonged to them respectively, and which had been occupied or conquered by the British forces in the course of the war, with the exception of the island of Trinidad, and the Dutch possessions in the island of Ceylon.

IV. His Catholic majesty cedes and guarantees, in full right and sovereignty, to his Britannic majesty, the island of Trinidad.

V. The Batavian Republic cedes and guarantees, in full right and sovereignty, to his Britannic majesty, all the possessions and establishments in the island of Ceylon, which belonged, before the war, to the Republic of the United Provinces or to their East-India Company.

VI. The Cape of Good Hope remains in full sovereignty to the Batavian Republic, as it was before the war.

The ships of every description belonging to the other contracting parties shall have the right to put in there, and to purchase such supplies as they may stand in need of, as heretofore, without paying any other duties than those to which the ships of the Batavian Republic are subjected.

VII. The territories and possessions of her most faithful majesty are maintained in their integrity, such as they were previous to the commencement of the war.

Nevertheless, the limits of French and Portuguese Guiana shall be determined by the river Arawari, which falls into the ocean below North Cape, near the isle Neuve, and the island of Penitence, about a degree and one-third of north latitude. These limits shall follow the course of the river Arawari, from that of its mouths which is at the greatest distance from the North Cape to its source, and thence in a direct line from its source to the river Branco, towards the west. The northern bank of the river Arawari, from its mouth to its source, and the lands which are situated to the north of the line of the limits above fixed, shall consequently belong in full sovereignty to the French Republic. The southern bank of the said river from its source, and all the lands to the southward of the said line of demarkation, shall belong to her most faithful majesty. The navigation of the river Arawari shall be common to both nations.

The arrangements which have taken place between the courts of Madrid and of Lisbon, for the settlement of their frontiers in Europe, shall however be executed, conformably to the treaty of Badajoz.

VIII. The territories, possessions, and rights of the Ottoman Porte, are hereby maintained in their integrity, such as they were previous to the war.

IX. The Republic of the Seven Islands is hereby acknowledged.

X. The islands of Malta, Gozo, and Comino, shall be restored to the order of St. John of Jerusalem, and shall be held by it upon the same conditions on which the order held them previous to the war, and under the following stipulations:

1. The knights of the order, whose *langues* shall continue to subsist after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, are invited to return to Malta, as soon as that exchange shall

have taken place. They shall there form a general chapter, and shall proceed to the election of a grand-master, to be chosen from among the natives of those nations which preserve *langues*, if no such election have been already made since the exchange of the ratification of the preliminary articles of peace. It is understood that an election which shall have been made subsequent to that period, shall alone be considered as valid, to the exclusion of every other which shall have taken place at any time previous to the said period.

2. The governments of Great Britain and the French Republic, being desirous of placing the order of St. John, and the island of Malta, in a state of entire independence on each of those powers, do agree, that there shall be henceforth no English nor French *langues*; and that no individual belonging to either of the said powers shall be admissible into the order.

3. A Maltese *langue* shall be established, to be supported out of the land revenues and commercial duties of the island. There shall be dignities, with appointments, and an auberge, appropriated to this *langue*; no proofs of nobility shall be necessary for the admission of knights of the said *langue*: they shall be competent to hold every office, and to enjoy every privilege, in the like manner as the knights of the other *langues*. The municipal, revenue, civil, judicial, and other offices under the government of the island, shall be filled at least in the proportion of one-half by native inhabitants of Malta, Gozo, and Comino.

4. The forces of his Britannic majesty shall evacuate the island and its dependencies within three months after the exchange of the ratifications; or sooner if it can be done: at that period, the island shall be delivered up to the order, in the state in which it now is, provided that the grand-master, or commissioners fully empowered according to the statutes of the order, be upon the island to receive possession; and that the force to be furnished by his Sicilian majesty, as hereafter stipulated, shall be arrived there.

5. The garrison of the island shall, at all times, consist at least of one-half of native Maltese; and the order shall have the liberty of recruiting for the remainder of the garrison from the natives of those countries only that shall continue to possess *langues*. The native Maltese troops shall be officered by Maltese: the supreme command of the garrison, as well as the appointment of the officers, shall be invested in the grand-master of the order; and he shall not be at liberty to divest himself of it, even for a time, except in favour of a knight of the order, and in consequence of the opinion of the council of the order.

6. The independence of the islands of Malta, Gozo, and Comino, as well as the present arrangement, shall be under the protection and guarantee of Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, Spain, and Prussia.

7. The perpetual neutrality of the order and of the island of Malta, and its dependencies, is hereby declared.

8. The ports of Malta shall be open to the commerce and navigation of all nations, who shall pay equal and moderate duties. These duties shall be applied to the support of the Maltese *langue*, in the manner specified in paragraph 3, to that of the civil and military establishments of the island, and to that of a Lazaretto, open to all flags.

9. The Barbary States are excepted from the provisions of the two preceding paragraphs, until, by means of an arrangement to be made by the contracting parties, the system of hostility which subsists between the said Barbary States, the

Order of St. John, and the powers possessing languages or taking part in the formation of them shall be terminated.

10. The order shall be governed, both in spiritual and temporal matters, by the same statutes that were in force at the time when the knights quitted the island, so far as the same shall not be derogated from by the present treaty.

11. The stipulations contained in paragraphs 3, 5, 7, 8, and 10, shall be converted into laws and perpetual statutes of the order, in the customary manner. And the grand-master (or, if he should not be in the island at the time of its restitution to the order, his representative), as well as his successors, shall be bound to make oath to observe them punctually.

12. His Sicilian majesty shall be invited to furnish two thousand men, natives of his dominions, to serve as a garrison for the several fortresses upon the island. This force shall remain there for one year, from the period of the restitution of the island to the knights; after the expiration of which term, if the order of St. John shall not, in the opinion of the guaranteeing powers, have raised a sufficient force to garrison the island and its dependencies, in the manner proposed in paragraph 5, the Neapolitan troops shall remain, until they shall be relieved by another force judged to be sufficient by the said powers.

13. The several powers specified in paragraph 6, *videlicet*, Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, Spain, and Prussia, shall be invited to accede to the present arrangement.

XI. The French forces shall evacuate the kingdom of Naples and the Roman territory; the English forces shall in like manner evacuate Porto Ferrajo, and generally all the ports and islands which they may occupy in the Mediterranean, or in the Adriatic.

XII. The evacuations, cessions, and restitutions, stipulated for by the present treaty, except where otherwise expressly provided for, shall take place in Europe within one month, in the continent and seas of America and of Africa in three months, and in the continent and seas of Asia within six months, after the ratification of the present definitive treaty.

XIII. In all the cases of restitution agreed upon by the present treaty, the fortifications shall be delivered up in the state in which they may have been at the time of the signature of the preliminary treaty; and all the works which shall have been constructed since the occupation shall remain untouched.

It is farther agreed, that in all the cases of cession stipulated, there shall be allowed to the inhabitants, of whatever condition or nation they may be, a term of three years, to be computed from the notification of this present treaty, for the purpose of disposing of their property acquired and possessed either before or during the war; in which term of three years, they may have the free exercise of their religion and enjoyment of their property.

The same privilege is granted in the countries restored to all those, whether inhabitants or others, who shall have made therein any establishments whatsoever during the time when those countries were in the possession of Great Britain.

With respect to the inhabitants of the countries restored or ceded, it is agreed, that none of them shall be prosecuted, disturbed, or molested, in their persons or properties, under any pretext, on account of their conduct or political opinions, or of their attachment to any of the contracting powers, nor on any other account, except that of debts contracted to individuals, or on account of acts posterior to the present treaty.

XIV. All sequestrations imposed by any of the parties on the funded property, revenues, or debts of whatever description, belonging to any of the contracting powers, or to their subjects or citizens, shall be taken off immediately after the signature of this definitive treaty. The decision of all claims brought forward by individuals, the subjects or citizens of any of the contracting powers respectively, against individuals, subjects or citizens of any of the others, for rights, debts, property, or effects whatsoever which, according to received usages and the law of nations, ought to revive at the period of peace, shall be heard and decided before competent tribunals; and in all cases prompt and ample justice shall be administered in the countries where the claims were made.

XV. The fisheries on the coast of Newfoundland and of the adjacent islands, and of the gulf of St. Lawrence, are replaced on the same footing on which they were previous to the war; the French fishermen, and the inhabitants of St. Pierre and Miquelon, shall have the privilege of cutting such wood as they may stand in need of, in the bays of Fortune and Despair, for the space of one year from the date of the notification of the present treaty.

XVI. In order to prevent all causes of complaint and dispute which may arise on account of prizes which may have been made at sea after the signature of the preliminary articles, it is reciprocally agreed, that the vessels and effects which may have been taken in the British Channel, and in the North Sea, after the space of twelve days, to be computed from the exchange of the ratification of the said preliminary articles, shall be restored on each side: that the term shall be one month from the British Channel and the North Seas, as far as the Canary islands inclusively, whether in the ocean or in the Mediterranean; two months from the said Canary islands as far as the equator; and, lastly, five months in all other parts of the world, without any exception, or any more particular description of time or place.

XVII. The ambassadors, ministers, and other agents of the contracting powers, shall enjoy respectively, in the states of the said powers, the same rank, privileges, prerogatives, and immunities, which public agents of the same class enjoyed previous to the war.

XVIII. The branch of the house of Nassau, which was established in the republic, formerly called the republic of the United Provinces, and now the Batavian republic, having suffered losses there as well in private property as in consequence of the change of constitution adopted in that country, an adequate compensation shall be procured for the said branch of the house of Nassau for the said losses.

XIX. The present definitive treaty of peace is declared common to the sublime Ottoman Porte, the ally of his Britannic majesty; and the sublime porte shall be invited to transmit its act of accession thereto with the shortest delay possible.

XX. It is agreed, that the contracting parties shall on requisitions made by them respectively, or by their ministers or officers duly authorized to make the same, deliver up to justice persons accused of crimes of murder, forgery, or fraudulent bankruptcy, committed within the jurisdiction of the requiring party, provided that this shall be done only when the evidence of criminality shall be so authenticated, as that the laws of the country where the person so accused shall be found, would justify his apprehension and commitment for trial, if the offence had been there committed. The expenses of such apprehension and delivery shall be borne and defrayed by those who make

the requisition. It is understood that this article does not regard in any manner crimes of murder, forgery, or fraudulent bankruptcy, committed antecedently to the conclusion of this definitive treaty.

XXI. The contracting parties promise to observe sincerely and *bona fide* all the articles contained in the present treaty, and they will not suffer the same to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their respective subjects or citizens; and the said contracting parties generally and reciprocally guarantee to each other all the stipulations of the present treaty.

XXII. The present treaty shall be ratified by the contracting parties in thirty days, or sooner if possible, and the ratification shall be exchanged in due form at Paris.

In witness whereof, we, the underwritten plenipotentiaries, have signed with our hands, and in virtue of our respective full powers, the present definitive treaty, and have caused our respective seals to be affixed thereto.

Done at Amiens, the twenty-seventh day of March, one thousand eight hundred and two; the sixth Germinal, year ten of the French republic.

(L. S.)

(L. S.)

(L. S.)

(L. S.)

CORNWALLIS.

JOSEPH BONAPARTE.

J. NICHOLAS DE AZARA.

R. J. SCHIMMELPENNINCK.

Separate Article.

It is agreed, that the omission of some titles, which may have taken place in the present treaty, shall not be prejudicial to the powers or to the persons concerned.

It is further agreed, that the English and French languages, made use of in all the copies of the present treaty, shall not form an example, which may be alleged or quoted as a precedent, or in any manner prejudices the contracting powers whose languages have not been used; and that for the future, what has been observed, and ought to be observed, with regard to, and on the part of powers which are in practice and possession of giving and receiving copies of like treaties in any other languages, shall be conformed with; the present treaty having nevertheless the same force and virtue, as if the aforesaid practice had been therein observed.

In witness whereof, we, the underwritten plenipotentiaries of his Britannic majesty, of the French republic, of his Catholic majesty, and of the Batavian republic, have signed the present separate article, and have caused our respective seals to be affixed thereto.

Done at Amiens, the twenty-seventh day of March, one thousand eight hundred and two; the sixth Germinal, year ten of the French republic.

(L. S.)

(L. S.)

(L. S.)

(L. S.)

CORNWALLIS.

JOSEPH BONAPARTE.

J. NICHOLAS DE AZARA.

R. J. SCHIMMELPENNINCK.

The sacrifices made by England in the above treaty were both numerous and important; as the cessions on her part con-

sisted of all the possessions and colonies captured or acquired during the war, with the exceptions of the Spanish island of Trinidad, and the Dutch possessions in Ceylon. It was however stipulated, in behalf of her allies, that the territories of her most faithful majesty, the Queen of Portugal, were to be maintained in their integrity, in the same manner as previously to the commencement of the war; but an agreement was entered into, in opposition to the spirit and the letter of this article, that the limits of French Guiana, in America, should be extended, and the dominions of Portugal in Europe curtailed, conformably to the provisions of the treaty of Badajoz. The house of Nassau was also to receive an adequate compensation for its losses in Holland; yet it appeared by a separate declaration, signed on the same day with the treaty of Amiens, on the part of the French and the Dutch ministers, that the Batavian republic was not to furnish any part of the indemnity: certain it is, that the interposition of Great Britain excited so little gratitude in the bosom of the Prince of Orange, that, after addressing a letter to the king, he left England with the most unequivocal expressions of disapprobation. The French princes, in behalf of whom England appeared at one time to have armed, and for whose cause the kings of the continent at first took the field, were left unnoticed; while the unfortunate house of Savoy, the dominions of which had been specifically guaranteed, was left to its fate.

Thus ended one of the most bloody and important contest of modern times—a contest in which not one of the great objects originally aimed at by any of the belligerent powers was obtained by an appeal to arms; while, on the contrary, those few nations which stood aloof during the struggle, derived immense benefits from their prudence, or good fortune. The progress and issue of this contest sufficiently prove, that it is at all times the interest of Great Britain to sacrifice freely at the altar of peace; to ply the loom and the shuttle; to cultivate the surface of the earth for the products of agriculture; to raise the minerals from its bowels, for the purpose of social life; to unbind the sail of commerce to the gale; and never to engage in any but a just and necessary war, the aim of which is defined, and the object attainable.

CHAPTER XXI.

BRITISH HISTORY: Exertions made by Great Britain during the War—Meeting of Parliament—Discussion on the preliminary Treaty—On the Convention with Russia—On the Civil List, and the Prince of Wales' Claims on the Duchy of Cornwall—Death of the Earl of Clare—Of the Duke of Bedford—Of Lord Kenyon—Repeal of the Income Tax—Public Finances—Restriction on the Bank—Proposed Vote of Censure on Mr. Pitt's Administration—Changed into a Vote of Thanks—Submarine Invention—Debates on the definitive Treaty of Peace—Parliamentary Votes to Dr. Jenner, for the Promulgation of the vaccine Inoculation; to Mr. Greathead, for the Invention of the Life-boat; and to Dr. James Carmichael Smith, for his Discovery of the Process of nitrous Fumigation—Dissolution of Parliament—General Election.

THE exertions of Britain during the revolutionary war, were unequalled perhaps in the annals of nations. Two hundred sail of line-of-battle ships; a military force of more than half a million of men; nearly twenty millions sterling paid in loans and subsidies, a public debt before deemed intolerable, enlarged to a frightful magnitude; and an immense annual taxation doubled: such were the efforts and sacrifices made in the prosecution of the war, to the period of the ratification of the preliminary articles of peace, succeeded by the definitive treaty of Amiens.

No nation ever suffered equal privations with equal constancy. The stockholder beheld the value of his capital diminished more than one-half, the peasant and the artisan saw the price of the loaf doubled, while the higher classes of society yielded to the fiscal regulations, known by the names of the triple assessment and the income tax. During the course of this conflict, Britain was victorious in every sea, and successful in every naval battle; the capture of nearly five hundred ships of war, of which upwards of eighty were ships of the line, fully attest this memorable fact, and exhibits nobler trophies than were ever won before by any other nation. Nor was any quarter of the globe exempt from her conquests: In America, she acquired Tobago, part of St. Domingo, the whole of Martinico, St. Lucia, and Guadaloupe, from the French; Trinidad from the Spaniards; and Demerara, Issequibo, Surinam, Curacao, Berbice, and St. Eustatia, from the Dutch. In the East Indies, Pondicherry, Malacca, Ceylon, Amboyna, and Banda, yielded either to her arms or influence. In Africa, Goree, the Cape of Good Hope, and Egypt, by turns confessed the sway of the conqueror; while in Europe, Toulon, Minorca, Corsica, and Malta either surrendered by capitulation or were subjugated by force. Scarcely any state in want of treasure or assistance, but was either supplied with the wealth, or protected by the fleets and armies of this nation; and no fewer than two emperors, three kings, one

queen, and a multitude of petty princes, were in succession ranked among her subsidiaries. In addition to this, and by a rare instance of good fortune, hitherto unexampled in any history, although the manufactures of England drooped, and many of her artisans were forced by dire necessity to wield the arms they had before fabricated, yet her commerce flourished and even increased during the war.

This tide of prosperity was, however, productive of but little permanent advantage; for, after the expenditure of the lives of at least one hundred and fifty thousand of her subjects, and some hundreds of millions of money, the island of Ceylon, in the Indian, and that of Trinidad, in the Atlantic ocean, were all that remained of her numerous conquests.

The second session of the imperial parliament of Great Britain, was opened, on the 29th of October, 1801, by the king in person, who, in a speech from the throne, announced the favourable conclusion of the negotiation begun during the last session of parliament. His majesty at the same time declared his satisfaction, that the difference which at that time existed with the northern powers, had been adjusted by a convention with the Emperor of Russia, to which the Kings of Denmark and of Sweden had expressed their readiness to accede, and by which "the essential rights for which we contended were secured." He then proceeded to state, that "preliminaries of peace had also been ratified between himself and the French republic; and he trusted that this important arrangement, while it manifested the justice and the moderation of his views, would also be found conducive to the substantial interests of this country, and honourable to the British character."

In the house of peers, the address was moved by Lord Bolton, who observed that it was a magnificent triumph for England to make peace in the very midst of her conquests, from the frozen sea of the north, to the pillars of Hercules in the south, and from Africa to the remotest shores of Asia

and America. His lordship contrasted, on this occasion, the conduct of Great Britain with that of Germany, which he styled "disunited, partricial, and treacherous." Our allies, he said, had in an evil hour chosen to desert us, and we had been left to fight the battles ourselves; but the struggle was glorious, and the termination happy. At the period when the peace was made, it was evident that the integrity of Europe could not be preserved; had this been possible, it would have been effected by the power of Great Britain.

—Si Pergama dextra
Defendi possent, etiam hac defensa fuissent.
VIRGIL.

The Duke of Bedford, in a speech which contained much censure of the late, and praise of the present administration, declared his cordial concurrence in the address, which was carried unanimously.

In the house of commons, Mr. Fox expressed the same sentiments of approbation respecting the peace, in which he was warmly seconded by Mr. Pitt, who described the peace as glorious and honourable. On the other hand, Mr. Windham, the late secretary at war, avowed his entire disapprobation of the preliminary treaty recently signed with France, and declared himself to be a solitary mourner in the midst of public rejoicings. In signing that treaty, he thought that his honourable friends, the present ministers, had signed the death-warrant of the country.

Mr. Sheridan, advertng to the terms in which Mr. Pitt had spoken of the peace, said that he could not agree that the conditions were glorious and honourable. It was, in his opinion, a peace of which every one was glad, but no one proud. It was such a sort of peace as might be expected after such a sort of war—a war the most pernicious in which this country had ever been engaged; and the peace was perhaps as good as any minister could make, considering the circumstances in which we were placed. The motion was finally carried with the same unanimity as in the other house.

On the 3d of November, the subject of the preliminary treaty was taken formally into consideration by the lords,* and a de-

* By the preliminary treaty, on which the definitive treaty already quoted was grounded, his Britannic Majesty agreed to restore to the French republic and her allies, all the possessions and colonies conquered by the British arms during the war; the island of Trinidad, and the Dutch possessions in Ceylon, excepted. It was further stipulated, that "the port of the Cape of Good Hope shall be open to the commerce and navigation of the two contracting parties, who shall enjoy therein the same advantages. The island of Malta, with its dependencies, shall be evacuated by

cided opposition to the terms of the peace expressed by the Earls Spencer, Caernarvon, and Fitzwilliam, the Marquis of Buckingham, Lord Grenville, and the Bishop of St. Asaph. The treaty was defended by the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Bedford, the Earls of Moira, Westmoreland, and St. Vincent, Lords Hobart and Pelham, and the Bishop of London. On this occasion, Lord Nelson avowed it to be his opinion, that Malta, in a naval and political view, was of trivial importance, being at too great a distance from Toulon, to watch the French fleet in that port. In time of peace, his lordship said, Malta would have required a garrison of seven thousand men, and a much larger force in time of war, without being of any real utility. The island of Minorca also, he declared to be of no importance as a naval station; neither did he consider the settlement of the Cape as of any great value. The war had indeed been long, but he believed his majesty had seized the first opportunity of making peace, and the conditions, he was convinced, were the most advantageous that could be procured under the existing circumstances. In this opinion, the house concurred, and the address was carried by a majority of one hundred and fourteen to ten voices.

On the same day, a similar address was moved in the house of commons; when the treaty of peace was vigorously assailed by Mr. Windham, Mr. Thomas Grenville, and Lord Temple. Mr. Pitt said that it was his misfortune to differ on this occasion from those with whom it had been his happiness to live in habits of the strictest friendship. He did not pretend to

the troops of his Britannic majesty, and restored to the order of St. John of Jerusalem. And for the purpose of rendering this island completely independent of either of the two contracting parties, it shall be placed under the guarantee and protection of a third power, to be agreed upon in the definitive treaty. Egypt shall be restored to the sublime porte, whose territories and possessions shall be preserved entire, such as they existed previously to the present war. The territories and possessions of her most faithful majesty shall likewise be preserved entire. The French forces shall evacuate the kingdom of Naples and the Roman territory. The English forces shall in like manner evacuate Porto Ferrajo, and generally all the ports and islands which they may occupy in the Mediterranean or the Adriatic. The republic of the Seven Islands shall be acknowledged by the French republic. The fisheries on the coast of Newfoundland, and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, shall be restored to the same footing on which they were before the present war. And finally, plenipotentiaries shall be named on each side, who shall repair to Amiens for the purpose of concluding a definitive treaty of peace in concert with the allies of the contracting parties."

state that this peace fully answered all his wishes; but the government had obtained the best terms in their power; and the conditions were such as could not be rejected, without incurring the imputation of continuing the war without any adequate necessity. He spoke highly of the value of the conquests we had retained—Ceylon and Trinidad: and though he would not depreciate the importance of Malta, he thought it, compared with the Indies, but a secondary consideration. It appeared to him sound policy, rather to place Malta under the protection of a third power, capable of defending it, than, by retaining that island ourselves, to mortify the pride and attract the jealousy of the enemy. He asserted that the resources of the country ought not to be lavished away in continuing a contest with the certainty of an enormous expense, and when it was by no means clear that we might not ultimately be obliged to sit down in a worse relative situation than at present. He would not occupy the attention of the house, by going back to the origin of the war; but peace being now happily restored, forbearance of language and terms of respect were proper.

Mr. Fox expressed his cordial concurrence in the address. Upon the whole, and in reference to situation and circumstances, he regarded the peace as both safe and honourable. A glorious peace he could not style it, for such a peace could be the result only of a glorious war. He confessed himself not one of those who deemed Ceylon or Trinidad preferable to Malta; but by insisting on Malta or the Cape, either the war would have been prolonged, or a loss of national dignity sustained by making the concession on our part from compulsion; for these were points which he conceived France would never have yielded. He commended ministers for not having sought to delude the nation by the jargon of their predecessors; and by senseless assertions of the French nation being now on the verge, and now in the very gulf of bankruptcy. They justly considered France as a great and formidable foe, in treating with whom they had wisely tempered firmness of conduct with moderation of tone. As to the real object of the war, Mr. Fox confessed that he always understood it to be the restoration of the house of Bourbon. Not that it was the *sine qua non*; but he contended that the late ministers had avowed it with confidence, prosecuted it with perseverance, and relinquished it with reluctance. Not having been able to obtain their end, it was now allowed that the nation must content itself with gaining its

secondary purpose. But what rational person had ever deemed this secondary purpose to be obtained by the acquisition of Ceylon and Trinidad? Who would have thought that those who for so many years entertained such grand and magnificent designs, should at last content themselves with Ceylon in the east, and Trinidad in the west, wrested too from our former allies, Holland and Spain, by way of indemnity against the ambitious projects of France.

The terms of the treaty were zealously defended by Lord Hawkesbury, and the other members of administration, on grounds analogous to those argued upon by Mr. Pitt; and the house and the country, wearied of the war, were easily impressed by the reasoning of ministers in favour of peace. The chancellor of the exchequer concluded the debate with some judicious and conciliatory observations; he remarked, that the duty of negotiation, commenced when all hopes of continental aid in checking the power of France was at an end. We had closed the contest, he maintained, on our part, with honour. But he acknowledged it to depend upon the wisdom of government, whether this peace should be a blessing or a misfortune to the country. He could only say, that as it had been made sincerely, it should be kept faithfully. No encouragement should be given to any person in this realm to subvert the present government of France; and a line of conduct ought to be pursued, not of suspicion and jealousy, but of prudence and circumspection; and it would be necessary, he admitted, "to provide means of security never before known in times of peace." The motion was agreed to without a division.

The convention with Russia occupied the early attention of parliament. On the 13th of November, the articles of the treaty having been laid before the house of peers, the Earl of Darnley moved an address of thanks and approbation to the throne. This address was vehemently opposed by Lord Grenville, who condemned the treaty in almost all its provisions; and, from the tenor of his lordship's remarks, it was obvious that no accommodation with the northern powers could have taken place under the administration which had recently been dissolved. On the same day, on a similar address having been moved in the house of commons, Lord Hawkesbury, with frankness and candour, observed, "that the treaty did enough; it substantiated our rights—it respected those of our adversaries; and, without arrogating more superiority than was meet, contained an ample recognition of all that was essen-

tial to us as the first maritime power of the globe." The question was carried in both houses without a division.

Soon after the Christmas recess, the chancellor of the exchequer called the attention of the house to certain papers before them, relative to the civil list, by which it appeared that the pecuniary affairs of the sovereign were again deeply in arrears; and a committee was appointed to examine the accounts now presented to the house. In the course of the discussion, Mr. Manners Sutton, solicitor to the Prince of Wales, advanced a claim of right on the part of the prince against the crown, or rather against the public, for the amount of the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall, received during his minority, and applied to the use of the civil list, which must otherwise have been supplied from other sources. The aggregate of the sums so received, on an accurate estimate, appeared to be little less than four hundred thousand pounds. Mr. Fox declared strongly in favour of the equity of this claim, but admitted that the sums voted for the payment of the prince's debts ought to be deducted from the balance accruing to the prince.

On the 29th of March, the report of the committee appointed to examine the accounts of the civil list was taken into consideration; when it appeared that a debt amounting to not less than nine hundred and ninety thousand pounds had been contracted since the passing of Mr. Burke's reform bill, exclusive of the arrears discharged in the years 1784 and 1786, and that since that time the provisions of the bill had been wholly neglected. After a long and animated discussion, this sum was voted by the house: but the chancellor of the exchequer allowed that measures ought to be taken to prevent in future any such accumulation of debt.

Two days afterwards Mr. Manners Sutton brought forward the question of the claim of the Prince of Wales to the arrears of the revenues arising from the duchy of Cornwall, and concluded with moving for the appointment of a committee to inquire what sums were due to his royal highness from that quarter. The chancellor of the exchequer considered it as inconsistent with his duty to concur in this motion. As to the legal question, he did not pretend to decide upon it; but he thought the discussion ought not to be entertained in that house; not at least till it appeared in proof, that on application for redress, supposing the wrong to exist, relief could not be obtained elsewhere. He concluded by moving the order of the day,

which, after a long debate, was carried by a majority of one hundred and sixty to one hundred and three voices.

The commencement of the present year was signalized by the death of several distinguished personages. On the 28th of January, expired, after a long and painful illness, John Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare, and Lord High Chancellor of Ireland. This nobleman possessed, from situation and character, a powerful ascendancy over the affairs of that country, at a most critical period of its history. In the elevated and arduous situation of lord chancellor, to which he was advanced in the year 1789, he discharged the duties of his office with a manly decision, and commanding ability, that extorted the applause of his political adversaries. But as a politician, he was imperious in his deportment, and inflexible in his purpose. All concessions and conciliation on the part of government he deemed weakness; and knew no other method of governing but by the strong arm of power. The earl was succeeded in the chancellorship of Ireland by Sir John Mitford, speaker of the British house of commons, who, exclusive of his great professional reputation, was the mover of the act of toleration in favour of the English Catholics. Upon him, the title of Lord Redesdale was conferred; and the speaker's chair was filled by Charles Abbot, Esq., a lawyer of eminence and activity in business, and who had the merit of possessing an intimate acquaintance with the forms, usages, and customs of the house.

A striking contrast to one part of this portrait was exhibited in the character of Francis, Duke of Bedford, who, after an illness of a few days' duration, died at the family mansion of Woburn Abbey, on the 2d of March, having not yet completed the thirty-seventh year of his age. The grief for the loss of this distinguished nobleman might be styled national. "Born," says an eminent statesman,* "in a situation in which it was most difficult to keep pure the affections of the heart, and to cultivate the faculties of the understanding; possessed when yet a child of high honours and a princely fortune; and surrounded by dangers which have perverted and corrupted the best disposed minds; yet, in the midst of affluence, and the means of enjoyment, he had taught himself all the virtues of adversity. If his condition was that of celibacy," continued Mr. Fox, "it was only so in one sense, that he has left behind him no children to lament his un-

* Mr. Fox.

timely end, and to imitate his brilliant example. But if all those are to be considered as our children, whom we have cherished and protected, whom we have rendered happy by our good offices, and whom we have bound to us by all the ties of affection and gratitude, no man ever had a family more numerous, nor was ever more piously lamented. There are some families," exclaimed the orator, "of whom it may be remarked, that the love of public virtue is hereditary; and is it then unnatural in a descendant of the great Earl of Bedford and of Lord Russel to be animated by a fervent love, and to discover more than a common leaning towards the rights and liberties of the people of England? But let it not be supposed that in thus expressing myself, I mean only to strew flowers over the grave of the deceased. No! it is for the sake of impressing his great example upon the public; it is that men may see it, that they may feel it; that they may talk of it in their domestic circles, and hold it up, whenever it can be imitated, to their children and to posterity."

A third person, who departed this life nearly at the same period, was the Chief-justice of England, Lloyd, Lord Kenyon. This noble judge, though irascible in his temper, was honest in his intentions, learned in his profession, and impartial in his administration of public justice. His parliamentary talents were of little estimation; but his judicial attainments were great, and upon them alone he sought to build his fame. He was the advocate of virtue, and the inflexible punisher of vice, however great or powerful the offender. He was succeeded by the Attorney-general, Edward Law, a distinguished lawyer, who was created, on his promotion to the chief-justiceship, a peer of the realm, under the title of Lord Ellenborough.

On the 29th of March, soon after the signature of the definitive treaty, the chancellor of the exchequer, listening to the voice of the nation, expressed by petitions, gave notice of his intention to repeal the tax imposed by the late minister upon income. Mr. Addington acknowledged the burthen of the tax to be very grievous; though the necessities of the state had rendered its adoption necessary; but as this impost was originally proposed as a war-tax, it should cease with the occasion that had given it birth.

On the 5th of April, the minister brought forward his plan of finance for the year; and a more arduous task no person occupying his station ever had to encounter. The income tax had been mortgaged by

Mr. Pitt, for the sum of 56,445,000*l.* three per cents, for which the present minister, in consequence of the repeal of this tax, was obliged to make provision. The loan for Great Britain he stated at twenty-three millions; the capital in the different funds, created by the conversion of eight millions and a half of exchequer bills into stock, previous to the Christmas recess, was eleven millions one hundred and thirty-eight thousand and sixty-two pounds, and the aggregate sum for which interest was to be provided, appeared to be not less than ninety-seven millions nine hundred and thirty-four thousand one hundred and thirty-seven pounds, the interest of which was stated at three millions one hundred and sixty-two thousand pounds. To defray this enormous demand, very heavy additional duties were imposed, on beer, malt, and hops. A considerable increase was also made to the assessed taxes; and the last articles to which ministers had recourse at this crisis, was a tax on imports and exports, being a modification of the convoy duty. The produce of the new duties combined, he estimated at four millions, an excess which compensated for the deficiency of divers of the taxes imposed in the course of the war. In the progress of the business of revenue, the chancellor of the exchequer proposed and carried into effect, several important alterations in the sinking fund bills of Mr. Pitt. The last or new fund, provided for liquidating the debt contracted since the year 1786, was much larger than the original fund established for the liquidation of the old debt, contracted prior to that period. These two funds, the minister proposed to consolidate and to perpetuate, till the whole of the debt, both old and new, should be completely liquidated. The original fund had now risen to two millions five hundred and thirty-four thousand one hundred and eighty-seven pounds, and the new to three millions two hundred and seventy-five thousand one hundred and forty-three pounds, making together five millions eight hundred and nine thousand three hundred and thirty pounds. The debt contracted previous to the year 1786, amounted to something more than two hundred and fifty-nine millions; and the new debt amounted to nearly three hundred millions, something less than forty millions having been redeemed by the old, and upwards of twenty millions by the operation of the new fund. The whole of the existing funded debt, including the loan of the present year, was consequently about five hundred and forty millions; the interest of which amounted annually to the vast sum

of upwards of seventeen millions.* This amazing debt would, nevertheless, by the wonder-working operation of the sinking fund appropriated to its liquidation, supposing that fund improved at the average interest of four per cent. per annum only, be completely discharged in the comparatively short period of thirty-four years.†

On concluding his speech on this occasion in the house of commons, the chancellor of the exchequer made use of the following remarkable words: "When I look back to the conduct of this house and of the country, to their united wisdom and vigour for the last nine years, it is with pride and satisfaction. When I look forward to the prospect before us, it is with

hope. I trust that, by a prudent and vigilant economy, we shall be able to provide effectually for the expenses of the country. I think, if we are enabled to preserve the blessings we enjoy, we shall effect it by a fixed determination not to interfere with any other country, but to be prepared all ways to vindicate our independence, and to maintain our honour. Such a system will, I feel confident, afford us a prospect of many years of tranquillity and repose. The period of animosity, I hope, has ceased; but vigilance, prudence, and precaution may survive animosity. Jealousy is no longer necessary, but caution must be preserved. This conduct will give us the fairest claim to merit, and the best chance to retain the blessings which we actually possess." Such was the seasonable and satisfactory declaration of the minister now at the helm of public affairs.

Mr. Corry, the chancellor of the exchequer for Ireland, soon afterwards brought forward the business of finance relative to the revenue of that kingdom. It appeared, from the statement presented to the house, that the debt of Ireland had risen, within the last ten years, from two millions three hundred thousand pounds, to thirty-six millions, paying an interest for the most part of six per cent. He stated the deficiency of ways and means, when compared with the supplies, at one million six hundred and sixty thousand pounds, which sum he proposed to raise by loan, in addition to a former loan of two millions, which the contractors for the English loan had agreed to furnish upon the same terms. Mr. Corry at the same time proposed several new taxes, necessary to defray the interest of these new loans, which were agreed to; not, however, without some poignant animadversions from several of the Irish members, who represented the state of that country as very critical and alarming.

On the 9th of April, Mr. Addington moved for a bill, to continue, till the 1st of March, 1813, the restrictions on payments in specie at the bank, a motion that was carried with little opposition. Indeed, in the actual circumstances of the country, this was a measure not so much of prudence as of necessity.

A vote of censure on the former administration was, on the 12th of the same month, formally moved by Sir Francis Burdett. But, as a vote of censure upon that body, by the present house of commons, would have been a sentence of condemnation against itself, there was little propriety in the motion, and still less prospect of its success. More than twelve months had moreover now elapsed since their resignation, and it

* PUBLIC DEBT.

Amount of the funded Debt in 1786.

Whole capital of the funded debt,	£259,355,815
The annual interest and other charges payable on account of this debt, were stated in the report from the select committee of the house of commons to be	£9,266,940

Amount of the funded Debt in April, 1802.

Funded debt of Great Britain,	£603,216,482
Stock redeemed by the sinking fund,	£59,588,904

Unredeemed debt,	£543,627,578
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† The *Sinking or Consolidated Fund* was first established in its present form by Mr. Pitt, in the year 1786, but the public are indebted to that consummate financier, Dr. Price, for the foundation upon which this pillar to public credit was erected.‡ The fund in question is formed by the appropriation of one million a year, which is regularly set apart for the liquidation of the national debt; and to which are added such government, temporary, and life annuities, as may fall in during each year. These sums constitute a principal, which being placed at compound interest, and suffered to accumulate, had, as early as the year 1802, extinguished nearly sixty millions of the public debt. The advantage of such a fund is infinite, and its product ought to be held as a sacred deposit never to be touched. "A nation, when it applies the income of such a fund to current expenses, rather than to the redemption of its debts, chooses to lose the benefit of compound interest, in order to avoid paying simple interest; and the loss in this case is equal to the difference between the increase of money at compound and simple interest. The following calculation will show what that difference is:—One penny put out at our Saviour's birth, at five per cent. *compound interest*, would, in the year 1791, have increased to a greater sum than would be contained in three hundred millions of earths, all of solid gold! But if put out at *simple interest*, it would, in the same time, have amounted to no more than seven shillings and sixpence! All governments that alienate funds destined for reimbursements, choose to improve money in the last, rather than in the first of these ways.—PRICE on *Public Credit*.

‡ See Mr. Pitt's letter to Dr. Price, inserted in Morgan's *Observations on reversionary Payments*, vol. i. p. 320—321.

seemed almost ludicrous to bring forward at this late period a direct charge against them. This motion was strenuously opposed by the supporters of the measures of Mr. Pitt and his colleagues, and Lord Belgrave moved, as an amendment to Sir Francis Burdett's motion, "that the thanks of this house be returned to his majesty's late ministers, for their eminent services, in the exertions they made to preserve to us unimpaired the blessings we enjoyed during the whole of the late contest." The speaker having suggested the irregularity of this proceeding, the motion of amendment was, at the request of Mr. Pitt himself, withdrawn; and the original proposition was negatived by a majority of two hundred and forty-six to thirty-nine voices.

A motion, yet more strange and absurd, was made on the 7th of May following, by Mr. Nichol, for an address to his majesty, thanking him for the removal of the Right Hon. William Pitt from his councils. This proposal again awakened, and in an increased degree, the zeal of Mr. Pitt's partisans and adherents, both in and out of parliament; and in the course of a most vehement debate, Lord Belgrave, as before, moved an amendment, expressive of the high approbation of that house, respecting the character and conduct of the late minister and his colleagues. Mr. Fox declared himself unable to vote either for the original motion, or for the amendment. He could not vote thanks for the dismissal of the late minister, till that dismissal was ascertained; and this was a matter of doubt, as it was alleged by Mr. Pitt and his friends, that he was not dismissed, but that he voluntarily resigned from inability to realize his plan of Catholic emancipation. If so, nothing, in his opinion, during the seventeen years of Mr. Pitt's ministerial life, "became him like the leaving of it." The motion of Lord Belgrave was at length carried by a great majority; and also a second motion by Sir Henry Mildmay, "that the thanks of the house be given to the Right Honourable William Pitt."

These attacks on the late minister seemed to revive his pristine popularity. His birthday was celebrated in the city of London with great ostentation. On this occasion, Earl Spencer, late first lord of the admiralty, presided in the chair, and in his glowing admiration of Mr. Pitt, gave as a toast to the company met to celebrate his birth: "The pilot who weathered the storm;" forgetting that the storm was not weathered, till this pilot had quitted the ship.

On the 13th of May, after various preludes, the grand debate relative to the definitive treaty of peace came on in both houses of parliament, when its stipulations

and provisions were attacked and defended with more than ordinary ability. Previous to the order of the day being entered upon in the house of lords, Earl Stanhope, after moving that the standing order for the exclusion of strangers should be enforced, communicated to their lordships the particulars of an invention by one Fulton, an American, (49) by which vessels containing an apparatus capable of blowing up large ships could be navigated under water, and the apparatus affixed to the bottom of the ships meant to be destroyed. His lordship further stated, that the French government were in possession of this invention, and endeavoured to impress upon ministers the necessity of devising means to counteract the fatal effects that might arise in future from the application of these submarine infernal machines.

Lord Grenville then presented himself to the house, and offered his observations on the treaty of Amiens. His lordship observed that the two bases of negotiation—the *status ante bellum*, which signified the state of the parties previous to hostilities, and the *uti possidetis*, which referred to their position at the time of pacification, had both been applied in the most injurious manner to this country. The negotiators had referred to the *status ante bellum* with regard to England, by giving up all she had taken during the war; and they had adopted the *uti possidetis* as to France, by leaving her in possession of all she had acquired. England had ceded her own conquests, and confirmed to France her new acquisitions. If France possessed dominion on the continent, we had to oppose to that dominion the colonies of France and Spain; and it would have been just for France to have repaid by continental sacrifices the repossession of her colonies. But with all these sacrifices on our part, peace was not likely to be of long duration, for France, in direct opposition to our entreaties and threats, actually sent during the negotiations an armament to the West Indies, and imposed on this country the necessity of sending thither a naval force

(49) In this "one Fulton an American," American readers will recognise their celebrated countryman, the inventor* of steamboats and the promoter of other useful measures. The machine here spoken of, was attempted, during the war between the United States and England, to be used against the vessels of the latter nation, though with little success, and the British writers, forgetting that their government had originally sanctioned the plan, denounced the invention in the most virulent terms. See Book III. Chap. III.

* Mr. Fulton was only the *perfecter* of the steamboat. Had he been the inventor, he could have sustained a *patent right* under the laws of the United States.—W. G.

more than double in strength to any squadron which had been sent during the war. Thus the first fruit of peace was the necessity of keeping an armament of thirty sail of the line in the West Indies. The arrangements relative to Malta, he condemned, as inefficient and inadequate to the end proposed. It was, he said, idle and ridiculous to talk of the order of Malta; that order was virtually extinct; and the island would be subject to the influence of France, who would nominate the grand-master, and would in effect be the sovereign. After taking a retrospective view of the situation of this country at the commencement of the negotiation, which, his lordship contended, was such as entitled us to a just and reasonable peace, he observed, that instead of improving these advantages, we had resigned to France the preponderance of power on the continent, established her sway in Italy, and had given to her important possessions in India, and without stipulating that they should not be fortified. But, what was infinitely worse, our right of sovereignty in India, so clearly recognised and explicitly acknowledged by France in 1787, was set loose by the non-renewal of that treaty in the definitive articles, and was reduced once more to a disputable claim. By this treaty, France was constituted mistress of Louisiana, and in reality of Florida; and if we turned to the Mediterranean, it would be impossible to send there a single ship without the permission of France. We were stripped of Majorca, Minorca, and even of the island of Elba; and whatever the valour of the British navy had won, the incapacity of a British ministry had lost. He would ask whether the advantages of such a peace preponderated over the disadvantages of the war? The advantages naturally expected from peace, were, the extension of commerce, the establishment of economy, and security from hostile aggression. But our commerce had suffered diminution by the peace; with respect to economy, it would be necessary to keep a large military and naval force; and with regard to security, the country was left in a situation of far greater danger than at the commencement of the war, or at any time during the progress of the contest. If war were renewed, it would be renewed with every possible disadvantage. Scarcely in three glorious campaigns, could we expect to regain by the sword, what we had ceded by the pen: and if peace continued, the omission in the treaty of Amiens of the renewal of all ancient treaties, would be found productive of the most alarming consequences. His lordship concluded a most severe and elaborate investigation of the terms of the treaty, by moving that an humble address should be

presented to his majesty, acknowledging his majesty's prerogative to make peace and war, but declaring that it was impossible for the house to see without alarm the circumstances that had attended the conclusion of the present treaty, by which sacrifices had been made on the part of this country without any corresponding concession on the part of France: that in the moment of peace, France had exhibited indubitable proofs of the most ambitious projects; that these considerations imposed on his majesty's government the necessity of adopting measures of precaution; and that whilst that house relied on his majesty's wisdom to be watchful of the power of France, they thought it necessary to assure him of their ready and firm support in resisting every encroachment on the rights of the British empire.

Lord Auckland, in reply to Lord Grenville, admitted that the definitive treaty contained not a single provision, direct or indirect, for the renewal of treaties which had subsisted previous to the war; nor was it necessary, for it was a maxim, established by the law of nations, that treaties, the provisions of which are not impeded or altered by the effect of hostilities, are not annulled by war, but remain in their full force on the restoration of peace. In reviewing the severe and arduous struggle in which we had been engaged, the country had much reason for self-gratulation. We had lost no dominions, but had finally made and secured to ourselves acquisitions of great importance. With respect to national character, it might be said without vaunting, that our navy and armies had been raised to a pitch of glory unexampled in the annals of history; and lastly, our great object had been obtained in the preservation of our constitution, which enemies foreign and domestic had attempted to destroy. His lordship said, he hoped and trusted that France would prove herself disposed to maintain the relations of peace and amity with other states; and that with the name of peace we should gradually obtain all its advantages. This country should watch the conduct of France with attention, but without acrimony: with anxiety, but without fear; for we were prepared to resist and repel any real injury, and the united kingdom would remain happy and unassailable so long as she remained true to herself and to her constitution.

The motion of Lord Grenville was warmly supported by Lord Caernarvon, who confessed, "that with the highest respect for the virtues of those who composed the present administration, he had never confided in their talents or experience. The moment they had taken the helm, they

pressed into their service a noble marquis, beloved indeed, but ill fitted for the invidious task of coping with men old in craft, adepts in duplicity, regardless of principle, and unpractised in virtue. Under negotiators so unequal, some disadvantages were inevitable; the preliminary articles disappointed even the least sanguine, but by the definitive treaty, concession was heaped on concession, disgrace added to disgrace."

The treaty was censured also by the Duke of Richmond and Earl Darnley; and defended by the Lords Pelham and Hobart, the Lord Chancellor, and the Earls of Westmoreland and Roslyn. After an animated and protracted debate, the motion of Lord Grenville was put, and negatived by a majority of one hundred and twenty-two to sixteen voices.

On the same day, the terms of the definitive treaty underwent a discussion equally animated, in the house of commons. Mr. Windham, who called forth all his powers on this occasion, in a speech of peculiar energy, which occupied upwards of three hours in the delivery, attacked the stipulations of the treaty, in all their parts. He deprecated the cession of Louisiana to France, as pregnant with incalculable evils, and equal to a surrender of the fourth part of the globe. By the surrender of the Mississippi in the north, and the river Amazon in the south of America, we might without hyperbole be said to have given away a brace of continents: and, in aggravation of this thoughtless prodigality, ministers had abandoned the whole continent of Europe to France—had endangered our safety at Honduras, and menaced our Indian possessions with destruction. "It is obvious," continued Mr. Windham, "that the object of France is universal empire, and that no single power can enter the lists with her without being crushed at the first onset by her tremendous mace. It is thought by some, that, though Europe should be wrecked, we at least might take to our boat and escape the general destruction; but," continued this impassioned speaker, "we should be still pursued by the sceptre of the French power, and with the assistance of this treaty she will meet us in Asia, and in America, and scare us in every quarter of the globe with her gorgon aspect." The right honourable gentleman concluded by moving an address similar to that proposed in the house of peers by Lord Grenville.

The terms of the peace were strenuously defended by Lord Hawkesbury. At the juncture, said his lordship, at which the present administration entered on negotiation with the French government, it was not practicable that any treaty of peace

should remedy the disorders of the continent. It was enough for Britain to secure her own interest and those of her allies. As to the question of the cession of Louisiana by Spain to France, that province had originally been a French colony, having been ceded by France to Spain after the treaty of 1793. The value of it at present was rather nominal than real. As a naval station, New Orleans was unimportant; and the vicinity of Louisiana to the United States of America, was calculated rather to diminish than to augment the attachment of that country to France. The non-renewal of ancient political treaties by the present treaty, his lordship denied to be a defect; and with regard to a commercial treaty, it had been found, in present circumstances, impracticable; but it was absurd to suppose that either our commercial rights, such as the cutting logwood in the bay of Honduras, or our rights of sovereignty in any part of the globe, particularly in India, depended upon these renewals. Malta, his lordship said, had been avowedly occupied with the intention of restoring it to the order of St. John; and the introduction of a Maltese *langue* was a just tribute to the brave conduct of the inhabitants. His lordship reminded the house of the advantages accruing to this kingdom from the acquisition of the Mysore, and the destruction of a power in India, the natural ally of France and the foe of Great Britain. In fact, both in the East and in the West Indies, our possessions were augmented, and our colonies had rapidly increased in value. In regard to the permanence of the peace, he was willing to admit and to deplore, that in the present state of the world any peace was insecure; but the precarious tenor on which this blessing was to be held was no reason for rejecting it. France had renounced her revolutionary principles, and resumed the old maxims of politics and religion. After the preceding convulsions, a good government was scarcely to be effected; an ameliorated one was, however, gradually forming from the ruins of revolutions. Had France remained under the Bourbons, she would have been equally our rival—under all governments her ambition would have been the same. Finally, his lordship observed, that we had emerged from a dangerous war, with our resources and credit unimpaired; and it was improper to waste them in an unavailing continuance of the contest, or to exhaust by fruitless efforts the strength and spirit of the country.

The debate was prolonged to a very late hour by the speeches of a great number of the members—the Lords Temple and Folkestone, Mr. Thomas Grenville, and others of

that party, passionately inveighing against the terms of the peace, which were on the other hand calmly defended by the whigs, though on grounds considerably different from those taken by ministers.

Mr. Addington delivered a speech nearly in unison with that of Lord Hawkesbury. He candidly admitted, however, that the treaty of Amiens had never been regarded by him as a subject of exultation, but he trusted the honour of the country remained unsullied. The territorial acquisitions of France could not, he acknowledged, be viewed without regret; and the state of Europe was far from being such as we could regard with satisfaction. "But," said the premier, "it is given to us to redress that grievance? We ought to reserve our strength for future occasions, when it might be put forth with a prospect of success; and not waste it, as it must have been in this case, without any chance of advantage."

Mr. Sheridan closed the debate with a speech of great animation. He remarked that the discussion of the necessary, though disgraceful treaty of peace, furnished the best defence of the conduct of those who had uniformly opposed the war. For his part, he supported the peace because he supposed it the best that ministers could obtain. Their predecessors had left them to choose between an expensive, bloody, fruitless war, and a hollow, perilous peace. For the attainment of what object or purpose, Mr. Sheridan inquired, did we go to war?—To prevent French aggrandizement. Have we done that?—No. We were at least to rescue Holland. Is that accomplished?—No. But the recovery of Flanders and Brabant, we pronounced a *sine qua non* of peace. Are they recovered?—No. Then came security and indemnity. Are they obtained?—No. The late minister told us, that the example of a jacobin government in Europe, founded on the ruins of a holy altar, and the tomb of a martyred monarch, was a spectacle so dreadful and infectious to Christendom, that we could never be safe while it existed, and it was our duty to put forth our last effort for its destruction. For these fine words, which had at last given way to "security and indemnity," we had sacrificed nearly two hundred thousand lives, and expended three hundred millions of money—and had gained Ceylon and Trinidad, which might have been obtained the Indemnity and Security Islands. He admitted the splendid talents of the late minister, but he had misapplied them in the government of this country. He had augmented our debt, diminished our population, abridged our privi-

leges, and had done more to strengthen the power of the crown, at the expense of the constitution, than any minister that had ever conducted the affairs of this country.

The house at length divided on Mr. Windham's address, when the majority in favour of the treaty amounted to two hundred and seventy-six to twenty.

During this session of parliament, the sum of ten thousand five hundred pounds was voted to Dr. Edward Jenner, for the promulgation of his invaluable discovery of the system of vaccine inoculation, by which it was hoped ultimately to extirpate that destructive malady, the small-pox.* A reward of twelve hundred pounds was also voted to Mr. Henry Greethead, for the invention of the life-boat, by which it was said that the lives of five hundred seamen had been saved in one year.† The sum of

* *Vaccination.* Dr. Jenner's inquiry into the nature of the cow-pox commenced about the year 1776. His attention to this disease was first excited by observing, that among those whom he inoculated for the small-pox, many were insusceptible of the disorder. These persons, he was informed, had undergone the casual cow-pox, which had been known in the dairies of Gloucestershire from time immemorial, and a vague opinion had prevailed, that it was a preventive of the small-pox. While engaged in the investigation of the nature of the cow-pox, he was struck with the idea, that it might be practicable to propagate the disease by inoculation, after the manner of the small-pox; first from the cow, and then from one human subject to another. The first case in which he put his theory to the test, inspired him with confidence; and a regular series of experiments, which he afterwards instituted for that purpose, were crowned with success. This happy discovery was communicated to the world by Dr. Jenner, in a treatise published in June, 1798; but the same fortune which has attended all other great discoveries, and all other great benefactors of mankind, attended Dr. Jenner. Envy assailed his fame; his discovery was first depreciated, and then denied; and as he surpassed Harvey himself in glory, so he also surpassed him in the opposition which he had to encounter. Truth, however, ultimately prevailed. Vaccination obtained a complete triumph; and the foes of Jenner and of humanity were covered with confusion.

† *Life-boat.* The principle of this boat appears to have been suggested to Mr. Greethead by the following simple fact:—Take a spheroid, and divide it into quarters; each quarter is elliptical, and nearly resembles the half of a wooden bowl having a curvature with projected ends; this, thrown into the sea or broken water, cannot be upset, or lie with bottom upwards. Of the life-boat, the length is thirty feet; the breadth ten feet; the depth from the top of the gunwale to the lower part of the keel, in midships, is three feet three inches. The first vessel of this description was launched from South Shields on the 30th of January, 1790, and it has so well answered, and indeed exceeded every expectation, that it will live in the most tremendous broken sea, and in no instance has it ever failed.—*Report of the Committee of the House of Commons.*

five thousand pounds was also voted to Dr. James Carmichael Smyth, for his discovery of the nitrous fumigation, for preventing the progress of contagious disorders—a process which had been introduced into the navy and army hospitals with the most beneficial effects.*

On the 28th of June, being the last day of the session, the new speaker presented, according to ancient usage, the money bills to his majesty, and on the day following, parliament was dissolved by proclamation. The prime minister, Mr. Addington, with laudable impartiality, avoided any interference in the ensuing elections, and the choice of the nation fell almost uniformly, wherever any contest took place,

upon men of independent and constitutional principles.

The nation, no longer agitated by foreign wars, began once more to enjoy the inestimable blessings of internal repose. The spirit and conduct of those to whose hands the administration of public affairs was confided, were forbearing and conciliatory; the turbulence of party spirit, which had at one time raged with so much violence, as to threaten the nation with intestine war, was hushed into tranquillity; and the extraordinary measures of precaution and coercion, adopted at a period of general alarm, were suffered silently to expire, and to give place to the free operation of our invaluable institutions.

CHAPTER XXII.

FOREIGN HISTORY: Epitome of the French Revolution—Bonaparte appointed President of the Italian Republic—Annexation of Piedmont and Parma to the French Republic—Ratification of the Concordat—Bonaparte appointed First Consul for Life, with Power to appoint his Successor—Creation of the Legion of Honour—Change in the French Constitution—Expedition to St. Domingo—Arrival of the French Armament under General Leclerc—Bonaparte's Letter to Toussaint Louverture—The Campaign disastrous to the Africans—Submission of their Generals—Death and Character of Toussaint—Surrender of Guadaloupe, Tobago, and Dominica to the French in virtue of the Treaty of Amiens—Re-establishment of Slavery in the French Colonies—French Mediation in the Affairs of Switzerland—German Indemnities finally adjusted.

FRANCE, persecuted into greatness, had obtained every object that could be coveted by a great people, save that for which she originally contended. The history of

* *Nitrous Fumigation.* In the year 1795, Dr. Smyth recommended the nitrous acid gas, as the means of destroying contagion, and directed an experiment which was made in the Union hospital-ship, and again in part of the Russian squadron at Sheerness; the success of this experiment was nearly as complete as a similar process had been under the direction of M. de Morveau, at Dijon, in the year 1773; the immediate effect of fumigation was to destroy the offensive smell arising from so many sick crowded together; none of the attendants were afterwards attacked by the fever, and the general state of the ship was speedily improved. In the House of Recovery in London, this method is pursued, and the following formula is adopted in the fumigation of small apartments, where typhus fever, dysentery, or foul ulcers, &c. prevail. "Take an equal quantity of powdered nitre and strong vitriolic acid or oil of vitriol (about six drachms of each are sufficient), mix them in a tea-cup, stir them occasionally with a tobacco-pipe or piece of glass; the cup must be removed occasionally to different parts of the room, and the fumes will continue to rise for several hours. The oil of vitriol should be taken by measure, not by weight." The vitriolic acid should be added by about a drachm at a time to the nitre, and the cup containing the latter should be placed on a hot heater, or piece of solid iron. Such is the simple but efficacious process of nitrous fumigation, which may rank in utility with the first discoveries of the age.

that country, from the dawn of the revolution to the ratification of the treaty of peace at Amiens, presents not less than five grand epochs, all of which interest the community, and afford materials for the pen of the historian, but each varies in shape and feature from that which precedes, as well as that which follows it.

The first period exhibits a numerous body of men, long retained in thralldom by the despotism of their government, arousing from the slumber of ages, indignantly bursting their manacles, and declaring themselves free. The monarchs of the continent, decked in the recent spoils of violated Poland, immediately associate, under pretence of assisting a prince more gentle, more amiable, and consequently more beloved, than themselves; a war ensues, the shock of arms takes place, and the forest of Argonne, and the heights of Valmy, decide a campaign pregnant with the fate of France and of Europe. How glorious the struggle of a liberated nation! But a sudden transition takes place, and all the horrors of a civil war seem fated to accompany all the disasters of a foreign contest. A sovereign, revered as a martyr by one part of the nation, and detested as a traitor by another, perishes by a violent death; monarchy itself is annihilated with Louis XVI., and a republic proclaimed

upon his tomb. The founders of the commonwealth are doomed to perish in their turn, and that too by the instrument employed for the decollation of the Bourbon king. Robespierre, adored by the populace during his life, and Marat, deified after his assassination, are next wafted along the sanguinary torrent to the possession of supreme power, and rule for a while, by means of spies and executioners. A less unfavourable epoch next presents itself, and the directorial government promises to repair the errors and the crimes of the tyrants. Immense armies take the field, decisive battles are fought, great victories achieved, Germany is prepared for dismemberment, and Italy for subjugation. At length, a military leader arises and conquers, first for the republic, and then for himself. In consequence of a peace, as brilliant as the war which he achieves, he seems to consider Europe too small a theatre for his ambition; and arriving with a powerful fleet and army in Africa, wishes to imitate the Macedonian hero, and finish his career of conquests by the subjugation of Asia. After gaining many victories over the degenerate Turks and the warlike Mamelukes, he at length experiences a repulse before an ill-fortified city, garrisoned by the half-disciplined troops of a rebel pacha, but led by a European chief, and is reduced to the mortifying necessity of treating with the Ottoman Porte, whose confidence he had betrayed, and whose dominions he had invaded. Uncertain of his destiny, he leaves Egypt and his army by stealth; arriving suddenly in Europe, takes advantage of the corrupt and feeble government of those who happen to be invested with the administration of public affairs; surrounds himself with an ambitious soldiery, and, uniting the wily policy of Monk with the decisive and victorious career of Cromwell, becomes sovereign under the name of consul. Not yet secure on his recently acquired elevation, he flies into Italy by a route deemed impassable, again overwhelms veteran armies, and ancient states, once more erects new commonwealths, renders his foes and his confederates tributary, extends the limits of France, and of his own power, and is hailed, first as the pacificator of the continent, and then as the tranquillizer of Europe.

Such is a brief epitome of a revolution which commenced with the mild despotism of a French king, and ended in the accession of a military chieftain. No man, either of modern or ancient times, can be compared with this extraordinary character. His unparalleled life resembles a romance rather than a history, and many of the most

striking incidents in his career of successful ambition, still remain to be recorded.

In the month of December, 1801, and while the negotiations at Amiens were yet pending, a grand consulta assembled in the city of Lyons, consisting of not less than four hundred and fifty persons convoked by the authority of the Cisalpine republic, and apparently chosen from the most respectable of her citizens. The object of this meeting was to determine upon a permanent constitution for the new republic; and early in the year 1802, the first consul arrived at Lyons, to assist in person at the deliberations. A committee of thirty members was appointed to prepare the business; and on the 25th of January, the new plan of government was presented, and received the immediate and unanimous sanction of the whole body. An essential part of this plan was to vest the supreme magistracy in the hands of the first consul, who, on the following day, repairing to the hall of the consulta, in regal state, formally declared his acceptance of the honour thus conferred upon him. The appellation of the Cisalpine was changed by acclamation to that of the Italian Republic, of which Bonaparte was declared president for ten years. But the term republic was a mere figure of speech, for the form of government suggested by the committee, and adopted by the assembly, was, in reality, an absolute monarchy, the whole of the executive, and a principal part of the legislative power being vested in the first consul. While the personal authority of the head of the French government was thus extended, and while in the Italian republic a new satellite was ordained to move within the influence of French attraction, France itself received a considerable accession of territory, by the acquisition of Piedmont and Parma, which territories were, by a decree of annexation, added to the territory of France, and constituted an integral part of the republic.

The famous convention, known by the appellation of the *Concordat*, concluded between the first consul and the pope,* re-

* See Book II. chap. XX. page 385.—The concordat, which ordained that the Roman Catholic religion should be the established religion of France, guaranteed universal liberty of conscience to the French people of every persuasion. The hierarchy of the Catholic church of France was to consist of ten archbishops, and fifty bishops, the former to enjoy a fixed annual revenue of fifteen thousand francs, (625*l.* sterling) and the latter a revenue of ten thousand francs. The parish priests were divided into two classes, for the larger and the smaller parishes. The salary of the first class was not to exceed 1500*l.*, nor that of the second 1000 francs.† The archbishops and

† The value of a franc or livre is 10*d.* English

ceived in the month of April, 1802, its final ratification from the French legislative body by a majority of two hundred and twenty-eight to twenty-one voices. This imposing event, in conjunction with the definitive treaty of peace between Great Britain and France, was celebrated with extraordinary magnificence by a solemn *Te Deum*, at the cathedral church of Notre Dame, and grand illuminations in the city and vicinity of Paris. Cardinal Caprara, legate from his holiness, was escorted to the Tuileries by an honorary guard of cavalry, and the crosier was borne before him to the palace. In his speech to the first consul, he complimented him in the following words: "The arm that gained battles, and signed peace with all nations, restores splendour to the temples of the true God, rebuilds his altars, and re-establishes his worship." The first consul, in reply, extolled the apostolical virtues of his eminence, and expressed his own satisfaction at this new triumph of Christianity.

At Rome, also, high mass was performed, on Ascension Day, at the church of St. Jean de Lateran, by the pope in person, accompanied by every demonstration of joy, for the restoration of the Gallican church. Nor was it without reason that the sovereign pontiff, who scarcely two years before had been in a state of melancholy exile, exulted in the happy change in his fortunes. With the pope, the college of cardinals, the members of which had wandered over Europe in extreme distress, seeking in vain for some safe asylum, were reinstated in their thrones and palaces. The aged Cardinal of York, in particular, the last heir male of the royal house of Stuart, reduced to the lowest stage of dependency, accepted of a pension from the King of England, the possessor of that crown which the cardinal claimed by divine and indefeasible right.*

bishops were to be nominated by the first consul, and afterwards confirmed by the pope. And the church relinquished all claims to its confiscated revenues and domains. The different Protestant churches were established on the same political model; none but Frenchmen were permitted to exercise the functions of an ecclesiastic, either in the Catholic or Protestant churches; and no person could be elected a minister or pastor of any Protestant church, who had not studied a fixed period in one of the French seminaries appointed for ministers of that persuasion.

* In a letter from Cardinal York to Sir John Hippesley Cox, dated Venice, Feb. 26, 1800, he acknowledges the receipt of 2000*l.* from Lord Minto, the British ambassador at Vienna, accompanied by a power to draw for the same sum, at the end of six months, and with affecting expressions of gratitude adds:—"I own to you that the succour granted to me could not be more timely;

The Protestant churches, equally gratified as the church of Rome by the arrangements in favour of religion which had just occurred in France, hastened to present to the first consul the homage of their gratitude; and a deputation was appointed to assure him of the obligations they felt for the guarantee he had afforded to the universal exercise of liberty of conscience. This deputation was received by Bonaparte with marks of peculiar attention, and addressing himself to the members of the Protestant church then in his presence, he said,—"I do not wish men to think themselves indebted to me because I have been merely just—conscience is not within the jurisdiction of human laws."

On the 6th of May, the definitive treaty of Amiens was presented to the tribunate, on which occasion a proposition was made in that assembly to confer some striking mark of the public gratitude on "the great pacificator." This proposal was unanimously agreed to, and having received the ready concurrence of the other constituent bodies, the senate, on the 8th of the same month, decreed, that this mark of gratitude ought to be the re-election of Bonaparte to the consular dignity for ten years succeeding the term for which he had been already chosen. The first consul, in imitation of the first Roman emperor, when this proposal was communicated to him, declared, "that the interest of his glory and of his happiness, suggested that the termination of his public life should be the moment that the peace of the world was proclaimed; the glory and happiness of an individual, however, must be silent when the interest of the state and voice of the public call upon him." "But," added he, "it was the suffrages of the people that invested me with the chief magistracy, and I shall not consider myself sure of still possessing their confidence, if the act for retaining me in that situation be not ratified by the public voice. In the three last years, fortune has smiled on the republic; but" (said he, in conclusion, and in terms almost prophetic), "fortune is inconstant, and how many men has she loaded with her favours who have afterwards outlived them!" In compliance with the wish of the first consul, registers were opened in the different departments for inscribing the suffrages of the citizens on this subject; but as a full indemnity for this condescension, the question was, in the mean time, materially

for, without it, it would have been impossible for me to subsist, on account of the irreparable loss of all my income; the very funds being also destroyed; so that I should otherwise have been reduced for the short remainder of my life to languish in misery and indigence."

changed, and in the new form it stood—"Shall Bonaparte be elected consul for life?" A second question was in a short time subjoined—"Shall Bonaparte be invested with the power of naming his successor?" Both questions were carried by the immense majority of 3,577,259 citizens, who voted in the affirmative, while only 9074 negatived these daring innovations. In the tribunate, one dissentient voice alone was heard—that of the celebrated republican minister at war, Carnot. On the third of August, the act of the senate was presented to the first consul, who, on receiving this distinguished mark of public confidence, thus addressed the senate—"The life of a citizen belongs to his country; the French people wish that the whole of mine should be devoted to them. I obey their will. Content with having been called by the order of Him from whom all things emanate, to bring back upon the earth justice, order, and equality, I shall hear my last hour sound without regret, and without an undue anxiety about the opinion of future generations." The event was celebrated with great magnificence in Paris, and addresses of congratulation poured in from every part of the republic; and in the sequel from almost every court in Europe.

Bonaparte, ever anxious to aggrandize the army, and aware that to his instrumentality he was indebted for his present elevation, had for some time contemplated the formation of a military order of nobility, under the designation of the *LEGION OF HONOUR*. The legislature, in obedience to the will of the first consul, accordingly decreed, that the legion of honour should be established in France; and that that body should be composed of fifteen cohorts, and a council of administration. That each cohort should consist of seven grand officers, twenty commandants, thirty subordinate officers, and three hundred and fifty legionaries; that the first consul should always be the chief of the legion, and of the council of administration; and that the members of the legion should be appointed for life. The pay of each grand officer to be five thousand francs, of each inferior officer one thousand francs, and of each legionary two hundred and fifty francs. All military men who had received arms of honour, to be members of the legion; those citizens also who had rendered eminent services to the state in the late war, or who, by their knowledge, talents, and virtues, had contributed to establish and defend the principles of the republic, or had caused the government to be respected, to be eligible to that appointment; and Joseph Bonaparte, the brother of the first consul, was elected grand-master of the new order. Thus was

the consular throne not only declared permanent, but a military order of nobility was created for its protection and support.

The first consul, considering his authority as incomplete while any power was left in the state which did not immediately emanate from himself, promulgated to the people, through the medium of the senate, an *organic senatus consultum*, or act of the conservative senate, in virtue of which considerable changes were made in the constitution, for the purpose of strengthening the authority of the executive power. By this act the first consul was virtually invested with the nomination of the senate: to which body, were confided the administration of the colonies; every thing not provided for by the constitution; and the interpretation of all the articles of the constitution itself. To this oligarchical assembly also belonged the power of suspending the functions of juries; of proclaiming departments out of the protection of the law; of determining when persons arrested in extraordinary cases were to be brought before the tribunals; of dissolving the legislative body and the tribunate, and of appointing the consuls: and in order the more fully to rivet the fetters of despotism on the nation, the members of the grand council of the legion of honour were appointed members of the senate. But the worst feature in this code of slavery was to be found in the administration of justice: a grand judge was appointed by the first consul, who presided over the tribunal of ultimate appeal, and held the power of censure and discipline over all the other tribunals. To depress the authority of the legislative body and the tribunate, founded, however imperfectly, on the principle of representation, and to exalt the senate, who depended chiefly on the choice and nomination of the first consul, were the grand objects of this despotic change, by which political liberty was in effect annihilated.

The restoration of peace with England once more opened the seas to the marine of France, and induced the French government to turn their attention to the recovery of St. Domingo. A fleet of twenty-six ships of war was with this view collected in the harbours of Brest, L'Orient, and Rochefort, in the latter months of 1801, and put to sea on the 14th of December in that year. This fleet, and the transports by which it was accompanied, carried an army of twenty-five thousand men. A fleet was also fitted out in the Texel, which sailed two days afterwards, and as single ships conveying troops and supplies continued to sail from France till the end of the month of March, in the following year, the whole force sent on this fatal service amountec

probably to nearly forty thousand men. Early in the month of February, this formidable armament reached its destination, when the commander-in-chief formed his forces into three divisions: the first, under the orders of Rear-admiral Latouch, was intended to disembark a body of troops at Port-au-Prince, under the command of General Boudet. The second was destined to debark the division of General Rochambeau at the bay of Mancenville. Villaret conducted the rest of the fleet and forces to Cape François, with an intention of taking possession of Cape Town. This last division was under the immediate orders of the commander-in-chief, General Leclerc. On the arrival of the French fleet, Toussaint Louverture, the African chief, whose talents had elevated him from the station of a slave to the rank of governor and commander-in-chief of the forces in St. Domingo, was absent from the Cape, having confided the command to Christophe, another of the negro generals. The French general hastened to announce his arrival, and demanded the necessary facilities for disembarking his troops; but the answer returned to his summons was, that Toussaint was absent from the Cape, and that if any attempt were made to effect a landing before his return, the town would be consigned to the flames. To this intimation, Leclerc replied, that if Christophe did not that very day deliver up to the French army the forts of Piccolet and Belair, with all the batteries on the coast, an army of fifteen thousand men would be employed the day following to take possession of them by force. This letter was accompanied with a proclamation from Bonaparte to the people of St. Domingo, inviting them to peace and submission. The chief consul had also addressed a letter to Toussaint, presenting to him all the blandishments of riches, honour, and public favour, and expressed in these terms:

To Citizen *Toussaint Louverture*, General-in-chief of the Army of *St. Domingo*.

"CITIZEN GENERAL,

"Peace with England, and all the powers of Europe, which places the republic in the first degree of greatness and power, enables, at the same time, the government to direct its attention to St. Domingo. We send thither Citizen Leclerc, our brother-in-law, in quality of captain-general, as first magistrate of the colony. He is accompanied with the necessary forces to make the sovereignty of the French people respected. It is under these circumstances, that we are disposed to hope that you will prove to us, and to all France, the sincerity of the sentiments you have constantly expressed in the different letters you have written to us. We have conceived an esteem for you, and we wish to recognise and proclaim the great services you have done the French people. If their colours fly on St. Domingo, it is to you and to your brave blacks that they are indebted.

Called by your talents and the force of circumstances to the first command, you have destroyed the civil war, put a stop to the persecutions of some ferocious men, restored to honour the religion and worship of God, from whom all things proceed. The constitution that you have formed, though containing many good things, contains others which are contrary to the dignity and sovereignty of the French people, of which St. Domingo forms but a part.

"We have made known to your children and to their preceptor the sentiments by which we are animated. We send them back to you. Assist with your counsels, your influence, and your talents, the captain-general. What can you desire? the freedom of the blacks? You know, that in all the countries we have been in, we have given it to the people who had it not. Do you desire consideration, honour, fortune? It is not after the services you have rendered, the services you can still render, with the particular sentiments we have for you, that you ought to be doubtful with respect to your consideration, your fortune, and the honours that await you. Make known to the people of St. Domingo, that the solicitude which France has always evinced for their happiness, has often been rendered impotent by the imperious circumstances of war; that men, who came from the continent to agitate and nourish factions, were the produce of the factions which destroyed the country; that in future, peace and the power of the government ensure their prosperity and freedom.

"Rely, without reserve, on our esteem; and conduct yourself as one of the principal citizens of the greatest nation of the world ought to do.

"The First Consul—BONAPARTE.

"Paris, 17th Brumaire, 8th Nov. 1801."

The French general, finding Christophe immovable, and considering further delay as dangerous, effected the debarkation of his troops in the bay of Limbe, several leagues from Cape Town, with the intention of marching to the heights behind the Cape, while General Rochambeau gained the heights of St. Sauzanne, Dondon, and Grande Riviere. The object of these combined movements was to save the beautiful plantations which surrounded the Cape, and if possible the city itself. The fleet under Villaret, sustained, on entering the road, an obstinate, though not a very injurious fire, from Forts Belair and St. Michael, but the city suffered much, and General Leclerc, on his approach, beheld it in flames. The progress of the fire was with much difficulty arrested by the united efforts of the naval and military force, and Leclerc at length obtained complete possession of Cape François. In every other quarter, the French were equally successful, and at the town of St. Domingo they were received by the Spaniards with every demonstration of joy.

The French general now directed his attention to the sable chief—Toussaint Louverture; he transmitted to him the first consul's letter, already quoted, and planned an attack upon his parental feelings by means of an interview with his children.

Their mother, who received her long absent offspring with feelings of natural transport, joined with the children in supplicating her husband to accept the terms proposed to him by the mother country. But the inflexible mind of the African could not be moved from his purpose, and after an arduous struggle between affection and duty, he returned to his camp, to share in the dangers and abide the destiny of his countrymen. Irritated at the failure of a plan from which so much was expected, Leclerc disdained all further pacific overtures, and issued a proclamation, in which he designated General Toussaint as a "frantic monster," accused him of perfidy and rebellion, declared that officer and his compeer Christophe out of the protection of the law, and ordered all good citizens "to pursue them and treat them as rebels."

Although some progress had been made towards the conquest of St. Domingo, it was not till the 17th of February, 1802, that the campaign in that island actually commenced. On that day, the division of Desfourneux advanced to the Limbe; the division under General Hardi to the Grand Bouchamp; and that under General Rochambeau against La Janerie and the wood of l'Ame. A small corps, composed of the garrison of the Cape, and Fort Dauphine, at the same time advanced against St. Sauzanne, Le Tron, and Valliere; where they had to contend with great disadvantages in the ground, and to encounter the attacks of the negroes, concealed amongst the trees and bordering the valleys. Notwithstanding every resistance, the columns appointed to this service took possession of the positions of Plaisance, St. Michael, and Marmelade, from which they succeeded in expelling General Christophe, with an army of two thousand four hundred men. Of this interesting and sanguinary campaign, the only official account extant is to be found in the despatches of General Leclerc, and the following details are given on his authority:

"The attempt of General Debelles to dislodge the rebel General Maurepas from his position at Gonaives, entirely failed, owing to a very heavy fall of rain, which harassed the French troops, and prevented them from acting with effect. Several other columns, however, of the French army advanced against him, and a few days afterwards Maurepas thought proper to surrender himself, upon the condition held out in General Leclerc's proclamation of retaining his rank. General Dessalines proved the most dexterous, as well as the most bloody of the rebels; and by a succession of rapid manœuvres, he found

means to set fire to the Leogane, in spite of the efforts of General Boudet. General Laplume, commanding the south, voluntarily submitted to the French government; by which means, this portion of the island was put into possession of the French forces, and General Dessalines was forced in consequence to retire into the fastnesses of the country. Christophe, after setting fire to Gonaives, was driven from post to post, and at length obliged to seek refuge in the mountains. The strong position of Ravine-a-Coulenore was occupied by Toussaint, with a chosen body of troops, composed of five hundred grenadiers, twelve hundred picked men, and four hundred dragoons. Every means had been employed to render this position impregnable, but it was attacked with irresistible impetuosity by General Rochambeau, and after a desperate conflict, in which Toussaint's troops fought man to man, he was at length forced to give way, and to retreat, in confusion, to the Petite Riviere, leaving eight hundred men dead on the field of battle." "Thus," adds General Leclerc, in conclusion, "has the army of St. Domingo, in a campaign of five days, dispersed the principal bodies of the enemy, and made itself master of their baggage and a part of their artillery; desertion has reached their camp; Clervaux, Laplume, Maurepas, and several other black chiefs, or men of colour, have submitted; the cultivators have returned to their habitations; and the plantations of the south are preserved entire, while all the Spanish part of the island has completely submitted."*

In another letter, dated the first of March, the general says, "We are now in pursuit of Toussaint, who has retired into the Mirabelais. General Rochambeau, who has passed the Ester; General Boudet, who has set out for Port-au-Prince; and the columns of the Spanish army, which are marching in that direction, induce me to hope that he cannot long escape us. Of his five hundred horse guards, three hundred have deserted him. Dessalines, the most ferocious of the African rebels, has massacred some whites. All the coasts and the ports of the island are in our possession, but nothing can equal the fatigues of our troops, except their indignation against these ferocious banditti."

General Leclerc's details of the campaign, even at its commencement, present a dreadful picture of the nature of this contest, which seems to have been conducted upon an indiscriminate massacre on one side, and a horrible system of retaliation

* Despatch from General Leclerc to the French minister of marine, dated February 27, 1802.

on the other. The important post of Oreetz Pierrot was defended with the utmost obstinacy by the rebel army; and the French force, not sufficiently strong to protect its other conquests and to attack this position, marched into the interior, while Toussaint and Christophe fell upon the country in their rear, and, after burning all the towns in the northern plain, braved General Boyer in his intrenchments within a few miles of the Cape. The reinforcements from Havre and Flushing, which arrived soon after these actions had been fought, gave the French a decided superiority; but though the rebels were unable to meet them in the field, yet the European forces, weakened by the climate, and diminished by the sword, could neither follow up their advantages, nor retain possession of many of their conquests.

In another despatch from General Leclerc, dated the 8th of May, from the headquarters of the Cape, he says, "Previous to the arrival of the succours from Europe, the rebels were beaten and dispersed in every direction; terror filled their camps; their magazines were exhausted; their gunpowder failed; and for food they were obliged to eat bananas. The arrival of the squadron from Flushing and Havre gave the finishing blow to their hopes. Christophe sent to inform me, that he had always been a friend to the whites, whose social qualities and information he had esteemed most highly; that all the Europeans who had been in St. Domingo could bear testimony to his principles, and to his conduct; but that imperious circumstances, which govern, and frequently decide the conduct of public characters, had deprived him of the power of acting according to his own inclinations. In a word, he was anxious to know whether there remained any hopes of safety for him. I answered in return," adds General Leclerc, "that with the French people, the door of repentance was always open; that the constant habit of the first consul was to weigh the actions of men, and that a single misdeed, whatever were its consequences, never effaced the remembrance of services formerly rendered; that, in fact, the information I had received previous to my departure from Europe was personally favourable to him; and that, if he was willing to place himself at my disposal, he would have reason to be satisfied. Still he hesitated. Several columns accordingly marched in pursuit of him, and some slight encounters took place. At length, Christophe apprized me, that I had only to send him my orders, and he would obey them. The orders I sent were, that he should repair alone to the Cape, dismiss all the

labouring negroes whom he had still with him, and collect all the troops under his command. Every thing was punctually executed; and the submission of this chief completed the consternation of the rebel cause. Toussaint employed every means to acquaint me with the afflicting situation in which he was placed, and with what pain he saw hostilities continued without object and without end. He added, that though adverse circumstances had impaired his strength, yet that he still remained sufficiently powerful to burn, ravage, and destroy; and to enable him to sell dearly a life, which had once been useful to the mother country. I caused Toussaint to be informed," says the general, in conclusion, "that he had only to repair to the Cape, and that the hour of pardon might still return. He did not fail to profit by the permission I had given him; he came to see me, entreated that he might be restored to favour, and took an oath of fidelity to France. I accepted his submission, and ordered him to repair to a plantation near Gonaives, and never to leave it without my permission. Dessalines I have placed at a plantation near St. Marc."

The terms of the negotiation on which the submission of the negro generals was grounded, have been studiously concealed, but they no doubt had for their basis the personal freedom of the chiefs, and a recognition and security of their property. But whatever might be the terms of the treaty, it is evident that the captain-general of the French army had no intention to fulfil them; for no sooner was the negro chief in his power, and the conquest of the colony apparently secured, than he perpetrated one of the basest acts of perfidy that ever disgraced any government. The abdicated general was accused of a conspiracy, though no time had elapsed from his submission to his seizure to meditate, much less to organize such a measure. Toussaint had retired to his estate, to enjoy in the bosom of his family that happiness which he had not found in the tented field. But his tranquillity was of short duration. Before the expiration of the first month of his retirement, in the dead of the night, the Creole frigate, escorted by the Hero, a seventy-four gun ship, from Cape François, stood in close to the shore of Gonaives: troops landed from several boats employed in this midnight mission, surrounded the dwelling of Toussaint, where his family lay asleep, unconscious of their impending fate, and Bruent, chief of brigade, and Ferrari, an aide-camp of Leclerc, entered Toussaint's chamber with a file of grenadiers, and demanded his immediate surrender. This unfortunate chief declared himself indiffer-

ant to his own fate, but pleaded for his family: "I shall not resist the power you have obtained over me," said he, "but my wife is feeble, and my children can do no harm, suffer them to remain at home." These entreaties were in vain; they were hurried on board the ship, and, before the country became alarmed, were under sail to France.*

The tranquillity of St. Domingo was of short duration: Christophe and Dessalines, apprehensive of sharing the fate of their commander, saved themselves by flight. The negroes complained that they had been betrayed, the whole island revolted, and the climate came to the assistance of "these avengers of tyranny and falsehood." The mortality among the French troops, during their short campaign in the West Indies, was beyond all example; and in the month of September, their whole force, including a corps of four thousand blacks, was reduced to twenty-seven thousand five hundred men, one-fifth of whom were in the hospitals. But the catastrophe of this West Indian tragedy must be reserved for a future chapter.

At this period, the island of Guadeloupe, like that of St. Domingo, became the theatre of civil war. Here too the negroes struggled with great resolution against the chains which were prepared for them; but after a sanguinary resistance, they were

* TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE, an African by birth, was sold at a very early age into slavery. The disadvantageous circumstances of his youth precluded him from the enjoyment of a liberal education. But nature had compensated his misfortune; and so early as the year 1796, his superior talents had elevated him to a command in the French army of St. Domingo, under General Rochambeau. The influence he possessed over the blacks, and the confidence bestowed upon him by the European part of the population, induced him, after the expulsion of the French from St. Domingo by the English, to aspire to sovereign power, and he consolidated his authority by the wisest and most humane regulations. On the arrival of the formidable armament from France, under General Leclerc, the most alluring offers of personal aggrandizement were made to him by the first consul; and in rejecting those proposals, he displayed a firmness and dignity of soul that would have done honour to a Roman. Of his humanity, it is sufficient testimonial that he possessed the respect of the white inhabitants, whom the rage of insurrection had spared; nor does he appear to have been devoid of religion, but on the contrary, to have applied the principles of Christianity to one of their noblest purposes—to soften the ferocity, and temper the violence of the savage tribes placed under his command. The history of this gallant but unfortunate chief, from the time he was forced away from St. Domingo, is soon told; on his arrival in France, he was immured in a dungeon, where he died in the following year of apoplexy, as it was asserted, but not without violent suspicion, that his life was terminated by the hand of an assassin.

subdued by a large military force, under the command of Admiral Bouvet and General Richepanse. The extermination of those who continued what was termed refractory, that is, of those who preferred privation and death to slavery, was continued with cruel zeal and unrelenting rigour by the French general; until, at length, either the empire of the grave, or the sullen tranquillity of slavery, was established over the whole island.

In Tobago, when intelligence arrived that the island was to be restored to France, the people of colour flew to arms; and determined to attack the British troops under Brigadier-general Carmichael, who had under his command only 200 men; but the British general, having gained intelligence of the plot, seized thirty of the ring-leaders. The following day he hung one of them on the signal-staff at the fort, and gave orders that his body, thus suspended, should be lowered and hoisted about thirty times. The negroes, who saw the execution from a distance, considered each elevation as a separate execution, and concluding that all their chiefs had suffered death, they abandoned the further prosecution of their projects as hopeless. In consequence of this early and comparatively bloodless suppression of the mutiny, the French experienced no serious opposition, when, in the month of October following, they took possession of the island in virtue of the treaty of Amiens.

In the island of Dominica, a very serious alarm was created by the mutiny of an entire regiment of blacks, who, in the first transport of their fury, put to death Captain Cameron, Lieutenants Mackay and Wastneys, Commissary Laign, and Quartermaster Mackay, besides wounding two other officers. No sooner had intelligence of this tragical event, which originated in the pay of the troops being delayed, and the accustomed allowance of food diminished, come to the knowledge of the Hon. Cochrane Johnstone, who was colonel of the revolted regiment, and governor of the island, than he immediately collected all the militia and European troops that could be mustered, and embarked for Prince Rupert's, the scene of the insurrection. After an ineffectual resistance on the part of the mutineers, who opposed the landing of the troops, they were at length totally routed, and the whole of their force, with the exception of forty grenadiers, were either killed or made prisoners.

While these contests prevailed in the Western Archipelago, the French legislative body, as if resolved that the sufferings and calamities of the French revolution should be compensated by no advantages

to the human race, abrogated the decree of the national convention, declaring "that the negro slavery in all the colonies was abolished."* By this act of the legislative body, which was passed on the 17th of May in the present year, slavery was re-established in all the French colonies, on the same footing as it stood previous to the year 1789; and the slave-trade, and the importation of negroes, were ordered to be renewed, with all the encouragement and advantages which this detestable traffic enjoyed under the old French government. But the consequence of this retrograde act of oppression was soon manifest, and contributed, with every page of the history of the West Indies, to furnish a practical illustration of the truth of the remark, that "human policy never fixes one end of a chain round the ankle of a slave, but divine justice rivets the other round the neck of his tyrant."

The oppression and rapacity of the government of France under the directory, had been nowhere more conspicuous than in Switzerland; but since the establishment of the consular constitution, the general state of public affairs in that country had undergone, as in France, a great amelioration, more particularly in the proceedings that had taken place subsequent to the treaty of Luneville. But the government of Switzerland was still formed on the French model, and the people, ardently attached to their ancient laws and institutions, hoped, with the return of peace, to attain the restoration of their former system of government. No sooner had the French troops withdrawn themselves from the Swiss democratic cantons, than the inhabitants rose in arms, and after wresting the cities of Zurich, Bern, and Friburg, from the officers of the obnoxious government, appointed Aloys Reding, a man of commanding talents, the chief of the insurrection.

In these circumstances, the principal members and adherents of the new constitution, now assembled at Lausanne, invoked the powerful assistance of France. While, on the other hand, the leaders of the insurgents established a provisional government without delay at Bern, and deputed one of their body to Paris, who arrived in that city on the 28th of September, for the purpose of entreating the first consul to suffer the people of Switzerland to settle their affairs among themselves, without foreign interference. At the same time, they issued a proclamation, leaving the inhabitants of the several cantons at liberty to choose and regulate their own local go-

vernments, and recommending a liberal and rational plan as the bases of the Helvetic confederacy.

The agent of the insurgents who had been despatched to Paris, had instructions to address himself to the ministers resident there of the principal powers of Europe, and to solicit their interference and assistance in the objects of his mission. For some time, he flattered himself, from the result of an interview with M. Talleyrand, that the first consul would interpose no obstacle in the way of any arrangement which the Swiss might agree upon among themselves. But how great was his surprise, when a proclamation was issued the very next day from the palace of St. Cloud, signed "Bonaparte," and addressed to "the eighteen cantons of the Helvetic Republic," in which he declared, "that it had been determined by him not to interfere further with their affairs, but as he neither could nor ought to remain insensible to the misery of which party had made them the victims, he recalled his determination." "I will," added he, "be the mediator of your differences; but my mediation shall be efficacious, such as befits the great people in whose name I speak." The first consul then commanded all hostilities to cease, and required the senate and each canton to send deputies to Paris, to consult with him upon the means of restoring union and tranquillity.

The Helvetic diet, in a despatch written from Schwitz, on the 8th of October, and addressed to the first consul, replied, "The movements which have taken place in Switzerland are not, general consul, the result of a spirit of party; the Swiss nation has no other object in view, than to make use of the right which she claims, of giving herself a central and cantonal constitution, founded on her position and her wants; a sacred and precious right, which you deigned yourself to ensure by the treaty of Luneville."

Further negotiations ensued; but the most unanswerable reply to all these remonstrances was found in the introduction of a French army of thirty thousand men, under the command of General Ney, into the territory of Switzerland. The diet at Schwitz, fully aware how utterly unavailing it would be to attempt any resistance against the overwhelming force that might be brought against them, took the resolution of delivering up their powers into the hands of their constituents as soon as the French troops should enter Switzerland, and on the 28th of October that body was dissolved by its own act. In the mean time, the confidential agent of the Swiss patriots addressed himself in the most ur-

* See Book I. Chap. XVIII. page 152.

gent terms to the Russian, Prussian, and Austrian ambassadors at Paris, soliciting them jointly to intercede with the first consul, in order to avert the impending evil; but not one of these ministers would deign to admit him to an audience. From the British resident, Mr. Merry, to whom he at the same time made a similar application, he met with a more favourable reception; and an intelligent negotiator, Mr. Moore, was sent by the English government to Switzerland, in order to establish a communication with the chiefs of the insurrection; but finding, on his arrival, that the people were, as they had previously declared, "without arms, without ammunition, without stores, and without money to purchase them," his efforts to advance the interests of the cause of independence failed, and the mission was abandoned.

On the 10th of December, the deputies from the eighteen Swiss cantons, fifty-six in number, assembled at Paris, when a letter was addressed to them by the first consul, in which he declared, "that he would fulfil the obligations he had contracted, to re-establish tranquillity in Switzerland. To this end, the three important points to be enforced and fixed were, 1st. Equality of rights between all the cantons. 2d. Complete renunciation of all family rights. 3d. A federate organization for each canton. On the 18th, a deputation from the consulta, the name given to the Helvetic deputies, was admitted to a personal audience of the first consul, at St. Cloud; on which occasion, he developed his intentions towards Switzerland, in a speech of considerable length; and in a few weeks the final act of mediation was promulgated.

This mediatorial decree is stated to be the result of long conferences between well-intentioned men, and friends to order, and its object is to ensure to Switzerland both peace and prosperity. "We acknowledge," says the act of mediation, "Helvetia, constituted as follows, to be an independent power. We guarantee the federal constitution, and that of each canton, against the enemies of the tranquillity of Helvetia, be they who they may; and we promise to keep the relations of amity, which for ages have united the nations of France and Switzerland." Then follow the particular constitutions of the eighteen cantons, which are divided into three classes, democratic, aristocratic, and cantonal, and each of which are to supply a stipulated quota of troops and money towards the exigencies of the federative state. It is further provided that the diet shall meet alternately, and from year to year, at Friburg, Berne, Soleure, Basle, Zurich, and Lucerne; that the avoyer of the canton wherein the diet as-

sembles is to be the Landamman of Switzerland, charged with all diplomatic negotiations, and appointed to watch over all the laws and ordinances of the diet, as well as of the particular constitutions. The diet is composed of a deputy from each canton, who has full powers, limited only by his instructions. The deputies from the eighteen cantons have thirty-five voices. The diet is to assemble every year, on the first of June, and to continue its sittings but one month; during which time it is to conclude treaties of peace, of alliance, and of commerce with foreign powers.

On the introduction of this new constitution, to which it was in vain to oppose any opposition, the Helvetic troops were passed into the service of France; and the Landamman, Louis D'Affry, issued a proclamation, informing them, that they were received into the armies of the first consul, under whose paternal care they would forget all their past sufferings. An address of thanks was also voted by the diet to Bonaparte, on the ground "that he had restored to them their ancient constitution, the only one adapted to their wants, or consistent with the wishes of the people;" but it must not be forgotten that this constitution, however excellent, was the production of a foreign power; and that it was dictated under circumstances repugnant to the first principles of political liberty and of national independence.

The daily extension of the power of France, could not be viewed by the Emperor of Germany without serious apprehension; and although the imperial cabinet was bound, by the seventh article of the treaty of Luneville, to admit of the German indemnities, and the secularization of several of the ecclesiastical sovereignties, the government was nevertheless extremely averse to the prosecution of this ungrateful business. In a matter where so many conflicting interests were implicated; where states and princedoms were to be disposed of; and where the lesser powers were to be sacrificed to compensate for the losses of the greater; the proceedings were of necessity slow in their progress, and difficult in their accomplishment. In order to bring this complex and embarrassing affair to some decisive termination, the Emperor of Russia resolved, after a long interval of time had elapsed in fruitless discussions, to take an active and efficient part, conjointly with France, in the mediation of the existing differences.

Nothing, however, was effectually done till the 17th of July, on which day the Emperor of Germany transmitted a rescript to the diet of Ratisbon, stating that his intention had been unceasingly occupied with

the means of terminating the important business of the peace; but that he found the parties principally interested had applied in the mean time to Russia and France, and solicited the mediation of those powers, in order to obtain the indemnities they waited for; that Russia had consequently proposed to open negotiations at Paris, in February, 1802; that soon afterwards a convention was concluded between France and Russia, without the participation of his imperial majesty, and that he was now desirous to direct the definitive arrangement so begun, according to the constitution of the empire. The emperor, seeing his authority about to be wrested from him, submitted for a time to the humiliating necessity under which he was placed, but by his persevering endeavours in favour of the Grand-duke of Tuscany, he obtained terms for his royal relative, rather more advantageous than those originally projected. The newly modified scheme of the indemnities was called a supplement to the plan, according to which the Elector of Mentz obtained the cities of Ratisbon and Wetzlar. The Princes of Baden, Wirtemberg, and Hesse

Cassel, were made electors. The King of Great Britain accepted the cession of the bishopric of Osnaburg, in perpetuity, as a compensation for Hildesheim, Corvey, and Hoexter; stipulating at the same time to abandon the rights and privileges formerly exercised by him over Hamburg and Bremen; and to the Prince of Orange, for the surrender of the stadtholderate, and other claims and possessions in Holland and Belgium, were awarded the bishoprics of Fulda and Corvey, and the city of Dortmund.

After much discussion, and the interchange of various imperial rescripts and replies, the influence of France rose predominant in the diet, and on the 22d of November, in the thirtieth sitting of the deputations, a final *conclusum* was voted, and reluctantly acceded to on the part of the emperor. By this arrangement, the influence of the emperor was diminished in the diet, in consequence of the abolition of the two ecclesiastical electorates of Treves and Cologne, and the constitution of Germany suffered a more serious infraction than that effected, after the thirty years' war, by the treaty of Westphalia.

CHAPTER XXIII.

BRITISH HISTORY: Colonel Despard's Conspiracy—Its Progress and Detection—Trial of the Conspirators—Their Conviction and Execution—Trial of M. Peltier, a French Emigrant, for a Libel on Bonaparte—IRISH INSURRECTION OF 1803: The Character and Condition of the principal Leaders—Preparations of the Rebels—The Horrors of the 23d of July—Assassination of Lord Viscount Kilwarden—His Character—Defeat and Dispersion of the Rebels—Discovery of the Magazines and Archives—Precautionary Measures of Government—Unsuccessful Attempt to plant the Standard of Rebellion in the North of Ireland—Trials and Execution of Emmet, Russel, and others of the Conspirators—Tranquillity completely restored.

At no time within the last ten years had Great Britain enjoyed so much domestic tranquillity as during the period that intervened between the ratification of the definitive treaty of peace and the close of the year 1802. The policy and temper of ministers in the management of all the internal affairs of the country, had been uniformly mild and conciliatory, and the effect produced upon the public mind was at once gratifying and remarkable. Every trace of party animosity seemed to vanish under their auspicious rule, and all were eager to rally round that constitution, which all alike revered, and which some had laboured to support by augmenting the prerogatives of the crown; and others by upholding the privileges of the people. In this posture of affairs, it excited the strongest surprise to hear that a treasonable plot was discovered, of which Colonel Despard was the head, and indeed the only individual of any consideration in the conspiracy.

35*

The object of this conspiracy was the death of the king, and the subversion of the constitution; but the means by which these traitorous designs were to be effected, were so little adapted to the magnitude of the enterprise, that it was scarcely possible that the design could have originated with any man in a sane state of mind. The plan concerted by Colonel Despard, was to ingratiate himself with the soldiery, and particularly with the guards, by which means he hoped to have at his disposal a select corps, trained to the use of arms, and advantageously situated for the execution of his atrocious purpose. The first object of the conspirators was to secure or destroy the king on his return from parliament at the opening of the session, to accomplish which it was proposed to load the great gun in the park with long-ball, or chain-shot, and to discharge the contents at his majesty's carriage as he passed! At the same moment, other parties were to seize

the tower, to surround the two houses of parliament, to take possession of the bank, to destroy the telegraph, and so to stop the mail coaches, which last event was to be, as in the Irish rebellion, a signal for a general rising throughout the country. This insane project was to be executed by about forty individuals, and those in the lowest situation in life, both as to rank and intellect. Among the assumed partisans of this sanguinary plot, were two soldiers in the guards, of the names of Blaine and Windsor, who, through the medium of Mr. Bownas, an army agent, with whom they were in a regular communication, laid before government all the proceedings of the conspirators. On the 16th of November, the day appointed for the meeting of parliament, a general meeting of the conspirators, amounting to about thirty in number, was held at the Oakley Arms, in South-Lambeth, in the borough of Southwark, where they were all arrested and committed to prison. The arrests, which were conducted in every respect according to the due form of law, excited much surprise, but no extraordinary sensation.

The wisdom of government, in permitting the plot to ripen and mature, so as to develop completely the designs, and ascertain the guilt of the conspirators, was not more apparent than their moderation and constitutional principles in the conduct of the trials. No affectation of alarm was exhibited, nor was any advantage taken of the plot, to enlarge the powers of government, or to contract the privileges of the people by the suspension of the act of Habeas Corpus.

On the 7th of February, 1803, Colonel Despard was brought up for trial before a special commission, at the New Sessions House, in the borough of Southwark, on which occasion, Windsor, Blaine, one Emblyn, a watchmaker, and others of the conspirators, were admitted as evidences for the crown. It appeared from the testimony of these witnesses, that on the Friday preceding the 16th of November, Colonel Despard met some of the seduced soldiery, and others of the conspirators, for the first time, at the Flying Horse, at Newington; and that he spoke freely of their traitorous designs, and the best mode of carrying them into execution. At this meeting, the intercepting and shooting of the king on his way to parliament, was discussed, as well as the probable difficulties attending such a traitorous enterprise; on which, the colonel exclaimed, "If nobody else will shoot him, I will;" adding, with much solemnity, "I have well weighed the matter, and my heart is callous." Every other part of the design was then adverted to, and freely de-

bated. Colonel Despard spoke of the strength of the conspiracy at Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, and Birmingham, and of his own activity in forwarding the cause. The people, he said, were every where ripe, and the death of the king would be a signal for a general rising. It further appeared, that through the medium of one Francis, with whom he seemed to have been confidentially connected, Colonel Despard had himself sworn and attempted to swear soldiers and others into engagements, binding them to the destruction of the king and government; and finally, that on the evening of the 16th of November, he was, with about thirty other persons, sitting in full convention, assembled for treasonable purposes, at the Oakley Arms public house, in Lambeth, where certain papers were found indicative of their wicked designs, and affording evidence that their ulterior purpose was to be carried by the conflict of arms, and not by the force of reason and argument.*

After a trial which lasted nearly eighteen hours, and in which very honourable testimony was given to the conduct of Colonel Despard as an officer while in the army, by Lord Nelson, Sir Allured Clark, and Sir Evan Nepean, he was found *guilty*; the foreman of the jury adding, at the time the verdict was delivered, "My lord, we do most earnestly recommend the prisoner to mercy, on account of the high testimonials to his former good character and eminent services."

On Wednesday, the 9th of February, the court resumed its sittings, at nine o'clock, and proceeded on the trials of the other prisoners, twelve in number. The evidence on these trials was substantially the same as on that of Colonel Despard; and after an investigation which continued without intermission till six o'clock the following morning, the jury, at five and

*The oath which had been tendered by Colonel Despard was found, printed on a card, in the possession of Broughton, Smith, and others. It was expressed in these terms:

"CONSTITUTION! The independence of Great Britain and Ireland—an equalization of civil, political, and religious rights—an ample provision for the wives of the heroes who shall fall in the contest—a liberal reward for distinguished merits. These are the objects for which we contend; and to obtain these objects we swear to be united in the awful presence of Almighty God."

Form of the Oath.—"I, A. B., do voluntarily declare, that I will endeavour, to the utmost of my power, to obtain the object of this union; namely, to recover those rights which the Supreme Being, in his infinite bounty, has given to all men; that neither hopes, fears, rewards, nor punishments, shall ever induce me to give any information, directly or indirectly, concerning the business, or of any member of this or any similar society—So help me God."

twenty minutes before eight, returned a verdict of guilty against John Wood, Thomas Broughton, John Francis, Thomas Newman, Daniel Tyndall, J. Sedgwick Wratten, William Lander, Arthur Graham, and John Macnamara; recommending Lander, Newman, and Tyndall, to mercy.* Thomas Phillips and Samuel Smith were acquitted; and the charge against John Doyle was abandoned at the close of the evidence.

Colonel Despard was then sent for, and placed at the bar in front of the other prisoners; when Lord Ellenborough passed the awful sentence of death upon these unfortunate men, in one of the most impressive speeches ever perhaps delivered upon a similar occasion. After describing the high enormity of the crime of which they had been convicted, and observing, most truly, that such vile purposes, however zealously begun, generally terminate in schemes of treachery against each other, he thus proceeded:—

"With respect to the wicked contrivers of abortive treason, now before me, it only remains for me to acquit myself of my last judicial duty. As for you, Colonel Despard, born as you were to better hopes, and educated to nobler ends and purposes; accustomed as you have hitherto been to a different life and manners, and pursuing with your former illustrious companions, who have appeared upon your trial, the paths of virtuous and loyal ambition—it is with the most sensible pain I view the contrast formed by your present degraded condition, and I will not now paint how much these considerations enhance the nature of your crime. I entreat you, by those hopes of mercy which are closed in this world, to revive in your mind a purpose to subdue that callous insensibility of heart, of which in an ill-fated hour you have boasted; and regain that sensitive affection of the mind which may prepare your soul for that salvation, which, by the infinite mercy of God, I beseech of that God you may obtain." Having addressed himself to the other prisoners, whom his lordship styled "the sad victims of seduction and of their own wicked purpose," he thus concluded—"The only thing now remaining for me, is the painful task of pronouncing against you the awful sentence which the law denounces against your crime, which is, that you, and each of you," naming the prisoners severally, "be taken to the place from whence you came, and from thence you are to be drawn on hurdles to the place of execution, where you are to be hanged by the neck, but not until you are dead; for, while you are still living, your bodies are to be taken down, your bowels torn out, and burnt before your faces; your heads are to be then cut off, and your bodies divided each into four quarters, to be at the king's disposal; and may the Almighty God have mercy on your souls."†

* After an imprisonment of some years, these three culprits were liberated by an act of royal clemency.

† Hanging and beheading are the only parts of this cruel sentence that have been executed in modern times.—W. G.

At six o'clock in the evening of Saturday, the 19th February, his majesty's warrant for the execution of Colonel Despard and those six of his associates who were not recommended to mercy, reached the jail. When the arrival of the death-warrant was announced, the colonel seemed more surprised than affected. On Sunday, at three o'clock, Mrs. Despard had a last and a most affecting interview with her unfortunate husband, and though he sustained himself with considerable firmness at the moment of their final separation, he soon afterwards became deeply agitated, and for a short time lost his wonted composure. Between six and seven o'clock in the evening, he threw himself upon the bed, and fell into a short sleep. At eight, he awoke, and in the hearing of one of the officers of the prison, said—"Me—they shall receive no information from me—no! not for all the gifts, the gold, and the jewels in possession of the crown." He then composed himself to sleep, and remained on his bed till about half-past four o'clock in the morning, at which hour he rose, and continued to pace his cell, till he was led out to execution. Most of the other prisoners spent much of their time in prayer, and received the sacrament at seven o'clock in the morning, but Colonel Despard refused to attend, and remained in his cell.

Between eight and nine o'clock on Monday, the 21st of February, the execution took place, on the top of the New Jail, in the Borough, with the usual forms in cases of high-treason, in the presence of innumerable spectators. The minor culprits displayed the utmost penitence, and expressed their fervent prayers for the divine mercy; but the unhappy principal declined all spiritual assistance from the clergyman, and was never observed, during the whole period of his confinement, to engage in any exercise of devotion. He was the last to ascend the scaffold, which he did with great firmness, and his countenance never underwent the slightest change. He viewed the multitude assembled with perfect calmness, and with a firm and elevated voice thus addressed them:—

"Fellow-citizens, I come here, as you see, after having served my country faithfully, honourably, and I trust usefully, for thirty years and upwards, to suffer death upon a scaffold, for a crime which I am no more guilty of than any man that is looking upon me. This I solemnly declare: but though his majesty's ministers know that I am not guilty, they avail themselves of the legal pretext which they have of destroying a man, because they think he is a friend to truth, to liberty, and to justice, and because he has been a friend to the poor and to the oppressed. But, fellow-citizens, I hope and trust, notwithstanding my fate, and perhaps the fate of many others who may follow me,

that still the principles of liberty, justice, and humanity, will triumph over falsehood, despotism, and delusion, and every thing else hostile to the interests of the human race. And now, having said this, I have nothing more to add, but wish you all that health and happiness, and that freedom, which I have made it my endeavour, as far as lay in my power, to procure for every one of you and for mankind in general."

Immediately after this speech, the crowd cheered, but the impulse immediately subsided, and at seven minutes before nine the sufferers were launched into eternity. After hanging about half an hour, the bodies were cut down: Colonel Despard the first; his head was then severed from his body, and the executioner, holding it up to the view of the populace, exclaimed—"This is the head of a traitor, Edward Marcus Despard." The same ceremony was afterwards performed on the other bodies, after which they were all put into shells, the other part of the sentence having been remitted, and the populace dispersed without any indication of tumult.

Thus terminated a conspiracy, unexampled in the annals of history for the extent of its designs, when contrasted with the weakness and paucity of its means. It was, as the attorney-general truly observed, a plot, "in which no political party, no faction, considered its interest involved;" and stood isolated and without supporters, beyond the narrow limits of the obscure and visionary few who attended its treasonable assemblies. That Colonel Despard was an enthusiast, that his plans were visionary and impracticable, were facts admitted by all; but it was equally true, that in the same proportion as he was enthusiastic, in that proportion he was dangerous: and it was evident that he had formed to himself a system of revolutionary action, the principal feature of which was, that a convulsion in the state was not to be effected by extensive associations, through which the designs would transpire, and must be frustrated; but by a small party of desperate men, who, having struck one great blow, such as the assassination of the king, and having filled the country with consternation, might find then, and not before, numbers of coadjutors. The colonel himself was a man of ardent mind, of inflexible resolution, and of a high and daring spirit. Having, as it appeared, served his country for a long series of years, and having, as it also appeared, been refused the compensation he thought, and perhaps justly, due to his professional claims, he became the victim of chagrin and disappointment, and indulged a spirit of resentment, which led him to form dangerous connexions, and to cover culpable designs under the mask of patriotism: but being

thrown into prison, severely treated, refused a trial, under the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, and precluded from all redress by the act of indemnity which succeeded, his resentment was converted into the madness of revenge, which he scrupled not to gratify by engaging in attempts the most criminal and atrocious. Of his six fellow-sufferers, "the victims of his seduction and example," one only of them was, like their leader, an Irishman by birth, the others were all Englishmen; two of them, Wood and Francis, were private soldiers in the guards, and the other four were all handicrafts men, in low circumstances, and principally in the meridian of life.

On this occasion, loyal and affectionate addresses from both branches of the legislature, and from the clergy, the laity, and the corporate bodies of the kingdom, poured in upon the sovereign, expressive of attachment to his person, loyalty to his government, and gratitude to the Great Disposer of all events for the gracious protection vouchsafed unto him.

The day which witnessed the execution of Colonel Despard and his associates, was also rendered memorable, by the first, and hitherto by the last trial of a French loyalist in England, for a libel upon the first consul of France, written in the French language, and published in London, by Jean Peltier, the journalist, in a periodical paper, under the title of *L'Ambigu*. The libel consisted in a figurative, but palpable call upon the people of France to assassinate the first consul; and this prosecution was instituted by the British government, on an *ex-officio* information, with a view to allay the jealousy, and appease the irritation felt by the French government at the countenance given in this country to the partisans of the ancient regime. The Lord Chief-justice Ellenborough, who presided on this trial, in summing up the evidence, observed, that it was manifest, that the nature and direct tendency of the publications charged in the indictment, was to interrupt and destroy the peace and amity now happily subsisting between Great Britain and France, and that such publications were, in point of law, a libel.* His lordship further said,

* To show that the writings of M. Peltier, then under the consideration of the court, contained a direct incitement to the assassination of the first consul, Lord Ellenborough cited the following passages:—"Oh! eternal disgrace of France! Caesar, on the bank of the Rubicon, has against him in his quarrel, the Senate, Pompey, and Cato, and the plains of Pharsalia. If fortune be unequal—if you must yield to the destinies, Rome, in this sad reverse, at least, there remains to avenge you, a poignard, among the last Romans." Again:—"As for me," says the writer, "far from envying his

that he was certain the verdict of the jury would be founded upon the real facts of the case, and that no recollection of the past, or expectation of the future, would warp their minds from the straight and even course of justice: they would consider the necessary effects of plans of assassination and murder, and that if they were not discountenanced and discouraged in this country, they might be retaliated on the safety of all that was most dear to us. The jury, without hesitation, returned a verdict of guilty; but the renewal of hostilities, which soon afterwards took place between the two countries, prevented the court from pronouncing judgment upon the emigrant defendant.

Ireland, which had been so many centuries under the crown of England, still seemed *unnaturalized*—alien to those feelings of satisfaction and loyalty, which have generally animated the people of Great Britain, and which at the period now under consideration glowed in their breast with peculiar effulgence. To develop the causes of Irish disaffection, would be to review a large portion of her history, and would require a compass of investigation incompatible with the limits of this work.* But without entering into the more remote causes of this unhappy state of things, it could scarcely be expected that the animosities which had prevailed during the late sanguinary rebellion should have instantly subsided, or that the vehement discussions originating in the project of a legislative union, should have left behind them no leaven of disaffection. These germs of discontent, which had struck their roots deep in the soil of Ireland, unfortunately received considerable augmentation from the disappointment of those expectations which had been cherished by Mr. Pitt; and when the Roman Catholic subjects of that country found that the British minister was compelled to retire from office because he could not accomplish the boon of emancipation, hope sickened in the breast, and gave place to feelings of despair. The Protestants of the north of Ireland, however, who had, with too much precipitation, formed conclusions favourable to the French revolution, had now seen and abjured their error, and could not be prevailed upon to take any

part in a conspiracy, the probable issue of which, if successful, would have been to place their beloved country under the power and control of France. Nor were the Catholics, as a body, disposed to repair to the standard of rebellion, or to second the visionary designs of men, who took their impulse from a feeling of disappointed ambition, and a deep-rooted spirit of revenge. The unfortunate men who acted the most prominent parts in the fatal scenes of the year 1803, had experienced the clemency of government, after the suppression of the rebellion in 1798, and had retired to France. The person who assumed the office of director and principal mover of this new plot upon the British dominions in Ireland, was Mr. Robert Emmett, a young man of specious and promising talents—the brother of Thomas Addis Emmett, who had, previously to the rebellion of 1798, abandoned a respectable situation at the bar, in order to erect an Irish republic, and effect a separation from Great Britain. Robert, the younger brother of the Irish director of 1798, had been sufficiently unguarded in his conduct, while the late disturbances existed, to become an object of the vigilance of government, and had found it prudent to reside abroad so long as the Habeas Corpus act was suspended; but on the removal of that obstacle he returned to Ireland, and arrived in that country in the month of December, 1802. The death of Dr. Emmett, his father, who was one of the state physicians in Dublin, had placed the sum of two thousand pounds in ready money at his disposal; and with this exchequer he proposed to himself the subversion of the government of Ireland! His principal associates at this time were Dowdall, a man, who had formerly filled an inferior office under the Irish house of commons; Redmond, a man of narrow means, engaged in a small line of trade; and Allen, a bankrupt woollen-manufacturer. A conspirator of a different stamp, and of a much higher rate of abilities than those just mentioned, was Quigley, a mechanic of considerable address, who, having been outlawed in 1798, had since that period resided in France, and had recently returned to Ireland, under circumstances which clearly indicated his agency in the approaching insurrection. In another part of the country, a second enthusiast presented himself as a chief; this was Mr. Thomas Russel, who had served as an officer in the British army with some reputation, and who, unlike the majority of those that had imbibed the political principles of the revolutionary school of France, was religiously inclined, even to enthusiasm. This unfortunate man was among the number of those banished to

(Bonaparte's) lot, let him name, I consent to it, his worthy successor. Carried on the shield, let him be elected emperor. Finally (and Romulus recalls the thing to mind) I wish he may have *this apotheosis*." Every body, his lordship said, knew the supposed story of Romulus; he disappeared, and his death was supposed to be the effect of assassination.

* See Chap. VII. Book II. page 243.

Fort George, in Scotland, at the close of the late rebellion, whence he was allowed to embark for France, and did not return to his native country till the spring of the present year.

Such were the characters and condition in life of the principal leaders of the conspiracy of 1803. Emmett and Dowdall were stationed in Dublin; Quigley in the county of Kildare; and Russel in the populous districts of the north; while others of less note were subdivided through various parts of the country, with authority from their leaders to forward the object of their rebellious mission by every means in their power. Some important assistance was likewise expected, in the acquisition of a person of the name of Dwyer, a leader of banditti in the Wicklow mountains, and who had remained in arms from the period of the rebellion in 1798. His party did not ostensibly exceed twenty, but he was supposed to possess considerable influence over the peasants of that district; and he intimated to Mr. Emmett, that "though he would not commit his brave followers upon the good conduct of the rabble of Dublin, yet when he should see the green flag (the standard of rebellion) elevated above the king's on the tower of the castle, he would be at hand to cover or second the enterprise."

On the first arrival of Mr. Emmett in Ireland, he resided in obscure lodgings, under the assumed name of Hewitt, but the nature of his designs did not admit of his remaining in this retreat longer than was necessary to mature the plans for carrying into effect his unhallowed purpose. About the end of April, he engaged, along with Dowdall, a house and premises of some extent, situated near the heart of the city. In this place, surrounded by about twenty of his associates, he established a depot of arms; here, muskets and other weapons were procured as opportunity served, a large manufacture of pikes was secretly carried on, and bullets to the amount of upwards of thirty thousand were fabricated. On the 21st of July, a person was found loitering near the depot, and being supposed to have observed some suspicious proceedings, he was seized by the conspirators, and would have been put to death but for the interference of Emmett, at whose instance he was confined, and compelled to labour in forming pikes, and other services conducive to the furtherance of the object of the conspiracy. At this crisis, an incident occurred that threatened to lead to a premature development of the whole plot; by some means which are not explained, an explosion of a quantity of gunpowder took place, in the house of one

of the conspirators in Patrick street; but by the address of the conspirators, or the remissness of the police, this incident did not lead to any discovery, though it is more than probable that the apprehension of detection which it produced might precipitate the ulterior operations of the insurgents. Though the persons immediately connected with Emmett, Russel, Dowdall, and Quigley, the principals in the plot, did not exceed from eighty to one hundred; yet these infatuated men were so sanguine in their expectations, as to suppose that the spirit of rebellion would, at their bidding, pervade the whole kingdom; and the usual intimation, the stoppage of the mail coaches, was to be the signal of revolt in the country; while the first object of the insurgents in the metropolis, was to secure the seat of government and the principal persons engaged in its administration.

For some days previous to the fatal explosion, information had been conveyed to government of threatening assemblages of the people, and other indications tended to awaken a suspicion that a "*rising*," as it was termed, was in agitation. But it does not appear that the members of the Irish government paid much attention to these intimations; nor perhaps is this much to be wondered at, as such reports, in the recent state of Ireland, must have been frequent, and in many cases groundless.

On the morning of Saturday, the 23d of July, the day appointed for this momentous enterprise, unusual crowds of peasants were observed on the great road to Dublin, directing their hurried steps towards the capital from all parts of the county of Kildare, which lies in that direction, and in which district Quigley had exercised his pernicious functions. The city continued to fill during the whole of the day; and it was observed by travellers and others, that many parts of Kildare were emptied of the adult part of the male population. Towards evening, the populace began to assemble in vast numbers in St. James's-street and its neighbourhood, without having any visible arrangement or discipline. These were, however, the materials with which Mr. Emmett proposed to construct the edifice of republicanism. The next object was to arm the body thus collected; and for which purpose pikes were deliberately brought out from the store in that neighbourhood, and with unmolested regularity placed along the sides of the streets, for the accommodation of all who might choose to equip themselves. The inhabitants, during this dreadful and alarming scene, were panic-struck, and seeing no prospect of succour or protection, withdrew within their houses, barred their doors and windows, and

betook themselves to imploring the protection of Providence, to avert from them the impending calamity.

About nine o'clock, the concerted signal that all was in readiness, was given by a number of men riding furiously through the principal streets; but general alarm was not excited, until Mr. Clarke, the proprietor of a considerable manufactory in the neighbourhood of Dublin, and who had that afternoon apprized government of the intention of the insurgents, was shot at and dangerously wounded. About the period of this premeditated assassination, a small piece of ordnance, which had been in readiness for the purpose, was discharged, and a sky-rocket let off at the same moment, so as to be observed throughout the whole city. Mr. Emmett, at the head of his chosen band, now sallied forth from the obscurity of his head-quarters, in Marshal-sea-lane, and brandishing his sword in the street, excited his followers to action. Before they had reached the end of the lane in which they were assembled, a confidential member of the party discharged his blunderbuss at a person dressed in a military uniform, and who was passing hastily along the street. The ball of the assassin unhappily took effect, and thus perished Colonel Browne, a most respectable and meritorious officer, and one of the first victims of this sanguinary night.* Here we lose sight of the general and his staff—here ended his short-lived course of military and political achievement. It is to be hoped, and there is no evidence to contradict the charitable presumption, that this unfortunate enthusiast did not participate in the subsequent horrors of the night—he was indeed a fanatic, but he was not a fiend. Henceforward, we do not discern him, or any of his brother conspirators, till we find them fallen from their day-dreams of empire, beneath the power of the offended justice of their country. The next victim to this spirit of revolutionary fury, was a corporal of the ordinary-guard, stationed at the prison for debtors, situated contiguous to the chief rendezvous of the insurgents. The most vigorous attempt, and indeed the only one that could be considered in the light of an act of courage, was an assault made upon a few soldiers composing an outpost, who were overpowered by numbers and put to death.

But the circumstance from which this hopeless and disastrous commotion derived a degree of importance far beyond that which would naturally belong to the ordinary acts of turbulence in a disaffected country, and in an ill-regulated metropolis,

was the dreadful catastrophe of the Chief-justice of Ireland, the Lord Viscount Kilwarden. This unfortunate nobleman had, on the day of the insurrection, retired to his country seat, near four miles from Dublin, as was his custom after having passed the week in fulfilling the duties of his exalted situation. On the first intimation of the circumstances which denoted disturbances being conveyed to him, his lordship, wherever since the period of the outrages in 1798, had been in perpetual apprehension of being surprised and assassinated by rebels, ordered out his carriage, and taking with him his daughter, and his nephew, the Rev. Richard Wolfe, set off instantly for Dublin, where he expected to find protection and safety! Unfortunately for the lord chief-justice and his family, the carriage appeared in Thomas street immediately after the opening of the depot, and was surrounded by a mob of armed persons equally infuriated and infatuated. His lordship announced his name, and earnestly prayed for mercy; but in vain. The party were all dragged from the carriage, and Lord Kilwarden and his nephew fell to the ground, pierced with innumerable wounds, but the lady was requested to make her escape, and she was permitted to pass through the whole rebel column to the castle without molestation!

The alarm having been universally spread, the approach of a small military force hastily collected, caused the cowardly and ferocious wretches to abandon their mangled prey; and as soon as the streets were a little cleared, some humane persons ventured to approach the scene of blood and massacre. The body of Mr. Wolfe was found quite dead, at the distance of a few yards from the place where the carriage had been stopped; but, strange to relate, his unfortunate uncle, Lord Kilwarden, still survived. His lordship was immediately carried to the nearest watch-house, where he received such assistance as could be procured, and while the vital spark still quivered on his lips, this truly great man exclaimed—"Murder must be punished, but let no man suffer for my death, but on a fair trial, and by the laws of his country." These were his last words; and they compose the noblest epitaph for his tomb.*

* ARTHUR WOLFE, Lord Viscount Kilwarden, was a native of Ireland, and had served the crown, in the usual gradations of the highest offices of the law. He became solicitor-general of Ireland when Viscount Carleton was promoted to the common pleas, and attorney-general, on the late Lord Clare's accession to the seals. The Earl of Clonmell was his lordship's immediate predecessor in his high office of chief-justice of Ireland. As crown prosecutor, during a period which unfortunately called for the frequent exercise of the duties of the

* He was colonel of the 21st fusiliers.—W. G.

About half-past 10 o'clock, the rebels were in their turn severely attacked: the mighty projects and elaborate preparations of the chiefs were all discomfited and dissipated in less than an hour, by two subaltern officers of the 21st regiment, each having about fifty men under his command. After the rebels had taken possession of certain streets, they put to death several persons in military attire, who were anxiously repairing to the rendezvous appointed for them in case of danger. While engaged in this murderous pursuit, Lieutenant Brady, with about fifty men, came unexpectedly upon the rear of the mob; and while attempting to seize the first pikeman he met, a shot was fired from an entry, by which one of his soldiers was wounded. The lieutenant, finding these acts of aggression repeated, ordered his men to fire, and in a few minutes the mob fled in every direction, leaving the lieutenant and his party completely masters of the field. A column of rebels, proceeding down Thomas street, seemed desirous to attack the light-company of the 21st under Lieutenant Douglas, and two or three shots were discharged at the soldiers, when the mob advancing as if to charge, received a volley from the troops, which obliged them to fall back; a second volley dispersed them, and after this no further attack or resistance was experienced. No return was ever made of the number of lives lost on this occasion, but the most probable conjecture is, that of soldiers and volunteers there were about twenty, and perhaps about fifty of the insurgents. Nor is it easy to form an opinion of the number of rebels in arms, though various conjectures have been made, some carrying their master roll up to three thousand, and others diminishing their force to five hundred.*

The plan of the insurrection, as developed in the papers afterwards found in the depot, embraced the whole of Ireland, a certain number of men from each parish

office, he was fair, candid, and gentle; disposed to give the accused every advantage, and always less desirous to exaggerate guilt, than to ascertain innocence. As a judge, no man ever attempted to censure him on any ground other than a strenuous, and what some considered an overstrained assertion of the liberty of the subject. He was not, from his talents and attainments, calculated to extend the limits of science, or multiply the lights of his profession, but he was really what his dying expressions bespoke him, an upright, honest man, who well knew how to appreciate law and justice, and who had fully and deeply impressed on his mind the sound maxims of both, by unwearied sedulity, and long habits in their distribution.

* I resided in the city of Dublin at that time, near to the scene of action. The number, I should suppose, did not exceed five hundred. Their pikes were of the most wretched description.—W. G.

being fixed on to march for the capital. The explosion, however, was confined to Dublin and its immediate vicinity. A schism, which divided the leaders, produced this premature attempt, one party being desirous of coming to immediate action, and the other wishing to postpone the execution of their plan, till the co-operation of a foreign force could be procured. Fortunately for the united kingdom, the weaker counsels prevailed.

The activity of the government soon discovered the depots, detected the plans, and annihilated the resources of the conspirators. At the Malt-Store, in Dirty lane, the principal of their depots, were found eight thousand pikes, and thirty-four thousand ball cartridges, besides a number of hand grenades,* and other military stores.† On the banks of the river, at a place called the Coal-Quay, a second depot was found: in the apartment where it was discovered, the wainscot had been removed to a considerable distance from the wall, and constructed so as to move like a sliding door. Behind this, was found an immense number of pikes and other weapons. In many parts of the city, and chiefly in vacant grounds, and against what are termed dead walls, boxes of pikes were discovered, formed so as to resemble logs of timber; their situation and contents being well known to the adherents of the conspirators. In Bridge-foot street, and Smithfield, was also found a quantity of clothing, among which was a magnificent suit of green and gold, evidently intended for some insurgent general. But perhaps the most material discovery was the finding of the papers connected with the insurrection, and which, as they not only pointed out the leaders of the conspiracy, but also all the places in the country, which were considered as favourable to similar movements, enabled government to take effectual means to prevent or repel any further effort on the part of the disaffected. The most remarkable of the papers found at the depot, was a proclamation or manifesto of the intended provisional government to the people of Ireland. This address was written in a turgid and inflated style, much resembling some of the papers published in the early part of the French revolution, and among other assertions stated, "that the present effort was for the

* These instruments are formed of bottles filled with powder, rusty nails, bullets, and scraps of iron, to which a fusee is fixed, and when discharged in the streets of a crowded city, they spread death and destruction in every direction.

† Speech of Sir John Wrottesley, in the house of commons, March 7th, 1804, on a motion for inquiry

development of a system which had been organized within the last eight months." It obscurely intimated that the conspiracy of Despard was a branch of the same system; and laid down as the basis of the whole, an eternal separation from British connexion; and concluded with a declamatory invective against what was termed the tyranny of England. There was also in the archives of the rebels, an address to the citizens of Dublin, and the project of a decree, by which the abolition of all tythes was announced; no transfer of debenture or public securities was to take place till the national government should be organized; the troops of the line were to be treated as prisoners of war, but the Irish militia, yeomen, and volunteers, found in arms against the republic fourteen days after the date of the decree, were made liable to suffer death by the sentence of a court-martial; and among other regulations in this decree was a provision for electing a house of representatives.

The entire failure of the rebellious enterprise of Emmett and his associates, reduced their proclamations and decrees to the standard of waste paper, and every precaution was immediately taken by the government to restore the public tranquillity. The privy council issued a proclamation, calling on the magistrates to unite their exertions with those of the military power, and offering a reward of one thousand pounds for the discovery and detection of the miscreants who murdered Lord Kilwarden. A reward was also offered to those who should discover the murderers of Lieutenant-colonel Browne; and an official notice was issued by the lord-mayor, requiring all the inhabitants of Dublin, except yeomen, to keep within doors after eight in the evening. At the same time, bills for suspending the Habeas Corpus act, and for placing Ireland under martial law, were passed with uncommon rapidity through their different stages in the parliament of the united kingdom. Arrangements were also made for sending large bodies of troops from England, and every measure which prudence could suggest, or courage execute, was immediately adopted, for the preservation of the public tranquillity. On this occasion, the Roman Catholics, with Lord Fingal at their head, came forward in the most loyal and patriotic manner, and after expressing their utmost abhorrence and detestation of the enormities committed on the 23d of July, made an offer to government of their assistance and co-operation. By these and similar exertions, the flame of rebellion was completely extinguished; and it reflects no small praise on the existing administration,

that the public peace was preserved by means perfectly constitutional, and without resorting in any one instance to the exercise of those extraordinary powers with which the legislature had seen proper to clothe the government of Ireland.

While such were the proceedings, and the issue of the insurrection in the metropolis, Russel, who had attempted to erect the standard of rebellion in the north, was completely disappointed, and it does not appear that more than twelve persons, and those of the lowest rank and most desperate character, ever entered into his treasonable designs. Disappointed in all his endeavours, he returned to Dublin soon after the 23d of July, where he remained concealed in the house of Mr. Muley, a gunsmith, till the 9th of September, when he was apprehended by the vigilance of the police, and on the following day committed to prison.

Emmett, after he had acted the general for the short space of an hour, finding himself either deserted by his army, or at the head of a mob, by whom his commands, and even his entreaties, were slighted, fled in despair and mortification from Dublin to the adjacent mountains. But here he was pursued, and obliged again to seek refuge in Dublin, where he was in about a month traced to the house of a Mrs. Palmer, and having been secured, was committed to prison. Dowdall and Allen had the good fortune to escape out of the country; but Redmond was arrested at Newry, at the moment when he was about to take his passage for America; while Quigley and Stafford, two others of the leaders, were soon afterwards taken in the interior of the country.

A special commission was issued for the trial of the rebels; and Edward Kearney, a calenderer, and Thomas Maxwell Roche, an old man, of nearly seventy years of age, were the first persons brought before this tribunal. After a patient investigation of all the circumstances of the case, both the prisoners were found guilty, and executed in Thomas street, the focus of the insurrection. Several others of their associates were also tried, found guilty, and expiated their offences with their lives. But the most important of these judicial proceedings was the trial of Robert Emmett, Esq., who was arraigned on the 19th of September, and found guilty on the clearest evidence. Before the awful sentence of the law was pronounced, Mr. Emmett addressed the court in a long and animated speech, in which he candidly avowed that it was his intention to separate Ireland from her dependence on Great Britain, and gloried in the measures he had taken to accomplish his purpose. He at the same

time solemnly disclaimed all agency or connexion with France :—

"Small indeed," exclaimed he, with impassioned energy, "must have been our claims to patriotism or to common sense; absurd indeed our professions of the love of liberty, if I and my associates could encourage the profanation of our shores by a people who are themselves slaves, and the unprincipled and abandoned instruments of imposing slavery on others. Did I live to see a French army approach this country, I would meet them with a torch in one hand and a sword in the other; I would receive them with all the destruction of war! I would animate my countrymen to immolate them in their very boats, before our native soil should have been polluted by the tread of a foreign foe. If they succeeded in landing, I would burn every blade of grass before them; raze every house, contend to the last for every inch of ground, and the spot in which the hope of freedom should desert me, that spot I would make my grave. What I cannot do, I leave as a legacy to my country, because I feel conscious that my death would be unprofitable, and all hope of liberty would be extinct, the moment a French army obtained a footing in this land." After some further observations in the same strain, he concluded thus: "My lamp of life has nearly expired; my race is finished; the grave opens to receive me, and I sink into its bosom. All I request at departing from the world, is the charity of its silence. Let no man write my epitaph, for as no man who knows my motives will dare to vindicate them, let no prejudice or ignorance asperse them; let them and me repose in obscurity and peace, and my tomb remain uninscribed, till other times and other men can do justice to my character."

At the close of this speech, Lord Norbury proceeded to pronounce the sentence of the law upon the prisoner; and the following day this misguided young man, who was at that time only in the 24th year of his age, was executed on a temporary gallows in Thomas street.

On the 20th of October, the trial of Mr. Thomas Russel came on at Downpatrick, and the charge of endeavouring to excite insurrection was proved against him by a chain of clear and incontestible evidence. On being asked if he had any thing to say why sentence of death should not be passed upon him, he addressed the court in a speech which occupied about twenty mi-

utes in the delivery, in which he took a view of the principal transactions of his life for the last thirteen years; and on a retrospective view of which, he said, he looked back with triumph and satisfaction: he endeavoured to justify what he had done by the plea that he had acted from conscientious motives; and he anxiously entreated the court that his might be the last life sacrificed on the present occasion.

Mr. Baron George then pronounced the awful sentence of the law upon the prisoner, which he listened to with the greatest composure and attention, and bowing to the court, retired with the sheriff. This fatal sentence was carried into execution on the following day at Downpatrick.

Soon after this execution, Quigley and Stafford were apprehended in the county of Galway, and were both arraigned at the commission of oyer and terminer, opened at Dublin on the 29th of October, but in consideration of their having made a full disclosure of all the circumstances connected with the conspiracy, no further proceedings were had against them, nor any of the remaining prisoners. The mildness and constitutional conduct of administration in this unhappy business excited praise from many who were politically hostile to them; and it no doubt contributed more to the restoration of tranquillity than the most rigorous and sanguinary measures. It was generally suspected at this period, that Bonaparte was the real author of this conspiracy, and that Emmett and Russel were merely his tools and agents in the business; but no evidence has ever been produced in support of this fact, and the dying declarations of Emmett directly negative the supposition; to which we may add, that the marks of precipitation, and want of arrangement evident in the plan, characterize the enterprise rather as the offspring of an enthusiastic and heated imagination, than the product of a mind like that of the first consul, cool, lucid, and calculating.

CHAPTER XXIV.

NEGOTIATIONS: Complaints of the French Government against the Countenance given in Great Britain to French Emigrants, and against the Abuse poured upon the First Consul by the Newspaper Press—Reply—Lord Whitworth appointed Ambassador to the Court of Paris, and General Andreossi to the Court of London—Discussion relating to the Evacuation of Malta—Abstract of Colonel Sebastiani's Report (note)—Lord Whitworth's Interview with the First Consul in his Cabinet—Negotiations continued—His Majesty's Message, announcing Preparations in the Ports of France and Holland—Lord Whitworth's Interview with the First Consul at the Levee—Correspondence between Lord Hawkesbury and General Andreossi—Project of the English Government—*Ultimatum*—Rejected by the French Government—Unsuccessful Issue of the Negotiations.

THE treaty of Amiens, which had not yet attained its first anniversary, was now, from a variety of causes, fast approaching to its dissolution. It was evident, almost from the moment of the conclusion of the treaty, that the external relations of peace were unaccompanied with that spirit of amity which can alone render peace desirable, or the intercourse between two countries reciprocally beneficial. After so long a contest, imbibed more than ordinary wars by personal rancour, and conducted in a manner of which history affords no example, it was indeed natural that a considerable degree of agitation should prevail, and that there should remain some feelings of resentment, both in the people and in their governors. These feelings it appeared to be the interest and the duty of the two governments gradually to allay by mild and temperate conduct, and above all, cautiously to abstain from every thing calculated to produce irritation, and excite jealousy and distrust. But unhappily for the interests of humanity, this was not the policy pursued either by Great Britain or France. In this country, the treaty of Amiens was represented as fatal to England, because it was not disgraceful to France; and the British ministry and the French government were assailed by every species of attack; even in parliament, the French government was represented as plotting the destruction of this country, and their negotiators at Amiens were designated by a noble senator, as "adepts in duplicity, regardless of principle, and unpractised in virtue;"* and this indecent language, thus authorized by the highest example, soon descended into general use, and prevailed both the senate and the press of Great Britain.

The first consul of France, on the other hand, actuated by a narrow and vindictive policy, hastened to promulgate an obsolete edict against British commerce, seized a number of English vessels, which had, in

the imaginary security of the restoration of the relations of peace, repaired to the ports of France, and perseveringly refused to satisfy the recognised claims of British subjects. This conduct, at once irritating and uncalled for, did not fail to produce ungracious discussions between the two governments, almost as early as the date of the treaty; and in stating the nature of those discussions, the objects of the respective governments will be developed, the justice of their professed desire to preserve the relations of peace and amity ascertained, and the causes of the disastrous war in which Europe was again speedily to be involved, made manifest.

So early as the 4th of June, 1802, a verbal complaint was made by M. Talleyrand, to the British minister, Mr. Merry, resident at Paris, relating to several circumstances which, he said, stood in the way of that perfect reconciliation and good understanding between the two governments, which it was the first consul's sincere wish to see re-established.* M. Talleyrand then proceeded to state, that it was the wish of the first consul, that his majesty's government might be disposed to remove out of the British dominions all the French princes and their adherents, together with the French bishops, and other French individuals, whose political principles and conduct must necessarily occasion great jealousy to the French government; and concluded by saying, that he thought the residence of Louis XVIII. was now the proper place for that of the rest of his family. To these intimations, it was, on the part of the British government, replied, that his majesty "should certainly expect, that all foreigners who may reside within his dominions, should not only hold a conduct conformable to the laws of the country, but should abstain from all acts which may be hostile to the government of any other country, with which his majesty may be at peace. As long, however, as they conduct-

* See Lord Caernarvon's Speech on the Definitive Treaty.

* See Despatch from Mr. Merry to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, June 4th, 1802.

ed themselves according to these principles, his majesty would feel it inconsistent with his dignity, with his honour, and with the common laws of hospitality, to deprive them of that protection, which individuals resident in his dominions could forfeit only by their own misconduct." This topic was again resumed by M. Talleyrand on the 16th of June, when he observed, that the first consul had solicited no more than the British government itself had, at the time, demanded of France when the pretender was in that country; and that the removal of the French princes and their adherents out of the British dominions would be in the highest degree agreeable and satisfactory to the first consul, and be considered by him as a most convincing proof of his majesty's disposition to see a cordial good understanding established between the two countries.

Another cause of complaint was speedily brought forward by M. Otto: in a letter from that minister, addressed to Lord Hawkesbury, on the 25th of July, he complained of the reiterated insults conveyed through the medium of the press, by a small number of foreigners, assembled in London: adding, "It is not to Peltier alone, but to the editor of the *Courier François de Londres*, to Cobbett, and to other writers who resemble them, that I have to direct the attention of his majesty's government. The perfidious and malevolent publications of these men, are in open contradiction to peace." To which, Lord Hawkesbury replied: "That it was impossible that his majesty's government could peruse the publication of Peltier without the greatest displeasure, and without an anxious desire that the person who published it should suffer the punishment he so justly deserved; and that although, under a constitution like that of Great Britain, it was impossible to prevent the abuse often unavoidably attendant on the greatest of all political benefits (the liberty of the press), yet in the present case he had thought it his duty to refer the article in Peltier's journal to his majesty's attorney-general."*

These explanations, satisfactory as they will appear to the mind of every Englishman, failed to produce that effect upon the head of the French government; and in a note to Lord Hawkesbury, under date of the 17th of August, the subjects under discussion were formed into a regular series, and M. Otto was, as he stated, ordered to solicit:

1st. "That his majesty's government will adopt the most effectual measures to put a stop to the unbecoming and seditious publications, with which

the newspapers and writings printed in England are filled.

2d. "That the individuals mentioned in the undersigned minister's letter of the 23d of July last, shall be sent out of the island of Jersey.

3d. "That the former Bishops of Arras and St. Pol de Leon, and all those who like them, under the pretext of religion, seek to raise disturbances in the interior of France, shall likewise be sent away.

4th. "That Georges and his adherents shall be transported to Canada, according to the intention which the undersigned has been directed to transmit to his government by Lord Hawkesbury.

5th. "That, in order to deprive the evil disposed of every pretext for disturbing the good understanding between the two governments, it shall be recommended to the princes of the house of Bourbon, at present in Great Britain, to repair to Warsaw, the residence of the head of their family.

6th. "That such of the French emigrants as still think proper to wear the orders and decorations belonging to the ancient government of France, shall be requested to quit the territory of the British empire."

To which propositions, M. Otto added: "These demands are founded upon the treaty of Amiens, and upon the verbal assurances which the French minister had had the satisfaction to receive, in the course of the negotiations, with regard to the mutual agreement for maintaining tranquillity and good order in the two countries."

Lord Hawkesbury, in his reply, says: "It is impossible not to feel considerable surprise at the circumstances under which it has been thought proper to present the above note; at the style in which it is drawn up; and at the complaints it contains. It has hence become of the utmost importance that a frank explanation should be made of the line of conduct which his majesty has determined to adopt, on reasons of the nature of those to which this note refers, and of the motives on which it is founded."

"The propositions," adds his lordship, "in M. Otto's official note are six in number; but may, in fact, be divided into two heads: the first, that which relates to libels of all descriptions which are alleged to be published against the French government: the last comprehending the five complaints which relate to the emigrants resident in this country. As to the first, his majesty cannot, and never will, in consequence of any representation, or any menace, from a foreign power, make any concession which can be in the smallest degree dangerous to the liberty of the press, as secured by the constitution of this country. This liberty is justly dear to every British subject. The constitution admits of no previous restraints upon publications of any description; but there exist judicatures wholly independent of the executive government,

* See Book II. Chap. XXIII. p. 416.

capable of taking cognizance of such publications as the law deems to be criminal, and which are bound to inflict the punishments the delinquents may deserve; these judicatures may take cognizance, not only of libels against the government and the magistracy of this kingdom, but, as has been repeatedly experienced, of publications defamatory to those in whose hands the administration of foreign governments is placed."

With respect to the complaints under the second head, the French government are informed,

"First, that the emigrants in Jersey, many of whom have remained there solely on account of the cheapness of subsistence, have actually removed, or were removing, previous to the representation contained in M. Otto's note, and that, before this explanation can take place, there will probably not be an emigrant in the island.

"To the second complaint, which relates to the Bishops of Arras and St Pol de Leon, and others, his majesty can only reply, that if the fact alleged against them can be substantiated; if it can be proved that they have distributed papers on the coast of France, with a view of disturbing the government, and of inducing the people to resist the new church establishment, his majesty would think himself justified in taking all measures within his power to oblige them to leave the country.

"On the third complaint which respects the removal of Georges, and those persons supposed to be his adherents, measures are in contemplation, and will be taken, for the purpose of removing them out of his majesty's European dominions.

"On the fourth complaint, respecting the princes of the house of Bourbon, his majesty has no desire that they should continue to reside in this country, if they are disposed, or can be induced to quit it; but he feels it to be inconsistent with his honour, and his sense of justice, to withdraw from them the rites of hospitality, so long as they conduct themselves peaceably and quietly; and unless some charge can be substantiated of their attempting to disturb the peace which subsists between the two governments.

"With respect to the fifth complaint, which relates to the French emigrants wearing, in this country, the orders of their ancient government; there are few, if any, persons of that description in this country. It might be more proper if they abstained from it; but the French government could not persist in expecting, that, even if it were consistent with law, his majesty should be induced to commit so harsh an act of authority, as to send them out of the country on such an account."

From this period, to the end of the month of October, the official correspondence relates principally to the interference of France in the affairs of the Helvetic republic, to the continuance of French troops in Holland, and to the applications made to the courts of St Petersburg, Vienna, and Berlin to guarantee the independence of Malta, conformably to the tenth article of the treaty of Amiens. From the first portion of this part of the correspondence, it appears, that Mr. Moore, an accredited

agent from the British government, was ordered to repair to Constance, in order to ascertain the disposition of the people of Switzerland regarding the act of mediation proposed by Bonaparte; but on receiving information, immediately on his arrival, of the submission of the diet of Switzerland, assembled at Schwitz, to the French arms, he left that country, conformably to his instructions, and repaired again to England. On the second point, a despatch from Mr. Liston to Lord Hawkesbury, dated from the Hague on the 29th of October, announces that a French corps of between ten and eleven thousand men, who were to have been withdrawn from Holland on the conclusion of the definitive treaty with Great Britain, still remain in that country, and that it is the intention of the Dutch government to make application to the principal powers of Europe to entreat their intervention and good offices with a view to the maintenance of the independence of the republic. From a series of despatches which relate to the guarantee of the island of Malta, Austria, it appeared, immediately transmitted an act of guarantee and accession to that part of the treaty of Amiens; Prussia professed to take a very slight interest in the fate of that island; and Russia consented to become one of the guarantees on certain conditions, meant the more effectually to secure the independence and neutrality of the island, both in time of war and during the period of peace.

In the mean time, Lord Whitworth had repaired to Paris, in the capacity of British minister at the court of the Tuileries, and M. Otto was at the same time superseded by General Andreossi at the court of St. James's. The first published despatch from Lord Hawkesbury to Lord Whitworth, dated November 30, relates to a complaint made against England of delaying the fulfilment of one of the conditions of the treaty of Amiens, which provides for the evacuation of Egypt; on this subject, his lordship is instructed to state, that although General Stuart had signified to Colonel Sebastiani his inability to evacuate Egypt until he should receive specific orders for that purpose, yet that this delay has arisen entirely from a misunderstanding on the part of the general; and that, to obviate all further difficulties, instructions have been sent to General Stuart, directing him to remove the king's troops from Egypt with as little delay as possible.

The next despatch in the series laid before parliament, is from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, the 27th of January, 1803. This communication

consisted of a report of a conversation which had taken place, on the Tuesday preceding, between Lord Whitworth and M. Talleyrand; and related to two points, both, as the latter observed, equally important to the maintenance of good harmony between the two countries: the first concerned the English newspapers, against which the French minister pronounced a most bitter philippic, and assured Lord Whitworth that the first consul was extremely hurt to find that his endeavours to conciliate had hitherto produced no other effect than to increase the abuse with which those papers continually loaded him; and at this he was the more highly incensed, as the abuse came from a country of whose good opinion the chief consul was so very ambitious. To which, his lordship replied, that whatever was said in the English papers might be considered but as a retaliation for what was published in the French papers—secondly, that what was officially published in France, was by no means so in England; and thirdly, that although the government possessed a control over the press in France, the English government neither had, nor could have, unless they purchased it at the same price, any whatever in England. M. Talleyrand persisted in his opinion, that his majesty's ministers might keep certain papers in order, as Lord Whitworth did in assuring him, that until the first consul could so far master his feelings as to be indifferent to the scurrility of the English prints, as the English government was to that which daily appeared in the French, this state of irritation was irremediable. On the second point, the evacuation of Malta, the French minister was directed to inquire, what were his majesty's intentions regarding it? He said that another grand-master would now be very soon elected; that all the powers of Europe, invited so to do, with the exception of Russia, whose difficulties it was easy to remove, and without whom the guarantee would be equally complete, were ready to come forward; and that, consequently, the time would very soon arrive when Great Britain could have no pretext for keeping longer possession. To which, Lord Whitworth replied, that he would report this conversation to the English secretary of state for foreign affairs, and would communicate the answer to the French minister as soon as it was received.

On the subject of Malta, the British minister was directed to reply,* "That the late treaty of peace was negotiated on a

basis not merely proposed by his majesty, but specially agreed to in an official note by the French government, viz. that his majesty should keep a compensation out of his conquests for the important acquisitions of territory made by France upon the continent; and if the interference of the French government in the general affairs of Europe since that period; if their interposition with respect to Switzerland and Holland, whose independence was guaranteed by them at the time of the conclusion of the treaty of peace; if the annexations which had been made to France in various quarters, but particularly those in Italy, have extended the territory and increased the power of the French government; his majesty would be warranted, consistently with the spirit of the treaty of peace, in claiming equivalents for these acquisitions, as a counterpoise to the augmentation of the power of France. His majesty, however, anxious to prevent all grounds of misunderstanding, and desirous of consolidating the general peace of Europe as far as might be his power, was willing to have waived the pretensions he might have a right to advance of this nature, if the attention of his majesty's government had not been attracted by the very extraordinary publication of the report of Colonel Sebastiani to the first consul.*

* COLONEL SEBASTIANI'S REPORT.

The report of Colonel Sebastiani, submitted to the chief consul, and inserted in the *Moniteur* of the 30th of January, 1803, consists of observations made in discharge of a mission, undertaken by order of the French government, to the principal cities of Egypt and Syria. The remarks of Colonel Sebastiani are more military than commercial, and his report abounds with compliments paid in every stage of his journey to the first consul. "The Egyptian astrologers," says this republican courtier, "make predictions every day, on what concerns the first consul." "In Egypt, chiefs, merchants, people, all like to talk of the first consul—all offer up prayers for his happiness. All the news which concerns him spreads from Alexandria or Damietta to the pyramids and the Grand Cataracts with astonishing rapidity." Even Djezzar, the Pacha of Acre, was found to have conceived a high esteem for the French, and in speaking of Bonaparte, is represented by Colonel Sebastiani to have said, "In stature, Bonaparte is small but he is nevertheless the greatest of mankind. I know that he is deeply regretted at Cairo, where they wish to see him again!" On the 16th of October, 1803, Colonel Sebastiani arrived at Alexandria, and on the same day he waited upon General Stuart, commandant of the English forces by sea and land: "I communicated to him," says the report, "the order of the minister for foreign affairs, which enjoined me to proceed to Alexandria, and if the English still occupied that place, to demand a speedy evacuation, and the execution of the treaty of Amiens. General Stuart then told me, that the evacuation of the place would shortly be effected; but seeing that I insisted, and that I desired an answer less vague, he declared to me that he had no orders from his court to quit Alexandria, and that he even believed he should pass

* See Lord Hawkesbury's despatch to Lord Whitworth, dated February 9th, 1803.

This report contained the most unjustifiable insinuations and charges against the officer who commanded his majesty's forces in Egypt, and against the British army in that quarter. His majesty could not therefore regard the conduct of the French government, on various occasions, since the conclusion of the definitive treaty, the insinuations and charges contained in the report of Colonel Sebastiani, and the views which that report disclosed, without feeling it necessary for him distinctly to declare, that it would be impossible for him to enter into any further discussion relative to Malta, unless he received satisfactory explanation on the subject of this communication."

To these representations, M. Talleyrand replied, that the jealousy felt by England on the score of Egypt, with a view to her possessions in India, was natural; but he could not admit that any thing had appeared in the conduct of the French government in justification of the alarm expressed

the winter there. General Stuart," continues the colonel, "is a man of *mediocre* talents; he has for his aide-de-camp a French emigrant, called the Chevalier de Sades, a man of talents, and an enemy to France, who has much influence over the general." "The English army in Egypt," says Colonel Sebastiani, towards the close of his report, "consists of 4430 men. They wholly and exclusively occupy Alexandria and the neighbouring forts, and the Turks who formed the garrison of some of these forts have been removed. The Pacha of Cairo furnishes to the English army, corn, rice, wood, and provisions, without any payment. The consumption is treble what it should be: they commit great waste. A great misunderstanding reigns between General Stuart and the Pacha. The Turkish army amounts to about 16,000 men. The Pacha of Alexandria is, as one may say, a prisoner with the English. The Turkish soldiers are without discipline, and their officers are destitute of the first principles of the military art. Six thousand French would at present be enough to conquer Egypt." "D'Jezzar's army at present consists of from 13,000 to 14,000 men, of which 9000 are employed in the siege of Jaffa. The weakest part of the fort of Acre is towards the sea, and particularly the point which defends the entrance to the port. The English wished to interfere as mediators between the Emir and D'Jezzar, but the latter refused their mediation." On announcing to the Captain Bey, commander of the forces of the Ottoman Porte at Alexandria, that the agents of French commerce would assemble in Egypt: "This communication," says Colonel Sebastiani, "gave them the greatest pleasure, and they did not conceal that they saw with grief the end of the English in their country. D'Jezzar too said, that he should himself be the French commissary at Acre, and should take care that their countrymen were well received; he desired that the commissary sent by the first consul should reside at Seide, as that was the most commercial part of his dominions." Such are the materials that form the memorable report of Colonel Sebastiani—memorable as one of the ostensible causes of that war by which Europe was soon again to be desolated.

by Lord Whitworth. After repeating what he had said in a former conversation on the subject of Sebastiani's mission, which he asserted to be strictly commercial, he expatiated at great length on the sincere desire of the first consul to maintain inviolable the peace which had been so lately concluded; adding, that were not this desire of peace in the first consul an effect of system, it would be imperiously dictated to him by the state of his finances; and concluded by desiring to know what was the nature and degree of satisfaction which his majesty would require? On this Lord Whitworth replied, that he could not pretend to say by what means those apprehensions, which the conduct of the French government had raised in England, were to be allayed; but he could assure him, that, in the discussion of them, the British government would be animated solely by a sincere desire to be convinced of the truth of his assertions, since on that depended the peace and happiness of Europe.

The negotiations had now assumed a most portentous aspect, when the chief consul, departing from the usual course of diplomatic communication, requested a conference with the British minister, the particulars of which, as reported by the latter, claim, from their importance and singularity, to be given entire in the annals of the times.

Despatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, Feb. 31st, 1803.

"My despatch, in which I gave your lordship an account of my conference with M. de Talleyrand, was scarcely gone, when I received a note from him, informing me that the first consul wished to converse with me, and desired that I would come to him at the Tuileries, at nine o'clock. He received me in his cabinet with tolerable cordiality, and after talking on different subjects for a few minutes, he desired me to sit down, as he himself did on the other side of the table. He began the conversation with saying, that he felt it necessary, after what had passed between me and M. Talleyrand, that he should, in the most clear and authentic manner, make known his sentiments to me, in order to their being communicated to his majesty; and he conceived this would be more effectually done by himself than through any medium whatever. He said, that it was a matter of infinite disappointment to him, that the treaty of Amiens, instead of being followed by conciliation and friendship, the natural effects of peace, had been productive only of continual and increasing jealousy and distrust; and that this mistrust was now avowed in such a manner as must bring the point to an issue.

"He now enumerated the several provocations which he pretended to have received from England. He placed in the first line our not evacuating Malta and Alexandria, as we were bound to do by treaty. In this he said that no consideration on earth should make him acquiesce; and of the two, he had rather see us in possession of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine than Malta. He then adverted to the abuse thrown out against him in the English public prints; but this he said he did not

so much regard, as that which appeared in the French papers published in London. This he considered as much more mischievous, since it was meant to excite the people of France against him and his government. He complained of the protection given to Georges, and others of his description, who, instead of being sent to Canada, as had been repeatedly promised, were permitted to remain in England handsomely pensioned, and were constantly committing all sorts of crimes on the coasts of France, as well as in the interior. In confirmation of this, he told me that two men had, within these few days, been apprehended in Normandy, and were now on their way to Paris, who were hired assassins, and employed by the Bishop of Arras, by the Baron de Rolle, by Georges, and by Duthell, as would be fully proved in a court of justice, and made known to all the world.

"He acknowledged that the irritation he felt against England increased daily, because every wind (I make use as much as I can of his own ideas and expressions) brought nothing but enmity and hatred against him.

"He now referred back to Egypt, and told me, that if he had felt the smallest inclination to take possession of it by force, he might have done it a month ago, by sending twenty-five thousand men to Aboukir, who would have possessed themselves of the whole country, in defiance of the four thousand British in Alexandria. That instead of that garrison being a means of protecting Egypt, it was only furnishing him with a pretext for invading it. *This he should not do, whatever might be his desire to have it as a colony, because he did not think it worth the risk of a war, in which he might, perhaps, be considered as the aggressor, and by which he should lose more than he should gain, since, sooner or later, Egypt would belong to France, either by the falling in pieces of the Turkish empire, or by some arrangement with the porte.*

"As a proof of his desire to maintain peace, he wished to know what he had to gain by going to war with England. A descent was the only means of offence he had, and that he was determined to attempt, by putting himself at the head of the expedition. But how could it be supposed, that after having gained the height on which he stood, he would risk his life and reputation in such a hazardous attempt, unless forced to it by necessity, when the chances were that he and the greatest part of the expedition would go to the bottom of the sea. The first consul talked much on the subject, but never affected to diminish the danger. He acknowledged that there were one hundred chances to one against him; but still he was determined to attempt it, if war should be the consequence of the present discussion; and that such was the disposition of the troops, that army after army would be found for the expedition.

"He then expatiated much on the natural force of the two countries. France, with an army of four hundred and eighty thousand men (for to this amount he said it was to be immediately completed), all ready for the most desperate enterprises; and England, with a fleet, which made her mistress of the seas, and which he did not think he should be able to equal in less than ten years. Two such countries, by a proper understanding, might govern the world, but by their strife might overturn it. He said, if it had not been for the enmity of the British government, on every occasion since the treaty of Amiens, there would have been nothing that he would not have done to prove his desire to conciliate; participation in indemnities as well as influence on the continent; treaties of commerce; in short, any thing that could have given satisfaction, and have testi-

fied his friendship. Nothing, however, had been able to conquer the hatred of the British government, and therefore it was now come to the point whether we should have peace or war. To preserve peace, the treaty of Amiens must be fulfilled; the abuse in the public prints, if not totally suppressed, at least kept within bounds, and confined to the English papers; and the protection so openly given to his bitterest enemies, alluding to Georges, and persons of that description, must be withdrawn. If war was chosen, it was only necessary to say so, and to refuse to fulfil the treaty. He now made the tour of Europe to prove to me, that, in its present state, there was no power with which we could coalesce for the purpose of making war against France; consequently, it was our interest to gain time, and if we had any point to gain, renew the war when circumstances were more favourable. He said it was not doing him justice to suppose, that he conceived himself above the opinion of his country or of Europe. He would not risk uniting Europe against him by any violent act of aggression; neither was he so powerful in France as to persuade the nation to go to war, unless on good grounds. He said, that he had not chastised the Algerines, from his unwillingness to excite the jealousy of other powers, but he hoped that England, Russia, and France, would one day feel that it was their interest to destroy such a nest of thieves, and force them to live rather by cultivating their land than by plunder.

"In the little that I said to him, for he gave me in the course of two hours but very few opportunities of saying a word, I confined myself strictly to the tenor of your lordship's instructions. I urged them in the same manner as I had done to M. de Talleyrand; and dwelt as strongly as I could on the sensation which the publication of Sebastiani's report had created in England, where the views of France towards Egypt must always command the utmost vigilance and jealousy. The first consul, in reply, urged, that what ought to convince us of his desire of peace, was, on the one hand, the little he had to gain by renewing the war and on the other, the facility with which he might have taken possession of Egypt with the very ships and troops which were now going from the Mediterranean to St. Domingo; and that with the approbation of all Europe, and more particularly of the Turks, who had repeatedly invited him to join with them, for the purpose of forcing us to evacuate their territory.

"I do not pretend to follow the arguments of the first consul in detail; this would be impossible from the vast variety of matter which he took occasion to introduce. His purpose was evidently, to convince me, that on Malta must depend peace or war, and at the same time to impress upon my mind a strong idea of the means he possessed of annoying us at home and abroad.

"With regard to the mistrust and jealousy which he said constantly prevailed, since the conclusion of the treaty of Amiens, I observed, that after a war of such long duration; so full of rancour, and carried on in a manner of which history has no example, it was but natural that a considerable degree of agitation should prevail; but this, like the swell after a storm, would gradually subside, if not kept up by the policy of either party; that I would not pretend to pronounce which had been the aggressor in the paper war of which he complained, and which was still kept up, though with this difference, that in England it was independent of government, and in France its very act and deed. To this I added, that it must be admitted, that we had such motives of mistrust against France as could not be alleged against us, and I

was going to instance the accession of territory and influence gained by France since the treaty, when he interrupted me by saying, I suppose you mean Piedmont and Switzerland; "*ce son des bagatelles*"* and it must have been foreseen while the negotiation was pending; "*Vous n'avez pas le droit d'en parler a cette heure.*"† I then alleged, as a cause of mistrust and jealousy, the impossibility of obtaining justice, or any kind of redress, for any of his majesty's subjects. He asked me in what respect, and I told him, that since the signing of the treaty, not one British claimant had been satisfied, although every Frenchman of that description had been so, within one month after that period; and that since I had been here, and I could say as much of my predecessors, not one satisfactory answer had been obtained to the innumerable representations which we had been under the necessity of making in favour of British subjects and property detained in the several ports of France and elsewhere, without even a shadow of justice; such an order of things, I said, was not calculated to inspire confidence, but, on the contrary, must create mistrust. This, he said, must be attributed to the natural difficulties attending such suits, when both parties thought themselves right; but he denied that such delays could proceed from disinclination to do what was just and right.

"With regard to the pensions which were granted to French or Swiss individuals, I observed, that they were given as a reward for past services during the war, and most certainly not for the present ones, and still less for such as he had insinuated, of a nature repugnant to the feelings of every individual in England, and to the universally acknowledged loyalty and honour of the British government. That as for any participation of indemnities, or other accessions which his majesty might have obtained, I could take upon myself to assure him, that his majesty's ambition led him rather to preserve than acquire. And that with regard to the most propitious moment of renewing hostilities, his majesty, whose sincere desire it was to continue the blessings of peace to his subjects, would always consider such a measure as the greatest calamity; but, that if his majesty was so desirous of peace, it must not be imputed to the difficulty of obtaining allies; and the less so, as those means which it might be necessary to afford such allies, for perhaps inadequate services, would all be concentrated in England, and give a proportionate increase of energy to our own exertions.

"At this part of the conversation he rose from his chair, and told me that he should give orders to General Andreossi to enter on the discussion of this business with your lordship; but he wished that I should at the same time be acquainted with his motives, and convinced of his sincerity, rather from himself than from his ministers. He then, after a conversation of two hours, during the greatest part of which he talked incessantly, conversed for a few moments on indifferent subjects in apparent good humour, and retired.

"Such was, as nearly as I can recollect, the purport of this conference.

"It must however be observed, that he did not, as M. Talleyrand had done, affect to attribute Colonel Sebastiani's mission to commercial motives only, but as one rendered necessary, in a military point of view, by the infraction by us of the treaty of Amiens.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"WHITWORTH."

The British minister, in his instructions to Lord Whitworth on the subject of this conference, recapitulated all the reasons which precluded the evacuation of Malta, in pursuance of the stipulations of the peace of Amiens.—"With regard to that article of the treaty which relates to Malta," says Lord Hawkesbury, "the stipulations contained in it (owing to circumstances which it was not in the power of his majesty to control) have not been found capable of execution. The refusal of Russia to accede to the arrangement, except on the condition that the Maltese *langue* should be abolished;—the silence of the court of Berlin, with respect to the invitation that has been made to it, in consequence of that treaty, to become a guarantee power;—the abolition of the Spanish priories, in defiance of the treaty, to which the King of Spain is a party; the declaration of the Portuguese government of their intention to sequester the property of the Portuguese priory, as forming a part of the Spanish *langue*, unless the property of the Spanish priories is restored to them; the non-election of a grand-master: these circumstances, without any other special cause, would have been sufficient to have warranted his majesty in suspending the evacuation of the island, until some new arrangement could be adjusted for its security and independence: But when it is considered how greatly the dominion, power, and influence of France have of late been extended, his majesty must feel that he has an incontestible right, conformably to the principles on which the treaty of peace was negotiated and concluded, to demand additional securities, in any new arrangement which it might be necessary to make with a view of effecting the real objects of that treaty. And these considerations, sufficient as they might be in themselves, have received additional force from the views which France has recently and unreservedly manifested."

Lord Whitworth, in pursuance of these instructions, made a communication to M. Talleyrand on the subject, on the 4th of March, on which occasion he recapitulated the arguments contained in his instructions, dwelling particularly on the open avowal of the first consul's views on Egypt; and concluding with the resolution of his majesty not to withdraw his troops from Malta, until some security should be given, that, by so doing, his majesty should not expose the safety of his dominions. This communication was received with much patience by the French minister, who endeavoured to convince Lord Whitworth that there was no foundation whatever for the apprehensions entertained by the Bri-

* "Mere trifles."

† "You have no right to speak of it now."

tish government, and inquired very pointedly what security would be required, that the first consul could give? To which, Lord Whitworth replied, that must be the subject of the negotiation.

At this period of the correspondence, a circumstance arose which gave a very hostile turn to the negotiations, and indicated their unfavourable result. On the 8th of March, a message from his Britannic majesty, of which the following is a copy, was sent to the house of commons, and another of similar import to the lords:

“G. R.

“His majesty thinks it necessary to acquaint the house of commons, that as very considerable military preparations are carrying on in the ports of France and Holland, he has judged it expedient to adopt additional measures of precaution for the security of his dominions. Though the preparations to which his majesty refers, are avowedly directed to colonial service, yet as discussions of great importance are now subsisting between his majesty and the French government, the result of which must be uncertain at present; his majesty is induced to make this communication to his faithful commons, in the full persuasion, that whilst they partake of his majesty's earnest and unavailing solicitude for the continuance of peace, he may rely with perfect confidence on their public spirit, and liberality, to enable his majesty to adopt such measures as circumstances may seem to require for supporting the honour of the crown, and the essential interests of his people.”

This message was immediately transmitted to Lord Whitworth, who was instructed to assure the French government of his majesty's wish for the preservation of peace: M. Talleyrand assured his lordship that there was no foundation whatever for the alarm that was felt by the British government; that the first consul was pacific; that he had no thoughts whatever of attacking his majesty's dominions, unless forced to do so by a commencement of hostilities on his part; but that he should always consider the *refusal to evacuate Malta as such a commencement of hostilities*; and that, as we had hitherto hesitated to do so, he was justified in adopting the measures which might eventually be necessary.

M. Talleyrand, after an interview with the first consul, in which he acquainted him with the message of his Britannic majesty, had a further conference with Lord Whitworth, in which he stated to his lordship, that though the first consul had been highly irritated at the unjust suspicions which his majesty's government entertained, yet he would not allow himself to be so far mastered by his feelings as to lose sight of the calamities which the present discussion might entail upon humanity. M. Talleyrand concluded by presenting his lordship with a memorandum, which he

had that morning drawn up with the first consul, giving his lordship permission to transmit it to England, if he thought proper. This *Note Verbale* stated in substance, that if his Britannic majesty in his message meant to speak of the expedition of Helvoetsluys, all the world knew that it was destined for America; but that in consequence of his majesty's message, it must be countermanded; that if the armaments in England actually took place, it would be natural for the first consul to march twenty thousand troops to Holland; to form an encampment on the frontiers of Hanover; to embark additional troops for America; to form several camps at Calais; to continue a French army in Switzerland; to send a French force into Italy; and as England was arming, and arming with so much publicity, to put the armies of France on the war establishment—a step so important as could not fail to agitate all Europe.

The result of all these movements, continued the *Note Verbale*, “will be to irritate the two countries still more. France will have been compelled to take all these precautions in consequence of the English armaments, and nevertheless every means will be taken to excite the English nation, by the assertion that France meditates an invasion. The whole British population will be obliged to put themselves under arms for their defence, and their export trade will, even before the war, be in a state of stagnation throughout the whole extent of the countries occupied by the French arms. The experience of nations, and the course of events, prove, that the distance between such a state of things and actual hostility is unfortunately not remote. As to the difference, of which mention is made in his Britannic majesty's message, we know not of any that we have with England; for it cannot be imagined that a serious intention can have existed in England of evading the execution of the treaty of Amiens under the protection of a military armament. Europe well knows that it is possible to attempt the dismemberment of France, but not to intimidate her.”

Two days after this conference with Talleyrand, the British minister had that interview with the first consul, which has been so differently represented, and with such improbable exaggerations; the following relation of it is from Lord Whitworth himself:—

Despatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, March 14th, 1803.

“The messenger, Mason, went on Saturday with my despatches of that date, and until yester

day (Sunday) I saw no one likely to give me further information such as I could depend on, as to the effect which his majesty's message had produced on the first consul. At the court which was held at the Tuileries on that day, he accosted me evidently under very considerable agitation. He began by asking me if I had any news from England. I told him that I had received a letter from England two days ago. He immediately said, "And so you are determined to go to war?"—"No," I replied, "we are too sensible of the advantages of peace."—"We have," said he, "already waged war these fifteen years." As he seemed to wait for an answer, I observed only, "That is already too long."—"But," said he, "you wish to carry it on for fifteen years more, and you force me to do it." I told him that was very far from his majesty's intention. He then proceeded to Count Markoff and the Chevalier Azara, who were standing together at a little distance from me, and said to them, "The English wish for war; but if they be the first to draw the sword, I shall be the last to sheath it. They have no regard for treaties. We must henceforth cover them with shame." He then went his round. In a few minutes, he came back, and resumed the conversation, if such it can be called, by something personally civil to me. He began again, "For what reason are those armaments? Against whom are those measures of precaution? I have not a single ship of the line in the ports of France; but if you will arm, I shall arm likewise; if you will go to war, I shall go to war also. You may perhaps be able to destroy France, but never to intimidate her."—"We do not desire," said I, "either the one or the other: we wish to live in good understanding with her."—"It is requisite then to pay regard to treaties," replied he: "we to those who pay no regard to treaties: they will be responsible for it to all Europe." He was too much agitated to make it advisable for me to prolong the conversation. I therefore made no answer, and he returned to his apartment repeating the last phrase. It is to be remarked, that all this passed loud enough to be overheard by two hundred people that were present; and I am persuaded that there was not a single person who did not feel the extreme impropriety of his conduct, and the total want of dignity as well as of decency on this occasion.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

"WHITWORTH."

This intemperate departure from the established usages of diplomatic intercourse, was very far from promoting conciliation. The first time that Lord Whitworth saw M. Talleyrand, his excellency related to that minister what had passed between him and the first consul, intimating, that unless he could have from him an assurance of not being exposed to a repetition of the same disagreeable circumstances, he should be under the necessity of discontinuing his visits to the Tuileries. M. Talleyrand assured his excellency, that it was very far from the first consul's intention to distress him; but he had felt himself personally insulted by the charges brought against him by the English government, and that it was incumbent on him to take the first opportunity of exculpating himself, in the presence of the ministers of the different powers of Europe.

After this apology for the conduct of the first consul, M. Talleyrand assured his lordship that nothing similar would in future occur.

Whilst these transactions were taking place at the court of the Tuileries, negotiations on the same subject were carried on between the French minister Andreossi and Lord Hawkesbury, in London. Two days after the delivery of the king's message, General Andreossi presented a note to Lord Hawkesbury, requiring some explanation respecting the protracted occupation of Malta by the English troops, and pressing particularly the article of the treaty which provided for the evacuation within three months. In answer to this note, the British minister justified the delay on the ground of the aggressions of France, and the increase of power and influence obtained by her since the execution of the definitive treaty, and the impossibility of having, in the existing order of things, a sufficient guarantee for the future independence of that island.

On the 29th of March, General Andreossi delivered to Lord Hawkesbury an official note, in answer to the preceding reply of the British minister, in which he says; "His majesty believes that his kingdom is menaced by preparations made in the ports of Holland and France. He has been deceived; the first consul has made no preparations. There were at the time of the message but two frigates in the roads of Holland, and but three corvettes in the roads of Dunkirk." In this note, the French minister complains of the precipitation of the British court in appealing to arms without previously demanding explanation; and asserts that there were no discussions pending; that the power of France had not increased since the peace; that the first consul considered it his glory to have been taken in an unprovided state for war; and adds that, since the message, he has given no orders, he has made no dispositions, no preparations, and that he will continue in this system of honest frankness, until his Britannic majesty has reflected fully on the part he proposes to take. After adverting again to the calumnies in the English newspapers, and complaining of the continued residence of Georges and his associates in Great Britain, he mentions the report of Colonel Sebastiani, which had occasioned so much disquietude to the British government, and accounts for the publication of that report, by observing, that "a colonel in the English army* had published a work in England, filled with the most atrocious and

* Sir Robert Wilson.

disgusting calumnies against the French army and its general." "The lies it contains," says General Andreossi, "have been contradicted by the reception which Colonel Sebastiani experienced. The publicity of his report was at once a refutation and a reparation which the French army had a right to expect. On his arrival in Egypt, this officer, to his great astonishment, found the English army there, although they should have evacuated it, and the Turks prodigiously alarmed at the continuance of the English army, and at its relations with the natives, in rebellion and open revolt against the sublime porte. There remains, therefore," says he, in conclusion, "but one object worthy of fixing the attention of both nations—the execution of the treaty of Amiens, as far as respects Malta. His majesty has engaged to restore it to the order, and to trust it to the Neapolitan army, till the order should be in a condition to guard it. His majesty will reject all sophistry, every distinction, every mental reservation which might be offered to him, to put in doubt the force and validity of his engagement. His Britannic majesty's equity, his conscience, in this respect, are guarantees for the French republic. Were it otherwise, what means in future would the two nations have for coming to an understanding? Would it not be all chaos? This would indeed be adding another calamity to those which have menaced social order. The undersigned is directed to declare, in short, that the first consul will not take up the defiance of war by England to France; and that as to Malta, he sees no subject for discussion, the treaty having provided for every thing and settled every thing."

Lord Hawkesbury in reply states, that his majesty has directed his ambassador at Paris to ascertain distinctly from the French government, whether they are determined to persevere in withholding all satisfaction and explanation on the points of which his majesty has complained: and on the following day, a letter was sent to Lord Whitworth, instructing his lordship to demand such satisfaction and explanation; intimating, at the same time, that if the French government continued to evade all discussion on the points in question, and to confine themselves to a categorical demand that Malta should be immediately evacuated, his lordship was in that case to declare the impossibility of the relations of amity continuing to subsist between the two countries, and the necessity he would be under of leaving Paris within a certain time.

These instructions Lord Whitworth immediately endeavoured to carry into effect,

and on the 7th of April he had an interview with the French minister of foreign affairs, to whom he gave a note containing the substance of the demands he was instructed to make upon the French government, and which M. Talleyrand promised to lay before the first consul. In a conference with Lord Whitworth on the following day, M. Talleyrand informed him, that though the first consul insisted, and would always insist on the full execution of the treaty, yet he would not object to any mode by which the independence of Malta might be secured to the satisfaction of his Britannic majesty; and that the French government had no objection to conclude a convention with respect to any grievances or matters, which shall not be contrary to the treaty of Amiens.

Lord Whitworth, having communicated this proposition to his government, was shortly afterwards instructed to consent to an arrangement, by which the island of Malta should remain in the possession of his Britannic majesty for a limited number of years, and to waive his demand for a perpetual occupation, provided that the number of years was not less than ten; that in that case the island of Malta should be given up to the inhabitants at the expiration of that period, and it should be acknowledged as an independent state; and it was at the same time intimated, that his majesty would be ready to concur in any arrangements for the establishment of the order of St. John in some other part of Europe.

The British ambassador, finding it impracticable to prevail upon the French government to listen to the proposal of keeping Malta in perpetuity, obtained an interview with Joseph Bonaparte, who promised to take the last project to the first consul at St. Cloud; and he added, that he was not without hope that he might be authorized to propose to the ambassador, the occupation of the fortresses for a term of years, provided the British government would acknowledge the new governments in Italy.

Several days now intervened, without any communications from the French government, on which, Lord Whitworth wrote home for further instructions, and requested to be furnished with the terms on which his majesty's ministers would be willing to conclude a convention, that he might propose them in the form of an *ultimatum*; he also suggested a wish, that at the expiration of the period allowed for deliberation, he might be authorized, not only to declare that he was to leave Paris, but actually so to do, unless, in the intermediate time, the French government should accede to his demands. The answer to this letter, in

formed his lordship, that it was his majesty's pleasure that he should communicate officially to the French government, that he had gone in point of concession to the full extent of his instructions, and that if any arrangement founded upon the propositions submitted to the French government, could not be concluded without further delay, he should leave Paris as soon as his personal convenience would admit of it, and in no case remain there more than seven days after the date of that despatch.

The British minister, having received his majesty's commands to leave Paris, in case he should find himself unable to conclude the negotiations on the terms specified, assiduously endeavoured to bring these protracted discussions to an amicable issue, but without effect. M. Talleyrand assured him that the first consul would never consent to his Britannic majesty retaining Malta, either in perpetuity or for a term, although of the two he would prefer the former tenure, as the less repugnant to his feelings.

Under these circumstances, Lord Whitworth found it necessary to demand his passports; but at the moment when he expected to receive them, a note was transmitted to him from the French minister, containing the answer which the first consul had directed him to make to his Britannic majesty's demands. This answer purported, that the first consul had no objection to the evacuation of Holland; as to the island of Lampedosa, it did not belong to him either to accede to or to oppose the cession of it to Great Britain, as it did not appertain to France. With respect to Malta, as the demand would change a formal disposition in the treaty of Amiens, he could not consent to it, without a previous communication with Spain and Holland; and that as the stipulation relative to Malta had been guaranteed by the Emperor of Germany, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, the contracting parties were bound to act in concert with those guaranteeing powers, before they made any change in the articles. The first consul added, that he should not refuse his consent, but that it did not belong to him to propose it, since it was not he that urged any change in the stipulations.

This explanation, Lord Whitworth thought so unsatisfactory, that he again made a formal demand of his passports, to enable him to return to England. His lordship's departure was however delayed by a note from M. Talleyrand, in which it was stated, that as the French minister had a communication of the greatest importance to make, Lord Whitworth must not expect that evening the passports which he had de-

manded. In consequence of this communication, his lordship was prevailed upon to postpone, for a few days, his departure from Paris, in order to transmit to his court the proposals of the French government, and to receive a definitive answer. The project formed by the first consul was that of placing Malta in the hands of either Austria, Russia, or Prussia. To this proposal, the British government answered, that his majesty was determined to adhere to his former *ultimatum*; but that, to save the honour of the French government, the number of years during which he was to occupy the island might be inserted in a secret article, and the possession of it in the open treaty be made to depend on the present state of the island of Lampedosa. This proposal, it had been the intention of Lord Whitworth to communicate verbally to the French minister, but not having an opportunity of communicating personally with him, in consequence of his being at St. Cloud's with the first consul, he reduced the proposal to the form of a *projet*, which he sent to the office of the foreign department, on the 9th of May, couched in the following terms:—

PROJET.

1st. The French government shall engage to make no opposition to the cession of the island of Lampedosa to his majesty the King of the Two Sicilies.

2d. In consequence of the present state of the island of Lampedosa, his majesty shall remain in possession of Malta until such arrangements shall be made by him as may enable his majesty to occupy Lampedosa as a naval station; after which period, the island of Malta shall be given up to the inhabitants, and acknowledged as an independent state.

3d. The territories of the Batavian republic shall be evacuated by the French forces within one month after the conclusion of a convention founded on the principles of this projet.

4th. The King of Etruria, and the Italian and Ligurian republics, shall be acknowledged by his majesty.

5th. Switzerland shall be evacuated by the French forces.

6th. A suitable territorial arrangement shall be assigned to the King of Sardinia, in Italy.

[Appendent to this projet, was a secret article, stipulating that his majesty should occupy Malta for ten years, and that articles 1. 5, and 6, might be entirely omitted, or all be inserted.]

On the 12th of May, the British ambassador had his last interview with M. Talleyrand, at the foreign office. The French minister proposed to conclude a convention, formed on the basis of the last projet, or indeed extending it, since the first article of treaty would be the cession of Malta in the perpetuity to England, in return for a consideration. To this, Lord Whitworth replied that he was not authorized to enter into "any engagement of such a nature, which would make the negotiation one of

exchange, instead of a demand of satisfaction and security." His lordship urged the determination of his majesty's ministers, to avoid every thing that could protract the negotiation, and observed, that he saw no other mode of acting up to those views, than by making his stand on the project already submitted. His excellency however pressed M. Talleyrand to explain himself more fully on the nature of the demand which he should make for Malta, but he could not or would not explain himself.* After much contest, it was agreed that the proposal should be submitted to the British minister in the course of a few hours. The remainder of this eventful day passed without Lord Whitworth receiving any communication from M. Talleyrand. On the following morning, the British ambassador demanded his passports, which demand he renewed at two o'clock,

and was informed that he should have them immediately. They arrived about five o'clock, when his lordship left Paris, and he arrived in London on the 19th of May, his majesty's declaration of war against France having been issued on the preceding day.

Thus, after a peace of only one year and sixteen days, did Europe again see herself plunged into a contest, in which neither of the belligerent countries had any definite object; whose means of mutual annoyances were as limited as their rancour and enmity were boundless, and to which consequently no period could be fixed, even in idea. It remains for future ages to pronounce with impartiality on this war of temper, to award to each nation its due share of praise or censure, and to apportion with accuracy the ultimate influence of the contest on the happiness of mankind.

CHAPTER XXV.

BRITISH HISTORY: His Majesty's Message, announcing the Recall of Lord Whitworth, and the Departure of the French Ambassador—Debate on the Message in the House of Lords—In the House of Commons—Private Instructions to the French commercial Agents (*note*)—Proffered Mediation of the Emperor of Russia—State of Parties, as developed in the Discussions on a Motion for Censure—Measures of Finance, Revival of the Income Tax—Spirit of the Country—Motion for the Appointment of a military Council—Miscellaneous Proceedings in Parliament—Close of the Session—Correspondence between the King and the Prince of Wales, on the Subject of military Promotion.

THE parliament which assembled in the winter of the year 1802, was the first that had been elected since the union between Great Britain and Ireland. The state of parties continued nearly the same as at the close of the preceding session; and Mr. Pitt appeared still to adhere, with some occasional relaxation, to the pledge he had given to afford to his majesty's government his "constant, zealous and active support." The Grenville party, at the same time, prosecuted their opposition with undiminished vigour, while the whigs, adhering steadfastly to their predilection in favour of peace, liberty, and economy, supported the existing administration in all the measures which seemed calculated to promote those objects. The proceedings of parliament in the early part of the session, claim no particular place in general history; but as the session advanced, the topics brought under

discussion rose in importance, and the message from the king, announcing the failure of the negotiations, and the consequent departure of Lord Whitworth from Paris, imparted to the proceedings of both branches of the legislature, an unusual degree of animation and public interest.

On the 16th of May, a message was presented from his majesty to both houses of parliament, announcing that he had recalled his ambassador from Paris, and that the French ambassador had left London. The message to the commons was expressed in these terms:—

"GEORGE R.

"His majesty thinks it proper to acquaint the house of commons, that the discussions which he announced to them in his message of the 8th of March last, as then subsisting between his majesty and the French government, have been terminated; that the conduct of the French government has obliged his majesty to recall his ambassador from Paris, and that the ambassador from the French republic has left London. His majesty has given directions for laying before the house of commons, with as little delay as possible, copies of such papers as will afford the fullest information to his parliament at this important conjuncture. It is a consolation to his majesty to reflect, that no endeavours have been wanting on his part, to preserve to his subjects the blessings of

* It appears that this proposition, which was subsequently and unofficially communicated to Lord Whitworth, was to confirm the possession of Malta in perpetuity, or otherwise, to England, on condition that France should be allowed for the same period to possess Otranto and Tarentum—places which she occupied at the time when the treaty of Amiens was concluded.

peace; but under the circumstances which have occurred to disappoint his just expectations, his majesty relies with confidence on the zeal and public spirit of his faithful commons, and on the exertions of his brave and loyal subjects, to support him in his determination, to employ the power and resources of the nation, in opposing the spirit of ambition and encroachment, which at present actuate the councils of France; in upholding the dignity of his crown; and in asserting and maintaining the rights and interests of his people."

His majesty's message was taken into consideration in the house of lords, on the 23d of May, when Lord Pelham rose to move the address:—He observed, that the only question was, whether a distinct and legitimate ground of war was established by the correspondence now on the table. Without wishing to go minutely into these documents, he should briefly advert to the principal points in dispute between the two governments; and first, with respect to Malta. It would be seen from the papers on the table, that up to a given period, his majesty's ministers had taken every step to carry into effect the provisions of the treaty relating to this island. It was about the 27th of January, that the French government began to press, in a very peremptory manner, for the evacuation of that island; and it was about that period, that ministers thought themselves bound to demand some satisfactory explanations of the pretensions advanced, and the views disclosed by the French government. Circumstances then existed, which rendered it necessary to refer back to what had been the conduct of the first consul, from the period when the treaty was concluded. In the course of this view, the plain and intelligible inference was, that the conduct of the French government had been one constant series of acts totally inconsistent with a sincere desire to preserve the peace of the two countries. The answers returned by ministers to the complaints of the French government, regarding the liberty of the British press, the residence of the Bourbons, and the countenance afforded by this country to French emigrants, would be found in the correspondence, and he entertained a confident expectation that the language of ministers on those subjects was of a nature to meet with universal support and approbation. Adverting next to the tour made by Colonel Sebastiani, by order of the first consul, through the principal part of the provinces of the Turkish empire, and to the report grounded thereon, his lordship observed, that from every page of that extraordinary document, one most important lesson was to be collected—namely, that the views of the first consul relative to Egypt had never been for one moment abandoned; indeed, the first consul himself, in his interview with the British am-

bassador, had not thought it necessary to throw the slightest veil of secrecy over his designs, but on the contrary, he had openly declared that Egypt must sooner or later be in the possession of France. He would put it to the candour and feelings of their lordships, whether, under such circumstances, ministers were not entitled to demand from the French government some security for its future views relative to Egypt, beyond what the treaty of Amiens provided? and Malta, in the hands of this country, could be viewed only as a security. But independent of these considerations, there were others which justified ministers in retaining possession of Malta, and among these might be enumerated the confiscation of the revenues of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, and the impossibility of obtaining an adequate guarantee for the independence of that island. "Ministers," said his lordship in conclusion, "have shown the utmost reluctance to resort to any measure which might hasten the renewal of hostilities; but the conduct of the French government could no longer be tolerated, consistent with the honour, dignity, and safety of this country. War then has become inevitable; and it is a war in which the national spirit ought to be exerted in every way which will demonstrate to a proud and insolent foe, that while the people of England are not anxious for an opportunity of taking offence, they are sensibly alive to the least imputation of dishonour, and determined on punishing insults with the most exemplary vengeance." His lordship concluded by moving the address.

The Dukes of Cumberland and Clarence, Lord Mulgrave, Lord Melville, Earl Spencer, and others, spoke in favour of the motion.

Earl Stanhope thought, that by a pacific and judicious conduct on the part of his majesty's ministers, peace might yet be preserved; and Lord King moved an amendment to the address, beseeching his majesty to listen to any further offer of amicable settlement, consistent with the honour and interests of the country.

Lord Grenville rose towards the conclusion of the debate, and after descanting with great force and energy upon the justice and necessity of the war, proceeded to observe, that the French government had actually proposed to other governments the partition of the Turkish dominions, and it was no doubt intended that her share should comprehend Egypt. Without taking the report of Colonel Sebastiani at all into the account, this circumstance, which rested on the authority of his majesty's declaration, was quite sufficient to warrant the inference, that the first consul medi-

tated a breach of the treaty of Amiens. Under those circumstances, he was perfectly convinced that peace or war was not a matter of choice; and he would suggest to the noble lord who had proposed the amendment, that as a temporizing policy had hitherto produced no other effect than to torture the people of this country by suspense, and to embolden the pretensions of the first consul, it would not be advisable to make any further experiments in that way. In pursuance of that system, his majesty's ministers had given up the Cape of Good Hope and Martinique, and if still more were to be given up, the country would soon be convinced, that protection was not to be obtained by such means against any project that France might have in contemplation, either upon our Indian empire or elsewhere. Being convinced that war alone was the remedy left for this country, he would strenuously exhort to every possible exertion.

On the question being put, there appeared, contents 142; non-contents 10—majority in favour of the address, 132.

This great national question was on the same day discussed, in a full assembly of the commons' house of parliament, and continued by adjournment on the following day.

Lord Hawkesbury opened the debate in a very able speech, in which he enumerated all the subjects of complaint this country had against France, and concluded with moving an address, assuring his majesty of the just sense that house entertained of his anxious and uniform endeavours to preserve to his people the blessings of peace; of their strong feelings of indignation that his majesty's endeavours had been frustrated by the restless spirit of ambition and domination in the government of France; and of their firm determination to co-operate in calling forth the resources of the united kingdom, for the vigorous support of his cause.

Mr. Erskine combated the statements of Lord Hawkesbury; and was followed by Mr. Grey, who moved an amendment, limiting the address to assurances of co-operation, and an expression of the satisfaction with which the house received his majesty's declaration, that he was willing to afford, as far as might be consistent with his own honour, and the interests of his people, every facility to any just arrangement, by which the blessings of peace might be restored.

Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox took each a prominent part in the debates on this occasion, and the speeches of these distinguished statesmen embraced the principal topics in-

involved in the momentous question that now engaged the attention of parliament.

Mr. Pitt flattered himself, that whatever difference of sentiment might arise in many points included in the papers now upon the table, yet upon the great and important question at issue between this country and France, and upon the justice and necessity of the grounds on which we were compelled to enter into the war, he thought it almost impossible that the house should not be unanimous. In the first place, there was such clear evidence of views of aggression and hostility on the part of France, as justified this country in retaining Malta for its own security. This he maintained to be the first great point on which the question turned; and he contended, that the whole of Sebastiani's report, the avowal by Bonaparte himself of his views and intentions in a formal conference with Lord Whitworth, afforded the clearest evidence that the first consul had formed the determination of resuming his hostile projects against Egypt; and the pursuit of such a project was an undeniable act of hostility against this country, and a direct violation both of the letter and spirit of the treaty of Amiens. He then more particularly commented on several circumstances connected with the report of Sebastiani. It was, he said, an official paper, addressed to the French government, and published by its authority, and the whole tenor of that paper made it impossible to doubt, that Sebastiani had been sent to Egypt to prepare for the execution of a fresh attempt to put that country under the dominion of France. Mr. Pitt dwelt on this topic a considerable time, exhibited the matter in various points of view, and concluded his remarks upon it by observing, that if the question were closed here, he was prepared to maintain, that on these grounds alone the war was both just and necessary, and such as ought to call forth the utmost exertions of parliament and the nation in its support. But the question was far from resting here; numerous other causes of complaint were enumerated in his majesty's declaration, any one of which was a clear and evident ground of war, and such as would have been acted upon in almost every period of the history of this country. He here referred to the annexation of Piedmont, as the first act by which the French government had proceeded in their system of aggrandizement, and to the arrogant manner in which France had prescribed to the German states the mode of arranging those indemnities on which the diet of the empire was convened to deliberate. He next adverted to the

violence offered to Switzerland, on which he thought it the less necessary to dwell, because the conduct of France towards that country had excited one universal sentiment of detestation. With respect to the continuance of the French armies in Holland, he observed, that it was directly inconsistent with the principles on which the treaty of Amiens had been negotiated, and with the engagements which were known to subsist between France and Holland. It was not however necessary to determine how far each act of aggrandizement might be in itself a sufficient ground of war, yet still it could not be contended that they were not now material, as furnishing proofs of that deliberate system of ambition and encroachment which had been pursued by France, ever since the treaty of Amiens. Mr. Pitt here drew a striking picture of the continued and rapid succession of the acts of violence and oppression, which, during this period, had desolated so many of the countries of Europe; and after comparing the irresistible force and overwhelming progress of French ambition, to those dreadful convulsions of nature, by which provinces and kingdoms were consumed and buried in ruins, he asked whether we could contemplate those dreadful scenes, without reflecting how soon the torrent of liquid fire might direct its ravages against ourselves. Having here closed his review of what had passed on the continent, he directed his attention to the aggressions and insults, which more immediately related to this country. The first of these, was the demand which had been made by the French government, respecting the restraints on the liberty of the press, and the expulsion of the French emigrants now remaining in this country; but his majesty's ministers having resisted these demands with a proper degree of spirit, on grounds which were stated with great force and ability in one of the papers on the table, it would be unnecessary for him to enlarge at present upon those topics. The second instance related to the commercial agents, which the French government made a formal proposition to send, not only at a time when there existed no commercial treaty between the two countries, but when the commercial intercourse of British subjects with France was suffering every degree of violence and oppression. This proposition had indeed been refused, but in defiance of this refusal, the French government proceeded clandestinely to send these agents in the train of their ambassador, and addressed to them instructions, the object of which was to direct them to take measures in time of peace, for which they would have been hanged as

spies in time of war.* He regretted that ministers had contented themselves with applying to the French government to withdraw those persons, instead of order-

* "PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE."

The instructions here referred to are contained in the following:—

"Copy of a Letter from Citizen Talleyrand to Citizen Fauvelet, Paris, 26th Brumaire, 10th year, November 17th, 1802.

"I forward to you, citizen, a series of questions, concerning which I am desirous of having your answers. You will have the goodness to place them opposite the questions on the same sheet of paper, doubled in two, similar to the one which I have the honour to send to you. I shall be obliged to you to send me this paper as soon as possible, without, however, suffering your too great haste to be injurious to your accuracy. If you are doubtful upon any point, you will have the goodness to mention it. You will probably find no difficulty in consulting with some well-informed merchants or clerks in the custom-house, who you think may have it in their power to give you some positive information, and you will declare the sources from whence you have drawn that information. You will not consider this business as forming a part of your official correspondence. You must not number it, but you must content yourself with putting at the top of it, as in the projet which I enclosed to you,

Private Correspondence.

"To Citizen Fauvelet, at Dublin.

"QUESTIONS.

"1. What number of vessels have entered and cleared out of the ports within your district, within each year, from 1792 to 1801, inclusive?

"2. What is their tonnage, or their admeasure-ment in sea tons of 2000 4 p.?

"3. Under what flag do they navigate?

"4. From whence they come?

"5. Whither bound?

"6. With what merchandise freighted?

"7. What was the price of freight to the principal ports of Europe, each sea ton of 2000 4 P. S.?

"8. What French productions are most in request in the market of the town where you reside, as well as of the other considerable towns in your district?

"9. What is the merchandise which can be exported to France, with greater advantage from the said markets, than from any other?

"10. What are the course of exchange, and the current prices of merchandise, from three months to three months, from the year 1792 to 1801?

"11. You are required to furnish a plan of the ports of your districts, with a specification of the soundings, for mooring vessels.

"12. If no plan of the ports can be procured, you are to point out with what wind vessels can come in and go out, and what is the greatest draught of water with which vessels can enter therein deeply laden?

"13. What are the principal commercial houses?

"If the heads of these houses are foreigners, you are to point out of what country they are; and in all cases, you are to state with what countries they are principally connected, and what is their chief line of commerce?

"14. What is the usual course of exchange?

"15. Whether there is a public bank, and what is its organization?

"16. Whether there are any insurance compe-

ing them to quit the kingdom within twenty-four hours, and afterwards demanding from France the reparation due for so gross an insult. Mr. Pitt said, he did not think it necessary to dwell on the violence committed against the vessels and property of his majesty's subjects in the French ports, and the withholding to this hour all satisfaction for those injuries. These proceedings, he said, would have been a sufficient ground of complaint in ordinary times, but they could scarcely give additional force to the outrageous transactions which he had just enumerated, and which appeared to him as if they had been designedly calculated to include, under two distinct heads, the grossest insults that could be offered to the independence of any country. After dilating at some length on this topic, he exhorted ministers and parliament to make those exertions which would be necessary to ensure success; exertions which must far exceed the unexampled efforts made in the former war. He was aware, he said, that these exertions could not be made without material and extensive personal sacrifices, and without great additional burdens, which must to a degree affect the ease, convenience, and even comfort, of many classes of society. He concluded with expressing his confidence, that the temper and courage of the nation would conform itself to the difficult situation in which it was placed, and that the people would be prepared collectively and individually to meet the struggle, not merely with resignation and fortitude, but with that active zeal, and vigorous exertion, proportionate to the magnitude of the crisis, demanded from a brave and free people. Reflecting, even in the hour of trial, what abundant reason we have to be grateful to Providence, for the distinction we enjoyed over most of the countries of Europe, and for all the advantages and blessings which national wisdom and virtue have hitherto protected, and which perseverance in the same just and honourable sentiments will still guard and preserve.

Mr. Fox said, that he should be very unwilling to trouble the house, if he did not think it an absolute duty to rescue them out of a situation of great danger, even if the contest in which they were about to engage should be attended with the most

nies, public or private, and what are the customs and rules, and the prices of insurance for European and long voyages" &c.

The other questions, of which there are four, relate to the state of the manufactories and fisheries; to weights and measures; to sales of merchandise; and to the fairs, and the various species of traffic carried on in each of the districts of the commercial agents to whom these circulars were addressed.

brilliant success. After some observations on the conduct of ministers, Mr. Fox went over the whole of the correspondence between the two countries, and maintained that there had been a great deal of shuffling between the representatives of the two countries. He condemned the demand made by the first consul, that the members of the Bourbon family should quit this country; he could not tolerate the idea that, under any pretence whatever, an independent state was to be called upon to deny to any unfortunate and persecuted emigrant the rights of hospitality. He considered the application made to us to abridge the liberty of the press, to be the offspring of the most profound ignorance of our laws and constitution. "I am unquestionably," said Mr. Fox, "one of those who would not disturb the freedom of the press in England to please any foreign state, and should, to the utmost of my power, equally resist such an attempt on the part of our own government. Proposals to that effect made by the government of France, could proceed only from the grossest ignorance of our laws and constitution; but being capable of explanation, they could afford no proper ground of quarrel. Mr. Fox, advertent to the menaces said to have been used by Bonaparte towards this country, observed, that too much stress had been laid on several of the expressions of the first consul in his conversation with Lord Whitworth, the accuracy of which could not be depended upon, as the report from memory of a long conversation was necessarily defective. He ridiculed some conclusions that were drawn from the tone and manner of Bonaparte, when he talked of making an attempt on our coast, particularly his assertion that it was a hundred to one that he would be destroyed in the attempt, and that he despaired of accomplishing his end, but that still he was determined to try. With respect to Egypt, if the first consul had any intention of going to that country, he would not have been so absurd as to inform our ambassador of his intention. He might possibly have a desire to visit Egypt, but neither the desire of a sovereign to effect any purpose of ambition, nor the sending of an agent to visit a distant country, could be considered as a legitimate cause for war. Louis XVI. had an expedition to Egypt in contemplation, and the right honourable gentleman resented that project by making a commercial treaty with France. With respect to the commercial commissioners, who came in disguise to take the soundings of our ports, this was a scandalous breach of faith, for which satisfaction ought to have been demanded, and if this had been refused, the

act and the refusal would have constituted a ground of war. But no reparation was demanded. As to the general system of aggrandizement pursued by France, unless it affected this country, we had no more right to complain of it, than France had to complain of our aggrandizement in the East Indies. We ought not to suffer ourselves to be deceived by the hyperbole of eloquence out of our common sense. We were bound by our treaty to deliver up Malta at a certain time, but France wished to throw difficulties in the way! How! For the purpose of preventing its surrender! What was France to get by that? Ministers are then angry that France was not as zealous as themselves in endeavouring to procure the acceptance of the guardianship of Malta. What was the answer of Russia, that she would do it upon certain conditions, and what signified the Maltese *langue* about which so much was said! Was it for a point of good faith, that we were so tenacious; but if Malta had been kept for ten years, what was to become of the knights of that order! Then comes Colonel Sebastiani's report, with the mighty disclosure of the first consul's desire to retain Egypt: the letter is undoubtedly a complete proof of a military officer having been sent to take military surveys, and probably to form military connexions for France. This desire of possessing Egypt, ministers immediately convert into a design and overt act of seizing upon that country: but if every ground of complaint were to be converted into a cause for war, it would be impossible for Europe ever to enjoy the shortest interval of peace. After this came a part of the negotiation, incomprehensible indeed on both sides, but particularly so on ours. Ministers instructed Lord Whitworth to demand an explanation; and when Talleyrand asks what explanation was wanted, he replies—Oh! I can tell nothing about it. Next they would be satisfied with nothing short of security; and when the nature of this security is inquired into, it turns out that they are equally unprepared for a distinct reply. Abandoning this claim of security, they demand Malta in perpetuity. Last of all, comes their proposition for ten years, as if ten years, in a political point of view, were to be considered as any thing short of perpetuity. But the manner in which this negotiation was conducted, is peculiarly worthy of attention; the simple proposition about Malta would not perhaps have been palatable to the first consul; there would have been an abruptness in it which might have hurt his feelings; ministers therefore determine to make the arrangement as easy as possible. The King of Sardinia had, eighteen months before,

been stripped of his dominions. He was politically dead and buried. Ministers however are determined once more to bring him on the scene, and like the ghost in a drama; he plays the part assigned him in the tragedy, and then retires. Ministers go on pushing Bonaparte to agree to their demands about Malta, and the indemnities to the King of Sardinia fill up a niche in their ultimatum, and if this monarch obtains nothing, he is left precisely in the same state in which the ministers found him. The most unjustifiable of all the conduct of Bonaparte, continued Mr. Fox, was his treatment of Holland and Switzerland, which was certainly most cruel; but it was not for this country, unaided by the continent, to engage in a war on their account. With respect to the abuse of the one government towards the other, there were but two ways of properly disposing of it, either to pass it over in contempt, or to demand satisfaction. This country had done neither. But the conduct of ministers which he thought most reprehensible was, that they had suffered grounds of complaint to accumulate, instead of specifying them as they occurred, and demanding satisfaction, and if satisfaction had been refused, it would then have been time to think of going to war. It was not the injury received, or the insult offered, that was a legitimate ground of war, but the refusal of reparation or satisfaction. Mr. Fox accused both governments of a great deal of duplicity, and charged the British ministry with having at last gone to war upon a sordid principle, the possession of Malta, in which no one was interested but ourselves, and in which we could not expect the co-operation of any of the continental powers. The remedy he proposed was an appeal to the Emperor of Russia, first to become guarantee for Malta, afterwards arbiter between this country and France; and then, if the French should persist in their career of injustice, the probability would be that we should have allies, because the thing in contest would then be generally interesting. He should therefore recommend that the house should agree to the amendment, and that an alliance should be formed with Russia, for the prevention of French aggression. The other alternative was war, the consequences of which would be an immense addition to the burdens of the country. We should now have exertions to make, to which all former exertions were nothing. This the house had been told last night very plainly. "I, who have had such great practice formerly," said a right honourable gentleman, "in drawing your teeth and paring your fingers, cutting you to the quick indeed pretty often, have provided for you a new

operator, who has an entire new discipline for you: you fought last war for religion, and social order, and balance of power; but that is all nothing to what you are now to expect. Lord North and myself were mere triflers. You are not to think of a year, but a continuance of years, and an addition of two or three hundred millions of debt. The late income tax was to many intolerable; but the new income tax will be much more severe and oppressive. Do not let any body think of paying less than a fifth, a fourth, or, perhaps a third, if necessary." And all this for what! Why for Malta—plain Malta! Malta, unconnected with any great, general, generous interest of Europe. "We have had," continued Mr. Fox, "philippics, that Demosthenes himself might have envied. I remember in the American war, we had great luxuriance of hyperbole, metaphor, and romantic rhodomontade. In the last war, we had still more of it; for then we had the most eloquent of men declaiming in favour of the war. All was rich and delightful as a feast, but unfortunately then came the bill, and the enormous charges spoiled all the relish of the entertainment." Mr. Fox concluded with again recommending an alliance with Russia; he thought it the only method of benefiting Europe. He observed that the address stated a fact, to which few could assent, namely, that ministers had been sincere in their endeavour to preserve peace, and to which no one assented, without qualifying his vote; whereas, the amendment stated that which every body admitted to be true; the way therefore to produce unanimity, was to adopt that which was universally admitted to be true, instead of asserting that which no one could assent to without qualification.

On a division of the house, there appeared for the address, 398, against it 67, majority 331.

On the 27th of May, Mr. Fox, in pursuance of a notice he had previously given, moved an address to his majesty, praying "that his majesty would be graciously pleased to avail himself of the disposition manifested by the Emperor of Russia, to mediate between this country and the French government, which mediation might not only lead to the speedy and honourable termination of the present contest, but might conduce to the general tranquillity and safety of Europe. Among the advantages which must result from the mediation of this powerful and esteemed sovereign, Mr. Fox particularly insisted upon the following: should this country be obliged to prosecute the war for the attainment of any object which that sovereign should approve, Great Britain would have the strong support

afforded by his approbation, which would carry with it the opinion of the world in our favour. Through this powerful mediation, we might hope to prosecute the adjustment not merely of the question respecting Malta, but in fact of all the points in dispute. The power and character of the mediator, and his rank in Europe, would justify the strongest hopes. His character stood upon the most elevated ground: he was just to the people committed to his government, and benevolent to all mankind. This monarch had been greatly affected by the changes which had occurred in Europe, was greatly disgusted with the conduct of France since the treaty of Amiens, and yet was warmly attached to peace. If a close alliance were formed with Russia, all the other states of Europe might be protected from the unjust aggressions of France; and with such a junction, Europe would have little to fear from the ambition of any man.

Ministers, though they admitted the truth and justice of the principles laid down by Mr. Fox, were averse to the motion, on the ground of its creating an idea that the country was not disposed to prosecute the war with vigour. Mr. Pitt said, that to press the motion of Mr. Fox to a division, would be attended with one or two inconveniences: either the previous question would be carried, by which there would be room for the misconstruction, that one part of the house was hostile to the principles on which the honourable gentleman argued; and on the other hand, if the motion were carried, it would imply that the house entertained a doubt of the concurrence of ministers in these principles—a suspicion for which there could be no foundation.

In consequence of these suggestions, Mr. Fox said, if ministers would state that there existed a disposition to accept of the mediation of Russia, he had no objection to withdraw his proposition.

Lord Hawkesbury admitted that an offer to mediate the differences between Great Britain and France had already been made by Russia. The impression of the mind of the Emperor Alexander was, that there was a certain degree of reluctance on the part of the two governments, to explain distinctly the points of mutual dispute. He had accordingly proposed, that the Russian ministers at London and Paris should interpose their good offices for facilitating this explanation; but at the time this offer was made, Lord Whitworth was on the eve of quitting Paris, and looking to an immediate termination of the discussions, ministers considered the offer as too loose, and too general, to be then adopted. At the same time, ministers did not conceal from the court of St. Petersburg, and they

were as little desirous of concealing from the house, that with reference not only to the particular points in dispute between the two governments, but with reference to the establishment of a guarantee for the general independence and security of Europe, they were ready to accept of the mediation of Russia. On this ground, they had not only expressed their willingness to receive any proposition from the court of St. Petersburg, but they had gone much beyond this assurance; they had declared their readiness to explain, in the most frank and explicit terms, the views which they entertained on the points in dispute, and the mode which to them appeared the best calculated to bring about an amicable arrangement. No question of *etiquette* would stand in the way; the whole declaration of ministers had been given in the true spirit of peace. In his majesty's declaration, also, an express assurance was given of his readiness to listen to any proposal for restoring the blessings of peace; and he had now to assure the honourable gentleman and the house, that ministers were ready to receive any offer of mediation on the part of Russia, or to offer to the mediation of this power the points in dispute between the two governments. Mr. Fox, considering this explanation as perfectly satisfactory, withdrew his motion.

Although the existing administration continued to enjoy the public confidence, and had produced, by their mild and constitutional conduct, a unanimity of sentiment, and an oblivion of political animosity, hardly to have been expected in so brief an interval, yet were they highly obnoxious to what was called the Grenville party; and the friends of Mr. Pitt, and even the ex-minister himself, began to manifest towards them unequivocal marks of coldness, if not of direct hostility. On the second of June, Earl Fitzwilliam moved in the upper house of parliament a series of resolutions, censuring the conduct of ministers in withholding from parliament information on the numberless aggressions and insults offered by the French government to this country since the treaty of Amiens; and in holding out to the country the prospect of a permanent peace, at a period when they must have been aware that the continuance of the relations of amity was in the highest degree uncertain and precarious.

Lord Mulgrave, who had hitherto zealously supported the measures of administration, instead of opposing a direct negative to the motion, adopted a middle course, and to the infinite mortification of ministers, moved as an amendment, the adjournment of the house. This mode of evading the question was deprecated by

the ministry as disingenuous, and as more injurious to their characters, and offensive to their feelings, than a direct and manly support of the motion for censuring. After an animated discussion, both the original motion and Lord Mulgrave's amendment were rejected by very large majorities. A similar motion was made on the following day in the house of commons, by Colonel Patten, and with similar success. On this occasion, Mr. Pitt said, as he was unprepared to give a direct negative, or affirmative, to the resolutions submitted to the house, he should move that the other orders of the day be read. Lord Hawkesbury, evidently much affected with this open desertion of the ex-minister, said, that he and his colleagues would shrink from their duty if they should accept the compromise offered between a direct censure and a total acquittal. It was his wish that ministers might either be acquitted or condemned—they had no desire to remain in office longer than they could be useful to their country, nor could he for himself think of remaining an hour in office, if he had forfeited the confidence of the house, and the good opinion of the country.

After a long debate, the order of the day, as moved by Mr. Pitt, was negatived by a majority of three hundred and thirty-three to fifty-six voices; after which, the motion of Colonel Patten was put, and negatived by an equal majority, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, with a few of their friends, having retired before the second division took place.

On the 6th of June, Earl Fitzwilliam again brought the subject before the house, and moved a number of resolutions, varying in form, but in substance the same as those before rejected. The last resolution was couched in these terms, "That by these instances of misconduct, his majesty's ministers have proved themselves unworthy of the confidence of this house, and incapable of administering with advantage the public affairs of the country in a crisis of such unexampled difficulty and danger." The first of these resolutions, after a long and animated debate, was negatived by a majority of 86 to 17 voices, and the others without a division.

The principal part of the remainder of this important session of parliament, was occupied by subjects of finance, and with devising the means of providing for the defence of the country against the invasion threatened by the first consul. The first, and most obvious measure of defence was, to render the militia, the constitutional defence of the country, as effective as possible; and a bill for that purpose was brought

into the house of commons by the secretary of war, on the 20th of May, which passed through its several stages without any material opposition: the principal object of this enactment was to facilitate the raising of the supplementary militia, and to provide for the filling up of the vacancies in the regular militia force, with greater promptness than could be done by the existing laws. The fines upon parishes for deficiencies were also considerably increased, and the penalty upon balloted persons refusing to serve, in person, or by substitute, was raised from ten to twenty pounds. But the militia force being considered as wholly inadequate to the defence of the realm, a message from the crown was sent to parliament, on the 18th of June, stating that his majesty considered it as important for the safety and defence of the nation, that a large additional military force should be forthwith raised and assembled, and it was recommended to both houses of parliament, to take such measures as should appear to be most effectual for accomplishing this purpose with the least possible delay. In furtherance of the object of this message, a bill was immediately brought into parliament, for embodying a new species of militia, under the denomination of the army of reserve. This force, which was to consist of fifty thousand men for England, and ten thousand for Ireland, was to be raised by ballot, and confined to the defence of the united kingdom: the officers to be appointed from the regular army and the half pay list: all persons from the age of eighteen to forty-five were liable to serve, with the exceptions of those persons who were exempt from the militia ballot, and such volunteers as were enrolled previously to the date of the last message of his majesty: all poor persons having more than one child under ten years of age, were also exempt: the persons composing this force to be allowed to volunteer into the regular army. This bill, which underwent a long discussion in the house of commons, passed through the house of lords with uncommon rapidity, and on the 6th of July obtained the royal assent. But these measures of defence, however important, were only the precursors of one of the most gigantic magnitude, being not less than the arming and training of the whole effective male population of Great Britain. This truly constitutional project was presented to the consideration of parliament, by the secretary of war, on the 18th of July, and passed into a law, by receiving the royal assent on the 27th of the same month. This general enrollment, denominated the *levy en masse*, was divided into

four different classes; the first comprehended all unmarried men between the ages of seventeen and thirty; the second, unmarried men between thirty and fifty; the third, all married men between seventeen and thirty, not having more than two children under ten years of age; and the fourth, all under the age of fifty-five, not comprised in the other descriptions. The different classes, who were to be trained and taught the use of arms in their respective parishes, were, in case of actual invasion, liable to be called out by his majesty, in the orders specified, to co-operate with the regular army, in any part of the kingdom, and to remain embodied until the enemy was exterminated or driven into the sea.

On the 13th of June, the chancellor of the exchequer brought forward the budget: he proposed to raise by an increase of the customs, duties on sugar, exports, cotton, and tonnage, about two millions annually; and by new duties on the excise of tea, wine, spirits, and malt, six millions more. He then presented a plan of a tax on income, imposing a duty on land, of one shilling in the pound, to be paid by the landlord, and ninepence in the pound to be paid by the tenant, together with a tax of one shilling in the pound on all other species of income, from one hundred and fifty pounds upwards. The net produce of this revived property tax was calculated at four millions seven hundred thousand pounds, and the whole product of the war taxes, at twelve millions seven hundred thousand pounds annually, to expire six months after the return of peace. In addition to these grants, the other taxes were continued, and the whole of the supplies voted by parliament for the service of the year 1803, amounted to upwards of forty-one millions.

While these measures were adopted by parliament, the people were far from being uninterested or inactive. The preparations for invading this country, made by France, called forth a simultaneous burst of loyalty and patriotism from all classes and descriptions of persons, and in a very brief interval, upwards of four hundred thousand men in arms appeared ready to defend their native coasts from insult, and to inflict a signal chastisement on those who dared to pollute them with a hostile tread. So numerous indeed were these voluntary armed associations, that it rendered the act for raising the *levy en masse* entirely superfluous. On this period in British history, the mind may repose with satisfaction. There no longer appeared any distinction of party or sects; all other distinctions were lost in that of Britons

The first consul viewed with astonishment this extraordinary display of national energy and patriotic feeling, and though his preparations for invasion were continued, the intention of carrying them into effect was no doubt secretly abandoned.

In the midst of these important deliberations, parliament found time to pass several bills, the object of which was to consolidate the duties and regulate the collection and management of the several branches of the revenue. An act was also passed to relieve the Roman Catholics from certain penalties and disabilities to which they were before subject, on subscribing the declaration and oath contained in the act of the 31st of the reign of his present majesty.

An important addition was this session of parliament made to the criminal law of the country. By an act introduced into the house of lords by Lord Ellenborough, and on that account called the Ellenborough Act, any person guilty of malicious shooting, cutting, or stabbing, with an intent to commit murder, although death should not ensue, was declared guilty of a capital felony, and made subject to the punishment of death. The same penalty was also attached to all attempts to discharge loaded fire-arms, with an intent to kill or wound.

During the present session of parliament, a grant of 60,000*l.* a year, for three years, to be computed from the 5th of January, 1803, was made to the Prince of Wales, towards providing for the better support and dignity of his royal highness. In moving for this grant, the chancellor of the exchequer took occasion to observe, that in the year 1795, the income of the prince was augmented to the sum of one hundred and thirty-eight thousand pounds annually, exclusive of thirteen thousand a year from the revenue of the duchy of Cornwall. At this time, seventy-three thousand a year had, he said, been set apart to be appropriated to the liquidation of the debts of his royal highness, which, at the period in question, amounted to six hundred and fifty thousand pounds, but which, by the operation of the sinking fund created for their liquidation, were now reduced to below the sum of one hundred thousand pounds.

On the 8th of August, the Duke of Sussex made a motion in the house of peers, for the appointment of a military council. In support of this motion, his royal highness contended that such a council was rendered necessary by the very arduous situation in which the country was placed, when the safety and independence of the nation might depend on the prudence and

energy of our military operations; and when we had to contend against the first general of the age. Other leading officers of the state had boards or councils to assist their deliberations, and there was no department in the state, in which a false step would be attended with so much danger.

It was objected on the part of ministers, that such a council would embarrass the commander-in-chief in the discharge of his professional duties, and that the present arrangement of the staff of the commander-in-chief, and the regular communications maintained with district generals, were such as to render a council of this nature perfectly unnecessary. On these grounds, the motion was negatived without a division.

In the course of the discussions in the house of commons on the general defence of the country, Mr. Windham had taken occasion to express himself in terms of great asperity and contempt towards the volunteer corps of the country, whom, on one occasion, the honourable gentleman termed the depositories of panic. To obviate any supposition that the house concurred in these reproachful and calumnious sentiments towards those brave and loyal defenders of the state, Mr. Sheridan, on the 10th of August, moved the thanks of the house "to the volunteer and yeomanry corps of Great Britain, for the zeal and promptitude with which they had associated for the defence of the country." He also moved, "that a return of the different volunteer corps be laid before the house, in order that they may be handed down to posterity, by being entered on the journals." After an animated debate, continued for many hours, both these motions were adopted unanimously.

The last business of importance in this session, was a motion on the state of Ireland, by Mr. Hutchinson, who moved, that an address be presented to his majesty, praying him to give such information to the house as had been received respecting the late rebellious outrages in Ireland, and the present state of that kingdom. This motion was opposed by administration, principally on the ground of the lateness of the session, and the danger of making a premature disclosure of circumstances, which it might be important to conceal. Mr. Hutchinson, in the conclusion of his reply, said, if the house would not redress the grievances of Ireland, and conciliate its inhabitants, it would be humanity to annihilate it. The motion, after a long debate, was negatived without a division.

On the following day, the 12th of August, this long and momentous session of parliament was closed by a speech from

the throne ; on which occasion his majesty expressed his satisfaction at the energy and promptitude which had been displayed in providing for the defence of the country, and for the vigorous prosecution of the war ; assuring the house, at the same time, that as strict a regard would be paid to economy in the public expenditure as was consistent with the exertions necessary to frustrate the designs, and weaken the power of the enemy. "Justly sensible," said his majesty, "of the state of pre-eminence in which it has pleased the Almighty to support us, for so many ages, among the nations of Europe, I rely with confidence, that under the continuance of his divine protection, the exertions of my brave and loyal subjects will prove to the enemy and to the world, that an attempt to subvert the independence, or impair the power of this united kingdom, will terminate in the disgrace and ruin of those by whom it may be made, and that my people will find an ample reward for all their sacrifices, in an undisturbed enjoyment of that freedom and security, which, by their patriotism and their valour, they will have preserved to themselves and their posterity."

At a crisis when every class of his majesty's subjects was animated to the highest degree by a spirit of military ardour ; when the possessions of the crown, and the rights and privileges of the people, were threatened by a formidable and enterprising invader ; and when the very existence of the country was thought to be in danger, it could not be imagined that the heir-apparent to the throne could remain in a state of inactivity, insensible alike to the calls of patriotism and of glory. Feeling such a situation to be derogatory to his character and repugnant to his duty, as the first subject of the realm, his royal highness addressed a letter to the prime minister, urging upon him the propriety of investing him with an efficient military rank, and of placing him in a situation where his example might contribute to excite the loyal energies of the nation, and where his participation in the honours and dangers which awaited the brave defenders of the country, might keep those energies in vigorous activity. In reply to this application, he was informed, "that the king's opinion being fixed, he desired that no further mention should be made to him on the subject." This answer, however, was considered so unsatisfactory by the prince, that he addressed to his royal parent the following letter :

To the King.

"SIR,

A correspondence has taken place between Mr. Addington and myself, on a subject which

deeply involves my honour and character. The answer which I have received from that gentleman, and the communication which he has made to the house of commons, leave me no hope but in an appeal to the justice of your majesty. I make that appeal with confidence, because I feel that you are my natural advocate, and with the sanguine hope that the ears of an affectionate father may still be opened to the supplications of a dutiful son.

"I ask to be allowed to display the best energies of my character ; to shed the last drop of my blood in support of your majesty's person, crown, and dignity ; for this is not a war for empire, glory, or dominion, but for existence. In this contest, the lowest and humblest of your majesty's subjects have been called on ; it would, therefore, little become me, who am the *first*, and who stand at the very footstool of the throne, to remain a tame, an idle, and lifeless spectator of the mischiefs which threaten us, unconscious of the dangers which surround us, and indifferent to the consequences which may follow. Hanover is lost—England is menaced with invasion—Ireland is in rebellion—Europe is at the foot of France. At such a moment, the Prince of Wales, yielding to none of your servants in zeal and devotion—to none of your subjects in duty—to none of your children in tenderness and affection, presumes to approach you, and again to repeat those offers which he has already made through your majesty's ministers. A feeling of honest ambition ; a sense of what I owe to myself and to my family ; and, above all, the fear of sinking in the estimation of that gallant army, which may be the support of your majesty's crown, and my best hope hereafter, command me to persevere, and to assure your majesty, with all humility and respect, that, conscious of the justice of my claim, no human power can ever induce me to relinquish it.

"Allow me to say, sir, that I am bound to adopt this line of conduct by every motive dear to me as a man, and sacred to me as a prince. Ought I not to come forward in a moment of unexampled difficulty and danger. Ought I not to share in the glory of victory, when I have every thing to lose by defeat ? The highest places in your majesty's service are filled by the younger branches of the royal family ; to me alone no place is assigned. I am not thought worthy to be even the junior major-general of your army. If I could submit in silence to such indignities, I should, indeed, deserve such treatment, and prove, to the satisfaction of your enemies, and my own, that I am entirely incapable of those exertions, which my birth and the circumstances of the times peculiarly call for. Standing so near the throne, when I am debased, the cause of royalty is wounded ; I cannot sink in public opinion, without the participation of your majesty in my degradation. Therefore, every motive of private feeling, and of public duty, induce me to implore your majesty to review your decision, and to place me in that situation which my birth, the duties of my station, the example of my predecessors, and the expectations of the people of England, entitle me to claim.

"Should I be disappointed in the hope I have formed, should this last appeal to the justice of my sovereign, and the affections of my father, fail of success, I shall lament in silent submission his determination ; but Europe, the world, and posterity must judge between us.

"I have done my duty ; my conscience acquiesces in the request which I have made, because no reasonable arguments have ever been adduced in answer to my pretensions. The precedents in

our history are in my favour; but if they were not, the times in which we live, and especially the exigencies of the present moment, require us to become an example to our posterity.

"No other cause of refusal has or can be assigned except that it was the will of your majesty. To that will and pleasure, I bow with every degree of humility and resignation; but I can never cease to complain of the severity which has been exercised against me, and the injustice which I have suffered, till I cease to exist. I have the honour to subscribe myself, with all possible devotion, your majesty's most dutiful and affectionate son and subject,

(Signed)

"G. P."

"Brighthelmston, Aug. 5th, 1803."

Answer, from the King.

"Windsor, 7th August.

"MY DEAR SON,

"Though I applaud your zeal and spirit, of which, I trust, no one can suppose any of my family wanting, yet, considering the repeated declarations I have made of my determination on your former applications to the same purpose, I had flattered myself to have heard no farther on the subject. Should the implacable enemy so far succeed as to land, you will have an opportunity of showing your zeal at the head of your regiment. It will be the duty of every man to stand forward on such an occasion: and I shall certainly think it mine to set an example in defence of every thing that is dear to me and my people. I ever remain, my dear son,

"Your most affectionate father,

(Signed)

"G. R."

The prince, in an animated, but dutiful reply to his royal parent, said—"Allow me, sir, to recall to your recollection, the expressions you were graciously pleased to use, when I solicited a foreign service upon

my first coming into the army. They were sir, that your majesty did not see the opportunity for it; but if any thing were to arise at home, I ought to be 'the first and foremost.' In this," continues the prince, "I agree most perfectly with your majesty. *I ought to be the first and foremost.* It is the place which my birth assigns me—which Europe—which the English nation expects me to fill, and which the former assurances of your majesty might naturally have led me to hope I should occupy." Having received no reply to this second letter, the prince repeated his application, through the medium of his royal brother, the Duke of York, commander-in-chief of the British army, by whom he was informed, "that before the prince was appointed to the command of the 10th light dragoons, the king caused it to be fully explained to him what his sentiments were with respect to a Prince of Wales entering into the army, and the public grounds upon which he could never admit of the prince considering it a profession, or of his being promoted in the service." The prince, in reply, positively "denied that any condition or stipulation of the nature alluded to by the Duke of York, had been made when he came into the army." However that might be, the resolution to withhold from the prince all military promotion, was inflexibly adhered to; and his royal highness was doomed to remain in his comparatively humble station of colonel of a regiment of horse.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

Situation of the principal States of Europe at the breaking out of the War—His Majesty's Declaration—War in St Domingo—Cruelties practised in that Island by the French—Critical Situation of the republican Army—Death of General Leclerc—Rochambeau appointed Commander-in-chief—Shut up in Cape François—Arrival of the Intelligence of the Renewal of Hostilities between Great Britain and France—Surrender of Rochambeau's Army to Commodore Lovig—Final Expulsion of the French Forces from St Domingo—Proclamation of the Republic of Hayti—Dessalines appointed Governor-general for Life—Surrender of the French and Dutch West India Colonies to the English—French Armament despatched to the East Indies—French Manifesto—Invasion of Hanover—Conquest of the Electorate by the Arms of France—Preparations for the Invasion of England—Arrest of English Travellers in France—Naval Events—Overture to Louis XVIII. to resign his Claim to the Throne of his Ancestors—Rejected.

AFTER the enjoyment of a year of nominal peace, two of the first states of Europe once more determined to appeal to the decision of the sword. During the interval of this state of feverish tranquillity, France had extended her power and influence in every direction. The independence and freedom of Switzerland, of Holland, and of Italy, although guaranteed by the stipulations of the treaty of Luneville, were disregarded and violated, and republican France, though so lately contending for her own independence, did not hesitate to exercise an uncontrolled dominion over those countries. Spain, debased by superstition, and enervated by the mines of Mexico and Peru, had sunk into a state of absolute vassalage. Germany, weakened by the defection of some of her principal states, was no longer able to oppose the aggrandizement of her too powerful neighbour. Prussia, ever grasping at extension of dominion, was willing to gratify her territorial cupidity at the expense of her rank among the states of Europe, and though constantly increasing in strength, she was evidently declining in importance. Sweden and Denmark, who had preserved their neutrality, with some slight intermission, while the rest of Europe was involved in war, had no disposition to relinquish the advantages of this wise and pacific policy: while Russia, governed by a monarch distinguished for the mildness of his rule, and the wisdom of his councils, chose rather to arbitrate the differences of others, than to become a party in their quarrels. It remained, therefore, for Great Britain, "single-handed" and unallied, to bear the first shock of that war which had now become inevitable, and to interpose a rampart be-

tween military France and universal empire.

Early in the month of May, his Britannic majesty published a declaration, in which he states, "that his earnest endeavours for the preservation of peace having failed of success, he entertains the fullest confidence that he shall receive the same support from his parliament, and that the same zeal and spirit will be manifested by his people, which he has experienced on every occasion when the honour of his crown has been attacked, or the essential interests of his dominions endangered." "During the whole course of the negotiations which led to the preliminary and definitive treaties of peace between his majesty and the French republic, it was his majesty's sincere desire," says the declaration, "not only to put an end to the hostilities which subsisted between the two countries, but to adopt such measures, and to concur in such propositions, as might effectually contribute to consolidate the general tranquillity of Europe; and the same motives by which he was actuated during the negotiations for peace, have since invariably governed his conduct." His majesty then proceeds to an elaborate enumeration of the acts of aggression and aggrandizement practised by the French government during the interval of peace; and in conclusion remarks, that "it is impossible to reflect on these different proceedings, and the course which the French government have thought proper to adopt respecting them, without the thorough conviction that they are not the effect of accident, but that they form a part of a system which has been adopted for the purpose of degrading, vilifying, and insulting his majesty and his

government. Under these insults and provocations, his majesty, not without a due sense of his dignity, has proceeded, with every degree of temper and moderation, to obtain satisfaction and redress, while he has neglected no means consistent with his honour, and the safety of his dominions, to induce the government of France to concede to him, what is, in his judgment, absolutely necessary for the future tranquillity of Europe. But though the provocations which his majesty has received might entitle him to larger claims than those which he has advanced, yet anxious to prevent calamities which might thus be extended to every part of Europe, he is still willing, as far as is consistent with his own honour, and the interests of his people, to afford every facility to any just and honourable arrangement, by which such evils may be averted. He has, therefore, no difficulty in declaring to all Europe, that notwithstanding the changes which have taken place since the treaty of peace, notwithstanding the extension of the power of France, in repugnance to that treaty, and to the spirit of peace itself, his majesty will not avail himself of these circumstances to demand in compensation all that he is entitled to require, but will be ready to concur, even now, in an arrangement, by which satisfaction shall be given to him, for the indignities which have been offered to his crown, and to his people, and substantial security afforded against further encroachments on the part of France. His majesty has thus distinctly and unreservedly stated the reasons of those proceedings to which he has found himself compelled to resort. He is actuated by no disposition to interfere in the internal concerns of any other state; by no projects of conquest and aggrandizement; but solely by a sense of what is due to the honour of his crown and the interests of his people, and by an anxious desire to obstruct the further progress of a system, which, if not resisted, may prove fatal to every part of the civilized world."

The line of hostilities which each nation would pursue, was prescribed by their relative situation; Great Britain, being mistress of the seas, would naturally direct her principal attack against the colonies, and the maritime possessions of her enemy; while France, being equally powerful at land, was resolved to obstruct and attack the commerce of Great Britain, in Italy, in Germany, and in every other part of the continent where her armies could penetrate, and at the same time, to wrest from her weaker neighbours, a full equivalent for any colonial loss she might experience in the approaching contest. In

pursuance of the different systems of warfare which each nation had adopted, the British government despatched expeditions against the Dutch settlements of Demerara, and Issequibo, and the French islands of St. Lucia, and Tobago. St. Domingo, the most valuable colony that France ever possessed, was, in the mean time, wrested from her by the black population, assisted by a British squadron; and in the East Indies, our successes over the native princes were brilliant, glorious, and decisive.

In St. Domingo, an island which had shared more largely in the calamities of the French revolution than any other spot on the habitable globe, the want of good faith manifested by the French general towards the negro chief, Toussaint Louverture, excited general distrust in the black population; and the decree in the French legislative body, for the re-establishment of slavery in all the French colonies,* determined that much injured people to declare an interminable war against their oppressors. In pursuance of this resolution, Dessalines and Christophe hastened to assume the command of those negro bands, who, notwithstanding their repeated defeats, still continued in a state of hostility against the French government; and at the moment when the captain-general of the French army was felicitating himself on having restored the colony to a state of subjection, the flame of insurrection again burst forth, and spread over this island with inconceivable rapidity. The French troops, no longer animated by the hopes of ultimate success, and unaccustomed to a tropical region, soon began to lose their accustomed vivacity, and at several of their smaller posts, such was the number of sick, that the healthy survivors were scarcely sufficient to attend the hospitals, and bury their dead. The commander-in-chief, himself scarcely convalescent, had lost the best officers of his staff by the ravages of the yellow fever, and the troops who had recently arrived from the mother country, finding themselves unequal to the service to which they were condemned, sunk into despondency, and soon followed their predecessors to the grave.

Early in the month of October, 1802, General Leclerc, finding his situation critical in the extreme, despatched an aid-de-camp to Paris for instructions and advice from the first consul, but in the mean time he continued to pursue his sanguinary system with undiminished rigour, and excited in the minds of the black population an inextinguishable hatred against the French name. Among the new chiefs which arose

* See Book II. Chap. XXII. page 411.

in the interior of the island was a formidable leader, named Sans Souci, of the Canigoe tribe. Another chief, of the name of Charles Bellair, who had distinguished himself in his attacks upon the invaders, was taken in battle, and put to death, in the presence of his wife, with tortures truly demoniacal. But it was not merely the black chiefs with whom the French had to contend; one of their own generals, Dugua, chief of the staff, shocked at the cruelties perpetrated by his countrymen, determined to leave the French army, and to co-operate with their enemies, but being discovered in the act of making preparations for this purpose, he was sentenced to death, and escaped the fate that awaited him only by becoming his own executioner. To crush the insurrectionary spirit which pervaded every part of the colony, the usual calamities of war were aggravated by the most savage barbarities. Immense numbers of blacks were drowned in the sea, or suffocated, by order of the French, in the holds of ships, appointed to the execution of this diabolical service. In one instance, six hundred of these unfortunate men were surrounded by a French force, and punished for some resistance, by being all butchered upon the spot. Such was the excessive slaughter in the vicinity of the Cape, that the air became tainted by the putrefaction of dead bodies, and produced a pestilential disease, which avenged on the French army these horrible massacres. The work of destruction however still proceeded, and the French commanders, instead of relaxing their cruelties, added to their enormity, and sought to supply the diminished numbers of human executioners, by the use of blood-hounds,* which traced the unfortunate victims of European cruelty to the recesses where their employers could not penetrate. A considerable number of blacks, who had been hunted down in the neighbourhood of Fort Republican, were hurried on board the ships at anchor in the bay, and thus

* These animals, which are brought from the island of Cuba, are generally employed by the Spaniards in the pursuit of wild bullocks; and the great use of the dog is to drive the cattle from the heights and recesses in the mountainous parts of the country, which are least accessible to the hunters. Though these dogs are not in general larger than the shepherds' dogs in Great Britain (which in truth they much resemble), yet when they were introduced into Jamaica, as the auxiliaries of the general assembly, in the Maroon war, in the year 1795, they were represented as equal to the mastiff in bulk, to the bull-dog in courage, to the blood-hound in scent, and to the grey-hound in agility, and the impression made on the mind of the negroes by these canine warriors was equally astonishing and unexpected.—*Bryson Edwards*.

freighted, this dishonoured navy stood out from the shore under cover of the night, when the unresisting victims were plunged alive into the sea, in such numbers, that at length the tide, as if the ocean would no longer conceal the deed of blood, brought their bodies to the shore, and rolled them on the beach. (50)

By the middle of October, Fort Dauphin, Port-au-Paix, and several other important settlements, were completely lost to the French; towards the end of the same month, the general-in-chief, whose health had been long impaired, sunk under the mephitic atmosphere by which he was surrounded, and died on the night of the 1st of November, after giving some directions for the future government of the island.*

On the death of General Leclerc, the command of the French army devolved upon General Rochambeau, who pursued the same course of cruelty and blood that had been marked out by his predecessor. The first engagement of importance that occurred after the appointment of the new general, was fought on the parched plains of St. Nicholas Mole, and ended in the de-

(50) These statements, it should be remembered, are made by an enemy, whose interest it was to throw an odium on the character of the French nation. Cruelties were no doubt committed on both sides, during the civil war in St. Domingo, but it is probable that the relations in the text are grossly exaggerated. The English writer, too, seems to forget that his own countrymen set the example of employing blood-hounds against the insurgent negroes, and it may be questioned whether if the history of the Maroon war in Jamaica were made known, it would not be productive of details as shocking to humanity, as any of those here narrated.

* CHARLES EMANUEL LECLERC D'OSTIN, a soldier of fortune, entered on the career of arms at an early age, and distinguished himself at Toulon, in Germany, and in Italy. After the peace of Campo Formio, he accompanied the French expedition to Egypt, and on his return to France contributed to the success of the revolution of the 18th Brumaire, on which occasion he placed himself at the head of a corps of grenadiers, and advancing upon the refractory deputies, expelled them from the hall. General Leclerc was afterwards intrusted with the command of the French army which marched through Spain to subdue Portugal; and on the return of peace he obtained the appointment of captain-general of the army of St. Domingo. While engaged in this service, he tarnished his former laurels, by acts of excessive cruelty, and fell a victim to a disease produced by the atrocities of the army under his command. After his death, his body was conveyed to France, and interred with funeral honours in his estate at Montgobert. His wife, Pauline Bonaparte, the eldest sister of the first consul who had attended her husband on the expedition to St. Domingo, accompanied his corpse on its return to Europe from the aceldama of Hispaniola, and the first consul and his court put on mourning for the death of the deceased general.

feet of the French army. About the same period, Fort Dauphin surrendered to the arms of France, after a gallant resistance to the combined attacks of the fleet and army under General Olausel. But notwithstanding this transient success, the continual diminution of the French army, and the daily increasing strength of the enemy, clearly announced that the period of their final expulsion from the island was fast approaching.

The beginning of the year 1803, was marked by a cessation from active hostility, but there was no pause in the progress of disease, nor any relaxation in that system of sanguinary policy, which seemed to have for its object, the extermination of a race of men, rendered cruel and ferocious by the joint operation of slavery and oppression. While the French army remained in a state of inactivity, waiting the arrival of reinforcements, General Dessalines, the commander-in-chief of the black forces, was indefatigable in his exertions to repair the losses he had sustained during the late campaign, and was soon in a situation to commence offensive operations. Several skirmishes accordingly took place, early in the year, in the vicinity of Acul, and it was at length determined by the French chief once more to hazard a general action. The battle was begun by the French general, who attacked his sable adversary with so much impetuosity as to oblige him to retreat with precipitation over the Morne; but in effecting this operation, the French line was weakened, and the negro general, taking advantage of this error, rallied his forces, and repulsed the French with considerable loss. In the moment of success, General Rochambeau had secured a number of prisoners, and such was the thirst for blood, that, notwithstanding the terrible retaliation which they knew must await their own countrymen, the black prisoners were led out on the plain, and put to death in cold blood. This murderous deed was executed with so much precipitation, that many of the unhappy victims were left half-dead, in a mutilated state, and their moans and shrieks were heard throughout the whole night, in the camp of the exasperated enemy. The negro chief, though he had hitherto acted upon the humane maxim of Toussaint, which forbade all retaliation, was now irritated to an act of terrible revenge, and ordering a number of gibbets to be erected, he selected all the French officers who had fallen into his hands, and suspended them in every direction, in sight of the French army. The blacks, in the mean time, rendered desperate by these dreadful massacres, sallied out of their in-

trenchments, with irresistible impetuosity, and obliged their European adversaries to seek safety under the walls of Cape François.

Such was the state of affairs in St. Domingo, when intelligence arrived at that island of the renewal of hostilities between Great Britain and France. This unexpected event rendered the situation of the French army critical in the extreme; and the commander-in-chief, apprehending a scarcity of provisions, published a proclamation, allowing the free importation of all the necessaries of life into the stations occupied by the French army, but at the same time declared all the other parts of the island in a state of siege.

The French head-quarters were now established at the Cape, and the negro chief had taken such effectual measures to curtail their boundaries, that they were in effect circumscribed within the narrow limits of two miles round that station. From this period, the affairs of France in the island of St. Domingo became desperate, and the commander-in-chief, relinquishing all hopes of conquest, began to address himself to the fortification of the city of the Cape. In a despatch, written from this place, and dated the 29th of October, 1803, he observes, "There is still some merit in defending a ravaged colony against a civil war on one side, and a foreign enemy on the other." But even this melancholy consolation was not long granted to him, for being menaced by a negro army by land, and strictly blockaded by a British naval force on the side of the ocean, his supplies were entirely cut off, and the troops in the garrison, sinking under the accumulated pressure of pestilence and famine, were reduced to the necessity of feeding on those very blood-hounds which they themselves satiated with human flesh.

The French general, finding his position no longer tenable, concluded a capitulation with the British commodore, on the 30th of November, by which it was agreed, that the French officers and troops, amounting to about eight thousand, should be sent to Jamaica as prisoners of war, and their sick to France and America, in British transports provided for that purpose. No sooner was this capitulation executed, than Captain Bligh was despatched to General Dessalines, to apprise him that all the French ships and vessels in the port had surrendered to the British flag; but notwithstanding this intimation, it was with the greatest difficulty that the blacks could be prevented from firing red-hot balls into the ships in which the French troops had embarked, and revenging their accumulated wrongs by sending them all to the bottom of the bay

The first instant the land breeze enabled them to sail, all the French ships came out of the harbour, and hauled down their colours. In sailing out of the bay, the *Clorinde*, a large frigate of thirty-eight guns, unfortunately took the ground, and was obliged to throw most of her guns overboard, but from the indefatigable exertions and professional abilities of Lieutenant Willoughby, she was at length got afloat without sustaining any material damage.

Commodore Loving, after seeing the prizes, which consisted of three frigates and seventeen merchantmen, properly secured, bore away for the Mole, and on the 2d of December summoned the general of brigade to surrender. Noailles, the French commander in that place, replied, that the garrison was provisioned for five months, and that he should not listen to any proposals for capitulation. On receiving this answer to his summons, the British commodore judged it advisable to steer for Jamaica with his prizes, for the purpose of landing his prisoners and replenishing his stock of provisions, leaving the *Pique* to continue the blockade in his absence. The French general, apprehensive of the return of the British squadron, took the opportunity to evacuate the fort the same night, and embarked his garrison on board six vessels which were at that time lying in the harbour; but by the vigilance of the *Pique*, five out of the six vessels were taken, and that only in which Noailles himself was embarked effected its escape. Previously to the evacuation of the Mole, Fort Dauphin had surrendered to the *Theseus*, and Fort Marie to the *Vanguard*, the wretched garrison considering themselves fortunate in being rescued from the fate that awaited them from the hands of the infuriated blacks, in whose minds revenge against their oppressors had extinguished every spark of pity and humanity. The humane exertions of the British commanders on this station, reflected the highest honour upon the national character, and served to dispel the horrible gloom in which the devoted island of St. Domingo had so long been enveloped.

This signal and complete failure of the French expedition against St. Domingo, is not to be attributed to any deficiency in military means, or to any want of skill and perseverance in the French troops, but to a sanguinary and vicious policy, which at first sunk the black population into despair, and then called forth on their part exertions and a constancy in suffering almost supernatural. Among the first steps in this career of error, was the bad faith practised towards Toussaint Louverture; and

the atrocities which afterwards followed, served to confirm a resolution taken by the inhabitants, "to renounce France for ever; to die rather than live under her dominion; and to fight to the last breath for independence."* The evacuation of the island by the French troops, left the negroes in the undisputed possession of what is called the French part of St. Domingo; and their first measure was to proclaim themselves an independent state, under the designation of "The Republic of Hayti." At the head of this republic, was placed the negro General Dessalines, to whose hands was committed the sovereign prerogative of making peace and declaring war, and whose privilege it was to be invested with the right of naming his successor.† Although the French republic still retained possession of the city of St. Domingo, in that part of the island which formerly belonged to Spain, yet the total surrender of the northern part of the island to a race of African governors, possessed of European tactics, and enjoying a knowledge of those arts of civilized life which never visited their native deserts, form a most important epoch in the annals of Hispaniola, and seemed calculated to produce consequences of the greatest importance to Europe, and to the human race.

In addition to the loss of St. Domingo, the most valuable of all the colonial possessions of France, the islands of St. Lucia and Tobago once more fell into the hands of Great Britain. Immediately on the arrival of the intelligence of the renewal of the war between England and France, an expedition sailed from Barbadoes, under the command of Lieutenant-general Grinfield, and Commodore Hood, and arrived at daybreak on the 21st of June at St. Lucia. In the course of the day, the troops effected a landing near the town of Castries, and after taking that place, summoned the French general Nogues to surrender at discretion. With this summons, the enemy refused to comply.

* Proclamation of the army of St. Domingo, signed DESSALINES.

† "LIBERTY OR DEATH!"

"We, generals and chiefs of the army of Hayti, penetrated with gratitude for the benefits we have received from the general-in-chief, J. Jacques Dessalines, the protector of the liberty which the people enjoy, in the name of liberty, in the name of independence, in the name of the people he has made happy, we proclaim him governor-general for life of Hayti. We swear to submit implicitly to the laws emanating from his authority. We give to him the right to make peace and war, and to name his successor.

"Done at head-quarters, Gonaives, the 1st of January 1804, and the first day of the independence of Hayti.

(Signed)

"CHRISTOPHE, &c."

and the next morning at four o'clock an assault was made upon Fort Morne Fortunee, which was carried in the most gallant manner with a comparatively small loss. The number of French prisoners made in the garrison amounted to six hundred and forty; and the whole island submitted to the authorities appointed by the British commanders without further resistance.

General Grinfield, pursuing his victorious career, next sailed for the island of Tobago, on the 25th of June; and on the 1st of July, that settlement surrendered to the British force, on condition of the garrison being sent over to France at the expense of the English government.

In addition to these French settlements, the Dutch colonies of Essequibo, Demerara, and Berbice, fell successively into the hands of the English, under the same successful and meritorious commanders; and in the course of the present year, the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, near the coast of Newfoundland, contributed to swell the numerous and important colonial conquests of Great Britain.*

* POPULATION OF THE French and British West India Islands.

FRENCH.

The following account of the white inhabitants, free negroes, and slaves, in the French West Indies, may serve to gratify curiosity. It is taken from the authority of M^r. Necker; but Mr. Bryan Edwards supposes that the negro slaves were nearly double the number here stated at the commencement of the French revolutionary wars in 1793:—

	Whites.	Free Blacks.	Slaves.
St. Domingo, in 1779, . . .	32,650	7,055	249,096
Martinico, in 1776, . . .	11,619	2,892	71,267
Gaudaloupe, in 1779, . . .	13,261	1,382	85,327
St. Lucia, in 1776, . . .	2,397	1,050	10,752
Tobago (suppose the same), 2,397	1,050	10,752	
Cayenne, in 1780, . . .	1,358		10,539
	63,682	13,429	437,736

ENGLISH.

The population returns of the British West India Islands, rest on the authority of Bryan Edwards, as stated in his history published in 1793:—

	Whites.	Blacks.
Jamaica,	30,000	250,000
Barbadoes,	16,167	62,115
Grenada,	1,000	23,926
St. Vincent,	1,450	11,853
Dominica,	1,336	14,967
Antigua,	2,590	37,808
Montserrat,	1,300	10,000
Nevis,	1,000	8,420
St. Christopher,	1,900	20,435
Virgin Isles,	1,200	9,000
Bahamas,	2,000	2,241
Bermudas,	5,462	4,919
	65,305	455,684

France, well aware of the precarious tenure by which she held her colonies in the west, determined, if possible, to secure her dominions in the east, and with this view an armament was fitted out at Brest, consisting of a strong naval force under the command of Admiral Lincoln, on board of which were placed six thousand French troops. This expedition sailed soon after the breaking out of the war, with orders to touch at the Cape of Good Hope, and to place that colony in such a state of defence as to be enabled to resist any attack that might be made upon it by the English. In Europe, also, the French armies were immediately put in motion, and the consular government, anxious to justify their conduct to the French nation and to Europe, published a declaration, dated the 20th of May, on the causes which led to the recall of their ambassador from London, and the renewal of the war with Great Britain. In this state paper, it is said, "that the present age and posterity will see all that has been done by France to put an end to the calamities of war, and with what moderation and patience she has laboured to prevent their return; but nothing," continues this document, "has been able to interrupt the course of the projects formed to enkindle discord between the two nations. The treaty of Amiens had been negotiated amidst the clamours of a party in England, hostile to peace, and scarcely was it concluded, when it was the object of the bitterest censure. Soon afterwards, alarms were disseminated in that country; dangers were pretended, on which was established the necessity of such a peace establishment, as to be a permanent signal of new hostilities. At length, an unexpected message all at once terrifies England with imaginary armaments in France and Batavia; she supposes the existence of important discussions, which divided the two governments, while no such discussion was known to the French government. Immediately, formidable armaments are prepared on the coast, and in the ports of Great Britain; the sea is covered with her ships of war; and it is in the midst of these preparations, that the cabinet of London demands of France, the abrogation of a fundamental article of the treaty of Amiens. In vain, did France consent to shut her eyes to the actual non-execution of the treaty of Amiens, from which England pretended to release herself; in vain, was she willing to delay taking a definitive resolution, until Spain and Batavia, both of them contracting parties, could have manifested their disposition. In vain, in short, did she propose to request the mediation of the powers

which had been invited to guarantee, and who in effect did guarantee the stipulation required to be abrogated. Every proposition was rejected, and the demands of England became more imperious and more absolute." But "it was not," continues the declaration, "in the principles of the French government to yield to menaces; it was not in their power to bend the majesty of the French people to laws prescribed to them with forms so haughty and so new. The government stopped at the limit traced out by its principles and its duties. The negotiation is interrupted, and we are ready to fight, if we be attacked. We shall, at least, fight to maintain the faith of treaties, and for the honour of the French name; and the result of this contest will be such as we have a right to expect from the justice of our cause, and the courage of our warriors."

This declaration was no sooner promulgated, than all the French armies were put in motion. The army of Italy was strongly reinforced, and pushed forward a large detachment upon Tarentum, and the other strong posts on the Adriatic sea. While the French general, charged with the execution of these movements, published a proclamation, maintaining the necessity of France occupying these important positions, so long as England, in contravention of the treaty of Amiens, retained possession of Malta.

On the side of Germany, the French armies were no less active. During the protracted period of the negotiation, a considerable French army was assembled in Holland, and on the frontiers of Hanover; and no sooner had his majesty's declaration of war been laid before the British parliament, than the French general Mortier, advancing from his head-quarters at Coeverdon, summoned the Hanoverian electorate to surrender to the republican army. In the attack on Hanover, Bonaparte formally professed that he should occupy that country merely as a pledge for the restoration of Malta, and endeavoured to cover this flagrant violation of the constitution and independence of the Germanic empire, by asserting that it was merely for the purpose of compelling the King of England to maintain the peace of Amiens, that he ordered his army to occupy that portion of Germany, in which the present reigning family of England were peculiarly interested. Although it was impossible that the electorate could oppose any effectual stand against the immense power of France, the Duke of Cambridge was sent over from England, as commander-in-chief in that country, and proclamations were published in the name of his royal highness, and on the authority

of the Hanoverian government, calling upon all the inhabitants, capable of bearing arms, to rally round the standard of their country. But these proclamations, although accompanied by a solemn pledge on the part of the duke to share all the dangers, produced no important effect upon the people, who seemed more disposed to listen to the warning voice of the French general, than to the patriotic calls of a British prince. On the 26th of May, the invading army entered the town of Bentheim, where the Hanoverian garrison, consisting of an officer and thirty-six men, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Two days after this, the French force passed the river Ems, at Mippen, and the following day, a body of ten thousand French troops entered the principality of Osnaburgh, which had been previously evacuated by the Hanoverians. General Walmoden, to whom the command of the Hanoverian troops was intrusted, having collected an army of eighteen thousand regulars, now determined to make a stand in his position, on the Hunte; expecting, in the mean time, to receive considerable assistance from General Hammerstein, who occupied the town of Diepholtz, with a formidable force of infantry, cavalry, and artillery. After the necessary preparations, a division of French infantry, under the command of General Schiner, and another of cavalry, led by General Nansouty, advancing to the Hunte, forced the passage of that river, and directed their march to Sublingen, with a view to the cutting off of whatever force might be stationed between that town and Diepholtz. This manoeuvre so far succeeded, as to oblige General Hammerstein to retreat during the night, and to take up his station at Borstoen. On the 1st of June, a smart skirmish took place between the Hanoverian rear-guard and the French advanced pickets, which was succeeded on the 2d by a severe cannonade, on the part of the electoral troops; but General Drouet, advancing with a charge of cavalry, obliged them to retire. The Weser was now the last line of defence for the Hanoverian army, and the banks of that river were strongly planted with artillery; but at the moment when General Mortier had advanced into the vicinity of the town of Nieubourg, the head-quarters of the Hanoverians, a deputation arrived from the civil and military authorities of Hanover, entreating him to suspend his march. With this request he consented to comply, on condition that the invaders should be put in possession of all the fortresses in the electorate, together with the arms, artillery, and ammunition of the enemy. It was further stipulated by this convention, which was signed at

Sublingen, that the Hanoverian army should retire behind the Elbe, and engage not to serve against France, or her allies, during the war, or until regularly exchanged. On the 5th of June, the French advanced without further molestation, and took possession of the city of Hanover, where they found a prodigious quantity of artillery and ammunition. Besides the absolute value of the electorate as a conquest, which enabled the enemy to remount their cavalry and recruit their drooping finances, they were now masters of the navigation of the Elbe and the Weser, and as had been foreseen, they hastened to improve this circumstance to their own advantage, and to the annoyance of their adversary. Being now in the immediate neighbourhood of the commercial Hanse towns of Hamburg and Bremen, the French generals were enabled to levy considerable sums of money on those opulent cities, under the shape of loans; and while the continental powers patiently submitted to this outrageous violation of the German empire, no prospect presented itself of limiting their future exactions. Bonaparte, anxious to push the advantages he possessed to the utmost possible extent, issued a decree, prohibiting the navigation of the rivers Elbe and Weser by the vessels of British merchants, asserting, that as the fortune of war had given him the possession of the King of England's dominions in Hanover, it was not to be expected that an enemy's ships would be allowed to pass within reach of a French battery. The British government in answer to this reasoning, replied, that the conduct of France, in the invasion of the electorate, was an unauthorized and outrageous violation of the independence of the German empire; that it would be an act of hostility in Germany, to permit British vessels to be fired at, or captured, when navigating in the ports and rivers of Germany; and therefore (retaliating in some degree, on the empire, for not having defended Hanover) measures were taken to enforce a rigorous blockade upon the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser, and to prevent the navigation of those rivers so long as British vessels were excluded. The Hanse towns were thus placed in a most deplorable situation. By the blockade of their harbours, all foreign trade was cut off, while the neighbourhood of the French armies placed them in perpetual danger of military violence and exaction. In this situation, they addressed themselves to the King of Prussia, as guarantee and protector of the neutrality of the north of Germany; but Frederick William, either entering into the views of France, or influenced by the consideration of its vast

and resistless power, refused his interference, and thus abandoned all the smaller states of Germany to the mercy and discretion of the republic.

On the arrival of intelligence at the headquarters of the French army, that his Britannic majesty, as elector of Hanover, had refused to ratify the convention of Sublingen, General Mortier addressed a letter to Marshal Count Walmoden, the Hanoverian general, apprizing him of this refusal, and of his consequent determination to recommence the campaign, unless the marshal would consent to surrender his army, and allow them to be marched into France as prisoners of war. To this Count Walmoden replied, that his army preferred perishing with arms in their hands, rather than to submit to this humiliating proposal; that they had already made sufficient sacrifices for their country; and that they must now defend their own honour; the officer by whom this spirited answer was conveyed, was, however, empowered to state, that if any acceptable terms were offered, they would probably not be rejected. This intimation led to a negotiation, which terminated in a convention, signed on the 5th of July, by which it was stipulated, that the Hanoverian army should be totally disbanded, and return to their homes, upon their parole not to serve against France or her allies, until regularly exchanged; and its artillery and military stores were all to be given up to the enemy. General Mortier, in his letter to the first consul, announcing the successful termination of the campaign, says, "It was only from generosity to an enemy imploring clemency, that we granted these terms; General Walmoden signed the capitulation with an afflicted heart; and it is difficult to paint the situation of the fine regiment of the King of England's guards at dismounting."

The moment had now arrived, when the avowed system of France in her war with England must be developed and put in execution; her first care was to increase her strength, and replenish her treasury at the expense of weaker states, and finally to apply her whole collected strength and resources to the invasion and conquest of Great Britain. From the very commencement of the war, every preparation was made to carry into effect the menaced invasion of England. Independent of the grand fleet at Brest, which, it was presumed, was destined for the invasion of Ireland, an immense number of transports was ordered to be built and collected, with the greatest expedition, in the French ports. The idea that some thousands of gun-boats might force their way across the channel, in spite of the British navy, was universally re-

ceived in France; and in the course of the year, so astonishing were the exertions of the republicans in this department of their naval preparations, that a sufficient flotilla was assembled at Boulogne, to carry over any army that France might see proper to employ in this desperate enterprise. This menacing disposition, and the mighty preparations for carrying it into effect, were perhaps ultimately advantageous to Great Britain. The evident necessity of defending the country against invasion, obtained a ready consent to every plan that could be proposed for its defence; and the vast reinforcements to its military strength, collected under this patriotic impulse, placed the nation on so proud a footing of security, that people no longer feared the visit of their invaders, but felt so conscious of their strength, as to wish the enemy to try an experiment, which would probably at one blow destroy the reputation, and annihilate the dominion and power of Bonaparte.

In this contest, Great Britain fairly accepted the challenge thrown out by France when her government vain-gloriously asserted, "with conscious pride, that England alone could not maintain a struggle against France."* The challenger soon found it necessary to call in the aid of auxiliary states, and to force the weaker powers by which she was surrounded to engage in her quarrel. Holland, contrary to her wishes, and in evident violation of her interests, as well as the Italian republic, was compelled to become a party with France, and, while the commercial interests of the latter were severely injured, the former, as we have seen, had, in the course of the year, to deplore the loss of all her West Indian colonies. Spain and Portugal were likewise compelled to furnish pecuniary assistance to France, in so open and extensive a manner, that it rested entirely with the policy or magnanimity of Great Britain, whether those kingdoms should not be considered as involved in direct acts of hostility. Independently of these measures, which the French government pursued as part of its war system; a step was taken at the commencement of the contest, which had never before been resorted to among civilized nations, and which has always been protested against as an act of barbarity and injustice. It appeared from an article published in the *Moniteur*, the official organ of the French government, "that two English frigates had captured two merchant vessels in the bay of Audierne, without any previous declaration of war, and in manifest violation

of the law of nations." In consequence of which, a decree, signed by the first consul, was issued, directing that "all the English from the age of eighteen to sixty, or persons holding commissions from his Britannic majesty, who are at present in France, shall immediately be considered prisoners of war, to answer for those citizens of the republic who may have been arrested, and made prisoners, by the vessels or subjects of his Britannic majesty, previous to any declaration of war." In virtue of this decree, all the nobility, commercial travellers, and others, subjects of his majesty the King of England, who had incautiously put themselves within the reach of Bonaparte in France, and who were engaged in travelling through any of those countries occupied by the French armies, were either shut up in prisons, or confined to particular places, as prisoners of war upon their parole, and not allowed to exceed the limits prescribed to them; and this flagitious violation of the law of nations, and of natural hospitality, was further aggravated by a perfidious promise previously made to the English subjects, that they should enjoy the protection of the government after the departure of the British ambassador, as extensively as during his residence at Paris.

In Europe, the naval campaign of the present year was not distinguished by any very brilliant exploits. On the 14th of September, however, the port and town of Gravelle were successively attacked by Sir James Saumarez; on which occasion, the pier was demolished, and a number of vessels intended for the invasion of England, destroyed. On the same day, the town and fort of Dieppe were bombarded by Captain Owen, in the *Immortalité* frigate, with the *Theseus* and *Sulphur* bombs, under his command. The Dutch ports, from the *Zandvoort*, in the vicinity of Haarlem, to Scheveningen, were also severely bombarded on the 28th of September, and many vessels destroyed. These attacks, though not productive of any important consequences, were very properly made at this period; and while England was threatened with invasion by a pigmy flotilla, it was politic to keep up the dread which her navy had inspired, and prove to the invaders that we were active and vigilant at every point.

In closing the history of one of the most memorable years in the annals of Europe, it may be proper shortly to advert to a singular negotiation which took place at Warsaw, arising out of an overture made by the first consul to Louis XVIII. for the resignation of that monarch's right to the

* View of the State of the French Republic, laid before the Legislative Body, Feb. 22, 1803.

throne of France, and the particulars of which are thus related by Monsieur, brother to the king :—

"On the 26th of February, of the current year (1803), a personage of prominent distinction, employed by high authority, waited on the King of France at Warsaw, and verbally made to his majesty, in terms the most respectful, but at the same time the most urgent, and, in the opinion of him who urged them, the most persuasive, the astonishing proposal to renounce the throne of France, and to require the same renunciation on the part of all the members of the house of Bourbon; the envoy moreover observed, that, as a price of this sacrifice, Bonaparte would secure indemnities to his majesty, and even a splendid establishment. His majesty, strongly animated by that sentiment which the hand of adversity is never able to obliterate from elevated souls, and which makes him cling as tenaciously to his rights as he does to the happiness of France, immediately wrote the following answer, which he delivered, on the 28th of February, to the person who was deputed to him :—

Answer of the King.

"I am far from being inclined to confound M. Bonaparte with those who have preceded him. I think highly of his valour, and of his military talents. Neither do I feel ungrateful for many acts of his administration; for whatever is done for the benefit of my people, shall always be dear to my heart. He is deceived, however, if he imagines that he can induce me to forego my claims, for otherwise he himself would confirm and establish them, could they be called in question, by the very step he has now taken.

"I cannot pretend to know what may be the intention of the Almighty respecting my race and myself, but I am well aware of the obligations imposed upon me by the rank to which he was pleased I should be born. As a Christian, I shall continue to fulfil these obligations to my last breath. As a descendant of St Louis, I shall endeavour to imitate his example by respecting myself—even in captivity and chains. As successor of Francis I., I shall at least aspire to say with him—*We have lost every thing but our honour.*

(Signed)

LOUIS.

"On the 2d of March, the king wrote to Monsieur, acquainting him with what had passed, and instructing him to make known the same to the princes of the blood who were in England, taking charge himself to inform such of them respecting it who do not reside in that country. On the 22d of April, Monsieur called a meeting of the

princes, who with equal alacrity and unanimity signed an adhesion to the answer of the king, of the 28th of February."

The emissary employed on this singular mission was said to be the commandant De Meyer, an officer in the Prussian service, and engaged in this negotiation by his Prussian majesty, at the instance of the first consul. The overture left no doubt on the mind of persons of discernment, that Bonaparte, having determined to extinguish even the name of republic in France, aspired to the imperial purple; and the events of the following year gave to those conjectures the stamp of historical confirmation.

In reviewing the principal occurrences of the war developed within the present year, it will be admitted, that while Great Britain was prosecuting the contest, in the true spirit of open and legitimate hostility, the first belligerent proceedings of the enemy violated the acknowledged rights, and the long established laws of nations. Contrary to the liberal principles upon which former wars had been conducted, and which were respected even by the revolutionary governments of France, the electorate of Hanover was immediately overrun by the devastating armies of the enemy. The neutrality of Germany was thus infringed, in direct opposition to existing engagements, and in defiance of those powers by which the execution of the treaty of Luneville was guaranteed. The faith of nations and the laws of hospitality were also most flagrantly violated in the detention of our unsuspecting countrymen in France; and the measures taken by that government to involve other countries in their quarrel, and to subject neutral states to the ruinous effects of war, form an aggregate of violence and injustice, ill according with those lofty professions of "moderation," and scrupulous regard to "the maintenance of the faith of treaties," by which the French government, in their declaration of the 30th of May, professed to be actuated.

CHAPTER II.

BRITISH HISTORY : State of Parties—Meeting of Parliament—Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act and the Re-enactment of Military Law in Ireland—National Force—Indisposition of his Majesty—Sir John Wrottesley's Motion—Message from his Majesty, announcing the voluntary Offer of the Irish Militia to serve in Great Britain—Volunteer Consolidation Bill—Motion of Mr. Pitt, on the Naval Defence of the Country—Mr. Fox's Motion for an Inquiry into the National Defence—The Budget—Change of Ministers—Motion for the Abolition of the Slave-trade, carried in the House of Commons—Rejected in the Lords—Permanent Military Force Bill—Corn Laws—Augmentation of the Civil List, and Discharge of the Incumbrances—Prorogation of Parliament.

GREAT BRITAIN, menaced with invasion from without, and agitated by the intrigues of powerful and adverse parties within, presented, at this period, a singular and interesting object of contemplation. The organization of the various descriptions of military force, collected for the general defence and security of the empire, did not by any means occupy the exclusive attention of government. A system of blockade was promptly carried into execution, and the enemy, who had vain-gloriously held the language of menace, saw forces, collected for the purpose of intimidation or chastisement, confined to their own coasts, and the vessels by which the invaders were to be conveyed to England, compelled to navigate the shores of France, under the protection of land batteries and flying artillery. But notwithstanding these exertions, which enabled the country, at an early period of the war, to hurl defiance in the face of her enemy, and even to assail the assailants, the proceedings of ministers were exposed to much severity of censure, and a design was formed to remove them from their stations, and to place in their stead a new administration, composed of statesmen, more distinguished for the brilliancy of their talents than for the harmony of their views, or the uniformity of their political principles.

The party in the senate most decidedly hostile to the existing administration, was the new opposition, led by Lord Grenville in the upper house of parliament, and by Mr. Windham in the house of commons. The whigs, or old opposition, though they had supported the treaty of Amiens, felt no cordiality towards a ministry, who had, as they conceived, again involved the country in an unnecessary war; and the adherents of Mr. Pitt, relaxing that "constant, active, and zealous support," which had been promised to Mr. Addington, were no longer to be classed among the supporters of the measures of his government. Against so formidable a phalanx, no minister, however pure his intentions, or commanding his talents, could hope to oppose a successful resistance; and therefore,

about the beginning of April, in the year 1803, and upon the eve of the war, Mr. Addington made a proposal to Mr. Pitt, the object of which was the return of the ex-minister to the official situation formerly held by him in the administration. This negotiation had proceeded nearly towards its close, when Mr. Pitt intimated, that in the general arrangement for a new administration, which he should feel it his duty to submit to his majesty, he should include the Lords Grenville and Spencer, with other noblemen and honourable personages, who had disapproved of every measure of Mr. Addington's government, and who were in effect adverse to the whole spirit and principle of his administration. With this proposal, it was impossible that ministers could comply—the negotiation was at an end, and with it every prospect of future support to the cause of government, constituted as it at present was, from Mr. Pitt and his adherents.

In this state of parties, parliament assembled on the 29d of November, 1803. In the speech from the throne, his majesty, addressing himself to the two houses of parliament, said :

" Since I last met you in parliament, it has been my chief object to carry into effect those measures, which your wisdom had adopted for the defence of the united kingdom, and for the vigorous prosecution of the war. In these preparations, I have been seconded by the voluntary exertions of all ranks of my people, in a manner that has, if possible, strengthened their claims to my confidence and affection : they have shown that the menaces of the enemy have only served to rouse their native hereditary spirit; and that all other considerations are lost in a general disposition to make those efforts and sacrifices which the honour and safety of the kingdom demand, at this important and critical juncture." After congratulating parliament on the accession made to the colonial possessions of this country in the West Indies; and on the happy suppression of the rebellion in Ireland; and informing them that a convention had been concluded with the King of Sweden, for the purpose of adjusting the differences which had arisen with that power, his majesty proceeded thus :—" In the prosecution of the contest in which we are engaged, it shall be, as it has ever been, my first object to execute as becomes me the great trust committed to my charge. Embarked with my brave and loyal people in one common cause

it is my fixed determination, if the occasion should arise, to share their exertions and their dangers in the defence of our constitution, our religion, our laws, and our independence. To the activity and valour of my fleets and armies, to the zeal and unconquerable spirit of my faithful subjects, I confide the honour of my crown, and all those valuable interests which are involved in this momentous contest. Actuated by these sentiments, and humbly imploring the blessing of Divine Providence, I look forward with a firm conviction, that if, contrary to all just expectation, the enemy should elude the vigilance of my numerous fleets and cruisers, and attempt to execute their presumptuous threat of invading our coasts, the consequence will be to their discomfiture, confusion, and disgrace; and that ours will not only be the glory of surmounting the present difficulties, and repelling immediate danger, but the solid and permanent advantage of fixing the safety and independence of the kingdom on the basis of acknowledged strength, the result of its own tried energy and resources."

The Marquis of Sligo moved the address in the upper house of parliament, and was seconded by the Earl of Limerick. They insisted strongly on the importance of unanimity, at a moment when we were obliged to contend with an overbearing and vindictive enemy, avowing, as his object, our destruction. On the present occasion, no question was involved on the fitness or unfitness of ministers for the councils of their sovereign; the topics before the house were not matters of party consideration; they were, on the contrary, matters of a comprehensive, general, and important kind. One passage in the king's speech was noticed as deserving peculiar consideration, namely, his avowal to stand forward in defence of the honour of his crown, and the liberties and independence of his faithful people. To a communication of this nature, there was no heart so cold, so deadened to every generous feeling, as not to beat responsive. Well might his majesty rely on the zeal and services of his people. Should such a contingency ever arise, the whole population of the island would rush forward, and interpose its myriads between his sacred person and danger; though an attack should be made by hosts gorged with the spoils and blood of Europe, the result would be, not only security, but triumph to our beloved sovereign, and those who had the happiness to live under his auspicious government. In these feelings, the house so entirely acquiesced, that the address was carried without opposition.

In the house of commons, the address was proposed by the Honourable Cropley Ashley, seconded by Mr. Burland, and carried without any amendment being proposed. Mr. Fox adverted to the mediation of Russia, which, in the last session of parliament, Lord Hawkesbury did, as strongly as language could express, pledge minis-

ters, as not only ready to accept if offered, but, if not offered, directly to solicit. Believing the noble secretary to have been sincere, it was naturally expected, in a speech from the throne, at the opening of a new session, and after such an interval had taken place, that his majesty would have referred to the subject, and put the house in possession of the means of determining how far the negotiations were likely to lead to the result which was in view. In answer to these observations, the chancellor of the exchequer replied, that the offices of mediation had been offered by the court of Russia, and accepted with readiness and gratitude on the part of his majesty's servants; but although discussions of the greatest moment were in consequence commenced, yet in their progress they did not assume such a shape as to lead to any probability of an amicable arrangement with France.

The first subject of high importance which engaged the attention of parliament, arose out of a proposition of Mr. Secretary Yorke, to bring in a bill to continue two acts, the one for suspending the Habeas Corpus act in Ireland, and the other for the re-enactment of martial law in that country. He declared his reluctance to introduce the measures now proposed, although he was of opinion that no man, acquainted with the state of Ireland, could entertain a doubt of their necessity. He was sorry to be obliged to propose any measure that might trench upon the liberties of the subject, or on any of those blessings which this country so justly valued at so high a rate; "But," said Mr. Yorke, "it is the misfortune of the times in which we are destined to live, that we are not permitted to enjoy our lives or liberties, or our possessions, without being daily called upon to sacrifice some part of our privileges in order to preserve the remainder—to sacrifice the best blood in the country in support of the contest in which we are engaged, and to abridge our liberties, in order to preserve the existence of liberty itself." The honourable secretary then proceeded to state a variety of grounds in order to demonstrate the necessity of adopting these measures. The insurrection in Dublin in the month of July; the manner in which it was conducted; the atrocities which accompanied it; the intelligence of which government was in possession, and which afforded every reason to believe, notwithstanding the declaration of many of the rebels, and particularly of Emmett, their principal leader, that there did exist a connexion between the conspirators in Ireland and the French government, through the medium of Irish traitors resident in France; all which circumstances supplied abundant

materials to prove the necessity of adopting the measures now proposed for the sanction of parliament. He conceived it of the highest national importance, that government should not be left destitute of the powers necessary to meet any emergency; especially as it was well known, from what had already occurred, that the Irish government would not abuse the extensive powers that it was now proposed should be delegated to them.

Colonel Hutchinson succeeded Mr. Yorke, and dwelt with much feeling and eloquence on the state of Ireland. It was, he said, his intention to support the motion; but he acknowledged that he should have voted for the adoption of these measures with more satisfaction, if ministers had shown a disposition to adopt a system of government in Ireland, more congenial to the wishes, and more conducive to the interests of the people of that country. He disapproved the postponement of the consideration of the Irish claims, on the pretext that the time was unfit. "I should be glad to know," said Colonel Hutchinson, "when, in the estimation of ministers, the proper time will arrive; for, from their conduct hitherto, it seems impossible to calculate; they have been ministers during peace, and during war; during rebellion, and after rebellion has been put down. They have in fact been nearly three years in power, and have gone through every variety of change and circumstance, and yet, to them, the time for considering the means of improving the condition of Ireland has never yet arrived."

On the second reading of the martial law bill, Mr. Elliot said, that on a subject of such magnitude and importance, he could never consent to act on the principle of implicit confidence in any government. As a conscientious representative of the people, he must be guided by facts, in acceding to, or opposing any legislative measure. At present, the house had no facts to guide their judgment. He regarded an application to parliament for extraordinary powers, without stating any grounds whatever for the measure, as unwarrantable and unconstitutional. For the sake of justice, for the sake of policy, from regard to the dignity of the house, he conjured ministers not to precipitate the passing of this bill. The great benefit resulting from the union, he observed, had been described to be the freedom of the imperial parliament from the prejudices of a local legislature; but if the Irish were to experience only measures of coercion, if their interests were not to be gravely and impartially brought under the consideration of the legislature, they could never be expected to feel for this country

that cordial attachment which was so infinitely desirable.

Lord Castlereagh admitted, that when martial law was enacted in 1799, two reports of a secret committee had been adduced, to prove the necessity of the measure. But the expediency of such reports depended in a great degree upon circumstances. This mode of presenting information to the legislature and to the public might offer a advantageous; occasions however might occur, when it would be highly impolitic, and even dangerous, to promulgate such reports. In such circumstances, he thought his majesty's ministers were now placed. Government, he said, was now actively and successfully engaged in tracing out the remotest ramifications of the insurrection. He admitted that there was at present less visible danger, because the cause of loyalty had received a vast augmentation; but there were still many traitorous and malignant spirits in Ireland, bent on projects of the most atrocious nature. To counteract their views, and to defeat their designs, the present bill, as a wise measure of precautionary power, appeared to him both politic and expedient.

In the house of lords, nearly the same course of argument was pursued, in discussing the bills for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, and for vesting government with the power of proclaiming martial law in Ireland, as in the lower house of parliament; and in both houses the bills passed into laws, without producing a division in any stage of their progress.

In the proceedings of parliament during the early part of the present session, the opposition to ministers was not called into active exercise; nor had all the parties of which that opposition was composed, yet appeared in array against the objects of their censure; but the time was now approaching when their attacks were to be conducted on a system of decided co-operation, and when the treasury bench itself would be carried by the weight of the hostile column.

The debate which arose on the 9th of December, on the motion of the secretary at war, to refer the army estimates to a committee of supply, embraced an extensive view of the general defence of the country. The force proposed to be voted for the public service, amounted, for guards and garrisons in the united kingdom, to one hundred and sixty-seven thousand men. The embodied militia of Great Britain and Ireland, amounted to one hundred and ten thousand; and the volunteer corps, to upwards of four hundred thousand rank and file in the united kingdom. For the volunteer force of the country, it was proposed

to vote the sum of seven hundred and thirty thousand pounds for one year; of this description of force, the honourable gentleman stated, that about forty-five thousand served without pay, including forty-two thousand five hundred infantry, and two thousand five hundred cavalry.

The question being put upon the first resolution, Mr. Windham rose, and in a long and well-combined speech, attacked the whole plan of government. He could not consider the present topic without noticing the general conduct of administration; his opinion of which he could not better describe than in some lines which gentlemen might have seen written on the windows of inns, where the writer speaking of the faults of men and women, concluded, most ungenerously and ungallantly, that

“ ——— Men have many faults; poor women have but two:
There's nothing good they say, nor nothing right they do.”

These lines, however bad the poetry, and however false the sentiment in its original application, were, he was sorry to say, perfectly descriptive of his opinion of his majesty's present ministers. The army of reserve, he asserted, had cost, in bounty money alone, one million pounds sterling, not granted by parliament, but levied in a manner most unequal in its operation, and most incommodious to the public. The expense of the volunteers was estimated at about one million to government, and an equal sum to themselves. Hence, these two descriptions of force had been attended with an expense to the nation of about three millions. Taking the population of the united kingdom at about fifteen millions, he should expect our military establishment to amount to about four hundred thousand; but it far exceeded this number; it amounted to half a million at least. This was a splendid armament, and in point of numbers, more than adequate to repel any force which the enemy could bring against us. But it was proper to inquire, of what this fabric consisted? How much of it was real masonry, and what portion of it was mere lath and plaster?—not distinguishable perhaps by the common eye, from the solid structure, and seeming to be a continuation of the same front, but no more the same in reality, than one of the new temporary barracks, of which they might expect to hear so much soon, was to be considered as a building of the same sort as St. Paul's or Westminster Abbey. Mr. Windham contended, that though men were never more eager to come forward, the zeal and spirit of the country had not been properly directed. It was absurd, he said, to train volun-

teers to act with troops of the line. An officer, unless secure of his troops, would not attempt any difficult enterprise. He was of opinion, that the volunteers, instead of being disciplined to act in the line, should be employed to hover about the foe, in order, in this manner, the more effectually to harass and annoy him; and he illustrated the success with which this mode of attack might be conducted, by the capture of General Burgoyne. With respect to the military strength of the kingdom, he maintained, that if the volunteers, the militia, and the army of reserve, except the few that had entered for general service, were deducted from the sum total, the effective force of the country would appear to be by no means considerable. The regular army, in proportion to its numbers, he considered as efficient a military body as any troops in the world. In the militia, too, there were many good troops, possessed of every requisite but experience. With respect to the army of reserve, it could not at present be considered as an efficient military force, whatever claim time might give it to that designation; and as to the four hundred thousand volunteers, he must say, that these corps would be for ever unsuited to the sort of service on which it was intended to employ them. From this general view of the army that had been created, it appeared to him, that the means which the population, spirit, and disposition of the country afforded, had been grossly abused; for, in fact, the five thousand men who had entered from the army of reserve for general service, were to be regarded as the only real accession to the effective force of the country. Having thus detailed his objections to what a great philosopher termed the living instruments of our defence, the inanimate instruments of security must not be overlooked. Under this head, Mr. Windham ranged the erection of military works, and strongly recommended Martello towers in preference to redoubts. He complained that for the defence of the whole county of Norfolk, only sixteen pieces of cannon and one regiment of militia had been provided; though it was well known that the town of Yarmouth was the defence of the road of Yarmouth, and consequently of the coast to the north of England. This he regarded as no very favourable specimen of a judicious system of defence; since it thus appeared, notwithstanding their four or five hundred thousand men, that ministers had left the kingdom in many places in a state of great insecurity. He next proceeded to remark upon the impropriety of supplying the army of reserve by substitutes, and concluded by declaring, that the present ministers ought no longer to be in-

trusted with the administration of our public affairs

Mr. Secretary Yorke replied to Mr. Windham, and was followed by Mr. Pitt, who, in a very spirited and argumentative manner, defended the efficiency of the volunteer system. One great object of Mr. Pitt's speech was to demonstrate the capability of improvement of which the volunteer corps were susceptible; and he took occasion to suggest those means which appeared to him best calculated to advance that object. He looked upon the regular army as the great rallying point to which the volunteers must have recourse, by whose example they must be regulated, and by whose experience they must be guided. Of the amount of the volunteer force, he saw no reason to complain; but in their distribution he could have wished that their numbers had been greater in the more exposed parts of the maritime coast. The object he had more immediately in view, was to render this force, the existence of which was absolutely necessary, not merely a nominal force, but an efficient and permanent army. For this purpose, he was desirous that all the volunteer companies should be brought to act in battalions, and whenever it could be accomplished, in brigades. He also proposed, to give to every battalion the assistance of a field-officer, and an adjutant; such officers still retaining their rank and pay in the army. With respect to the number of days for which the corps should be exercised, he was of opinion that about fifty days would be sufficient for the next year, and forty for each succeeding year. The expense arising from the field-officers and adjutants, he estimated at about one hundred and sixty thousand pounds; and that of the allowances to such volunteers, as might, from their circumstances, be obliged to accept of pay, at between three and four hundred thousand more, making an aggregate of about five hundred thousand pounds; and if, for that sum, a force of nearly four hundred thousand men could be maintained in gradual and efficient improvement, he affirmed, that this would be the cheapest item in the whole of the public expenditure. Looking, as we ought to look, to a protracted contest, we ought to provide the means for maintaining it for a length of time. It should be the great object of the government to prevent the spirit of the volunteers from languishing, lest the country should be suddenly called upon to meet the long meditated attack, without being duly prepared for resistance. Perhaps something like the compulsory act of last session might be adopted during the war, in order to keep up the number, and the

punctual attendance of the volunteers, and to preserve that subordination, which is essential to progressive improvement. As to the sea fencibles, he looked upon them as one of the most valuable parts of our force; and this description of service brought into activity a body of men, who, being chiefly pilots and fishermen, could neither be employed in the navy, nor permanently taken from their families. Declining to enter into any wider field of discussion, Mr. Pitt concluded by stating, that at the proper time he should propose the resolutions to which he had alluded.

Lord Castlereagh, in an animated reply to the objections urged by Mr. Windham against the army of reserve and the volunteer system, said, that out of the thirty-five thousand men already raised for the army of reserve, seven thousand five hundred had entered for general service. This measure, therefore, which had been described as so fatal to the recruiting service, had, in the short space of two months, produced nearly as many men for the general service as had been obtained in the preceding year by the ordinary mode of recruiting. As to the objection against the volunteer service, there was nothing to prevent the members of any volunteer corps from entering into the militia, or the regular army; and it was an ascertained fact, that any description of military duty ripened and prepared the feelings of men for general service. The military force of the united kingdom, his lordship observed, was naturally divided into troops on permanent pay, and those liable to service in the event of invasion. Of the first description, there were in Great Britain, and in the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, one hundred and thirty thousand men; and in Ireland, fifty thousand men; making in the whole, one hundred and eighty thousand rank and file. The effective rank and file of the militia in Great Britain and Ireland, amounted to eighty-four thousand men; the regular force, to ninety-six thousand; of which twenty-seven thousand were for limited service; and sixty-nine thousand, at this moment, disposable for general service. The next grand feature of our military strength consisted in the volunteer force,* of which

* *LIST of Yeomanry and Volunteer Corps.
In Great Britain.*

Effective rank and file,	341,687
Field officers,	1,346
Captains,	4,472
Subalterns,	9,918
Staff-officers,	1,100
Sergeants, drummers, &c.	21,520

379,945

three hundred and forty thousand men, accepted and arrayed, were at present in Great Britain; and in Ireland, it amounted to seventy thousand; making a total of four hundred and ten thousand in rank and file, in the united kingdom; to which, were to be added, twenty-five thousand sea fencibles. The total amount of the whole military force, at this crisis, stood therefore as follows:—

Militia, in Great Britain and Ireland, . . .	84,000
Regular force, for general service, . . .	69,000
Regular force, for limited service, . . .	27,000
Volunteer force, in Great Britain, . . .	340,000
Volunteer force, in Ireland, . . .	70,000
Sea fencibles, . . .	25,000
Total, rank and file, . . .	615,000

If to this number officers of every description were added, the whole amount of our military force, exclusive of various auxiliary means of defence, would not be less than seven hundred thousand men! The more regular part of this army might be considered as unconditionally disposable for active service; since the other description of force could be employed to relieve it from those detached services, which, in general, occasion so serious a deduction from the fighting men of an army. Without entering into a minute detail of the several classes of ships, of which the navy was at present composed, his lordship supposed it would be deemed sufficient to state to the committee, that the number of ships of war amounted to four hundred and sixty-nine; and that, in aid of the regular navy, and for the purpose of defending the coast, an armed flotilla, consisting of eight hundred craft of all descriptions, was nearly completed. In noticing the exertions of the ordnance department, in the fitting out of the present armament, his lordship stated, that since the commencement of hostilities, there had been issued three hundred and twelve thousand muskets,

sixteen thousand pistols, and seventy-seven thousand pikes. The field-train also, in Great Britain alone, was increased from three hundred and fifty-six to four hundred and sixty pieces of ordnance, completely appointed, and brigaded under experienced officers; and the stores, in all the various branches of the public service, had been nearly doubled. His lordship, in conclusion, expressed his full concurrence with Mr. Pitt in opinion, that the apparent abandonment of invasion, or even the failure of any attempt on our coast, should never induce us to relax in our vigilance, or in our exertions. True wisdom left us no alternative, but to place the security of these realms on such a basis of internal strength, as should for ever put to rest the question of invasion.

Mr. Fox very much applauded the zeal and patriotism of the volunteers, but he could never bring himself to believe, that they were susceptible of any thing like the efficiency of a regular force. If the rumour of invasion (which he conceived was not so likely to be attempted, and if attempted, not so practicable as was generally imagined) should subside, the whole of the regular army ought by no means to be employed on foreign expeditions, and the safety of the empire intrusted to the volunteers. For, if invasion, under such circumstances, were attempted, there would indeed be serious grounds of apprehension and alarm.

The chancellor of the exchequer rose after Mr. Fox, and, in reply to the want of confidence in the volunteers, expressed by that honourable gentleman, stated the opinion of Lord Moira, the commander-in-chief in Scotland, and of Lord Cathcart, the present commander-in-chief in Ireland. These great military authorities were so highly satisfied with the steadiness and discipline of the volunteers of Edinburgh and of Dublin, that they had given them an unconditional assurance, that they would conduct them with confidence against the enemy.

On the 12th of December, Mr. Hobhouse appeared at the bar of the house, with the report of the committee on the army estimates, when, after an animated discussion, in which Colonel Crawford took a leading part, the resolutions of the committee were severally put and agreed to. No other business, coming within the range of general history, occupied the attention of either house of parliament up to the 20th of December, on which day an adjournment took place to the 1st of February.

During the parliamentary recess, the opponents of administration were engaged in unceasing endeavours to form a systematic

REGINALD POLE CAREW.

Whitehall, Dec. 9, 1803.

RETURN of the Royal Army of Reserve.

	No.				Effective No. due, of men.	of privs. incl. each.
Eng. & Wales	26,739	952	178	1,129	28,480	9,004
Scotland	4,436	66	3	271	4,103	1,897
Ireland	6,189			610	5,679	4,522
	37,363	1,010	181	2,010	34,162	15,423

Inspector-general's office, Dec. 1803.

(Signed) G. HEWITT, Lieut-general.

co-operation, for the purpose of displacing the existing servants of the crown; and before the meeting of parliament, it was publicly, and with the appearance of authority, announced, that Lord Grenville, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Windham, had agreed on a plan of concert, for effectuating that intention; and it was more than intimated, that their operations would be seconded and promoted by Mr. Pitt. While the certainty of a coalition, and the probable course of political discussion to be pursued, deeply engaged the public attention, a new and unexpected event arose, which, by its predominant interest, seemed for a while to damp, and almost to extinguish the ardour which the intended attack on ministers had created.

On the 14th of February, it was publicly announced, by an official bulletin, issued from the palace of St. James's, that, on that day, his majesty was much indisposed; and a succession of similar notices left little doubt of the serious nature of the complaint. The alarm and consternation thus excited throughout the metropolis, and the whole empire, cannot be expressed. The dreadful visitation of 1789 was present to every mind. The disquietudes of that period, and the height to which the differences of opinion, both in parliament and in the public mind, had proceeded, on the mode to be adopted for supplying the temporary suspension of the executive branch of the constitution, were recollected with increased dismay and apprehension. No provision had been made by the wisdom of parliament on that occasion, or on the more recent alarm in 1801, to meet the inconveniences necessarily attendant on a similar calamity, and the present portentous situation of the country seemed to demand the constant and unremitting exercise of the functions of majesty. On the 27th of February, twelve days after the notification of his majesty's illness, the first bulletin appeared, that could be said to hold out any prospect of its favourable or speedy termination. This consolatory information was followed on the 29th, by the declarations in parliament of the chancellor of the exchequer, "that there was no necessary suspensions of the royal functions;" but this assertion was deemed unsatisfactory. It was not till the 9th of March, that the apprehension of a loyal and affectionate people were dissipated, by the assurance of the lord chancellor, given in his place, in the upper house of parliament, "that he had conceived it proper and necessary to have a personal interview with the sovereign, at which due discussion had taken place with respect to the bills submitted for the royal assent; and he had no hesita-

tion to aver, that the result of all that took place on that occasion, fully justified him in announcing his majesty's assent to the bills specified in the royal commission." This communication was received with general joy throughout the country, and the recovery of his majesty was hailed as a national blessing, in the midst of the numerous and weighty difficulties in which the empire was, at the present moment, involved.

During this period, the conflicts of parties had not subsided, and motions were made, and others announced as in preparation, which were likely to try to the utmost the strength of government. Some of the earliest of these efforts related to Ireland. Admiral Berkeley had, before the recess, given notice of his intention to move for certain papers relative to the late insurrection in Ireland, for the purpose of exculpating his relation, General Fox, the commander of the forces, from all blame on that occasion; but ministers having given him the most explicit assurances, that they never intended to criminate that officer, or to impute to him any negligence on that unhappy occasion, he waived his intended motion.

On the 7th of March, Sir John Wrottesley made a motion for the house to resolve itself into a committee, to inquire into the conduct of the Irish government relative to the insurrection of the 23d of July, and the previous conduct of the Irish government, so far as related to the insurrection. This motion was supported by Mr. Fox, Mr. Canning, Earl Temple, Mr. Windham, General Tarleton, Dr. Lawrence, Lord de Blaquiere, and Mr. Grey; and opposed by Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Archdall, Mr. Dawson, Mr. Secretary Yorke, Mr. Dallas, the attorney-general, Mr. Tierney, the chancellor of the exchequer, and Colonel Hutchinson, on the ground that the intent of the motion was to attack Lord Hardwicke, at a time when his whole attention was occupied in the administration of the affairs of Ireland. The debate, which was conducted with great animation, and some degree of asperity, was protracted till near five o'clock on the following morning, when, on a division of the house, the motion was lost by a majority of one hundred and seventy-eight to eighty-two voices.

An act of justice, not only unresisted, but even called for by the general opponents of administration, took place in the course of the present session of parliament, by an act settling the sum of twelve hundred pounds per ann. on the family of Lord Kilwarden, the illustrious victim of the 23d of July. By this act, eight hundred a

year was settled upon his widow for life, and after her death upon her son, bearing the title of Lord Kilwarden; and four hundred a year on the two daughters of the deceased chief-justice; the annuity to commence from the memorable night of their unfortunate parent's massacre.

Although the restriction of the issues of cash by the bank of Ireland, had generally been regarded as a measure necessarily resulting from the restriction on the bank of England, yet, when this subject was submitted to the house of commons, on the 13th of February, it occasioned an animated debate, and called forth a maiden speech from Lord Henry Petty, eldest son of the Marquis of Lansdowne, in which his lordship displayed considerable talents, both as a parliamentary speaker, and a public financier.

On the 26th of March, the chancellor of the exchequer presented a message from his majesty, announcing a voluntary offer of the Irish militia to extend their services to Great Britain, expressed in the following terms:—

“G. R.

His majesty thinks proper to acquaint the house of commons, that the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, of the several regiments of the militia of Ireland, have made a voluntary tender of their services, to be employed in Great Britain during the war. His majesty has received with great satisfaction this striking proof of their affection and attachment towards his person and government, and of their patriotic zeal for the general interests of his united kingdom; and conceiving that his being enabled to avail himself of this distinguished instance of public spirit may be attended with the most important advantages at the present conjuncture, he recommends it to his faithful commons, to adopt such regulations as may enable him to accept the services of such parts of the militia forces of Ireland as may voluntarily offer their services to be employed in Great Britain, for such time, and to such extent, as to the wisdom of parliament may seem expedient.”

Two days after the delivery of this message, an address, grounded on its recommendation, was moved by Mr. Yorke; and bills ultimately passed both houses of parliament, to enable his majesty to accept the services of the Irish militia, and to raise ten thousand additional militia in Ireland.

While these measures were proceeding in their respective stages, a systematic attack on the ministry was pursued by all the parties in opposition, through the medium of investigations on the military and naval affairs of the empire. This opposition was most particularly displayed in the progress of a bill to explain, amend, and consolidate the provisions contained in the general acts relative to the yeomanry and

volunteer corps of the united kingdom;* and Mr. Secretary Yorke, on moving for leave to bring in this bill, explained its scope and object. In introducing this measure, he deprecated all party animosity in the discussion of the question, and explained, that the concern of his majesty's ministers was, in the first place, to set at rest the question that had been entertained, relative to the powers of volunteers to resign at their pleasure; and, secondly, to vest the appointment of volunteer officers in the crown, and not in the corps themselves. After pointing out a variety of alterations which he proposed in the manner of granting the exemptions, he submitted to the assembly, whether it was not better, under existing circumstances, to continue the volunteer system, even with all its necessary defects, than to abandon it, in order to find out some other kind of defence, that might indeed sound better in theory, but which would turn out much worse in practice. The progress of this bill through the house of commons, occasioned several animated debates, and several divisions, in which the majorities were in general flattering to ministers. In the lords, the bill encountered a warm opposition, particularly from Lords Grenville and Spencer, who proposed several amendments, which were rejected by considerable majorities. In the course of the discussions, the Earl of Suffolk moved for a committee to inquire into the state of the defence of the country, but the proposition was negatived without a division, and the volunteer consolidation bill was finally enacted.

The course of debate on the volunteer bill was interrupted by a motion of which Mr. Pitt had before given notice, on a subject of much higher interest—the naval defence of the country; a question which was expected more than any other to try the strength of ministry, and even to shake their power to its foundation. This motion was introduced on the 15th of March, and Mr. Pitt began by expressing his expectation, that part of the documents which it was his intention to call for, would be granted by ministers without resistance. His first motion, he said, would be for an address, requesting that his majesty would order to be laid before parliament, an account of the number of ships of the line, and smaller vessels, in commission on the 31st of December, 1793, on the 30th of September, 1801, and on the 31st of December, 1803, specifying the service in

* A short time before the introduction of this bill, the court of king's bench, contrary to the opinion of his majesty's attorney-general, had decided that a volunteer was at liberty to resign whenever he might think proper.

which they were respectively employed. He made his motion from a conviction, that if the papers were granted, it would appear that the number of that description of our naval force, fit to repel the actual attempts of the enemy, was, at the present moment, much inferior, and less adequate to the exigency of the danger, than at any period in former times. If these documents were granted, his next motion would be for a copy of the contracts made, and the orders given by the lords of the admiralty, in 1793, 1797, and 1803, with respect to the number of gun vessels to be built, distinguishing the time at which each contract was made, the period in which it was to be brought to a conclusion, and the amount of the sum to be paid for its performance. This account would show the opinion of the lords of the admiralty on the subject, and would also afford the means of comparing our naval strength in this respect, as it actually existed, with what it was in former instances, and tend most essentially to promote that end for which we could not be too zealous in our wishes—the security of the country. Mr. Pitt said, that since the present lords of the admiralty came into office, only two ships of the line had been contracted for in the merchant's yards, and his next motion should therefore be, that there be laid before the house a list of such ships as had been built in the king's yards in 1793, and in 1801. On the subject of manning the navy, he observed, that in the former war we set out with sixteen thousand men, but in the course of the year they were increased to the number of seventy-five thousand, including marines. In the present war, we started with fifty thousand men, and had all the great advantages arising from an unprecedented prosperity of trade and commerce, and yet at the end of the year our naval force did not exceed eighty-six thousand men. Thus in the first year of the former war, we had an increase of sixty thousand seamen, and in the first year of the present war, an augmentation of only thirty-six thousand.

Mr. Tierney, treasurer of the navy, expressed his surprise, that a motion of inquiry, tending to a censure of the admiralty, should be proposed just at a time when all the enemy's ports were sealed up, our commerce protected in every direction, and our trade prosperous in an unexampled degree; and that a motion with such an object should proceed from a right honourable gentleman who, at no remote period, had been unbounded in his eulogiums on the capacity and talents of the Earl St. Vincent, whom he had described as the only person fitted for the situation of the first lord of the admiralty. Mr. Tierney objected strongly to the production of the papers required, and

was at a loss to conceive how the measure could, for a single instant, be entertained by the house, when no cause, no single fact, was brought forward to support it; when every possible energy pervaded that branch of the public service over which the noble lord presided; when naval skill, vigilance, and activity, were displayed in every quarter, and when the best officers were employed in every direction, with the highest honour to themselves, and the most decided advantage to their country. Mr. Tierney then proceeded to an elaborate statement of the naval means of the country, both for defence and for attack, and concluded by declaring his readiness to grant two of the papers required, but to resist the production of the others.

Mr. Wilberforce felt himself impelled, by a sense of public duty, to support Mr. Pitt's motions, while Mr. Sheridan, in a very brilliant speech, advocated the cause of ministers.

Mr. Fox fully concurred in the praise bestowed upon Earl St. Vincent; but ministers, he said, had only two courses that they could with propriety pursue, either to say that no case whatever had been made out, and on that ground to refuse the papers altogether; or to produce all the papers that could reasonably be asked for, and upon the consideration of those documents, to call for the censure or acquittal of the house. But the line of conduct they had taken did neither the one nor the other. By granting some papers and refusing others, they admitted enough to countenance the supposition of something wrong in the naval administration, and did not go far enough to let that suspicion be wiped away.

The debate was continued for several hours, and turned in a great measure upon the question, whether it would be more demonstrative of high consideration for Earl St. Vincent, to vote for or against the motion submitted to the house by Mr. Pitt. The chancellor of the exchequer, and several other members, spoke against the motion; and Sir William Curtis, in answer to a charge that the trade of the country was neglected, declared that it was never so well protected as at the present moment. On a division, the numbers were, for Mr. Pitt's motion, one hundred and thirty; against it, two hundred and one; constituting a majority for its rejection of seventy-one voices.

Another measure, connected with the defence of the country, which occasioned very animated debates, and called forth all the strength of the rival parties in parliament, was a motion made by Mr. Fox on the 23d of April, for the appointment of a committee of the whole house, to whom should be

confided the revival of the several bills for the defence of the country, with instructions to consider of such further measures as might be necessary to make that defence more complete and permanent. As the object of this motion was avowedly to displace the ministers, much of the debate turned on subjects connected with that event. The conduct of administration was defended by Mr. Secretary Yorke, the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Vansittart, Sir William Poltney, the attorney-general, and Mr. Tierney; and censured by Mr. Windham, Mr. Pitt, and several other members of the coalesced opposition. Mr. Pitt, in a speech of considerable length, made a violent attack on ministers, affirming, that after twelve months of war, preceded by a peace which, by their own confession, was a mere notice of that war, they had brought forward nothing in which there had not been a variety of contradictions in the plans, repugnances in the measures, and imbecility in the execution. At a late hour, the house divided, when there appeared for Mr. Fox's motion two hundred and four; against it, two hundred and fifty-six voices.

Two nights afterwards, Mr. Pitt opposed the motion for the speaker leaving the chair, that the house might go into a committee on the bill for suspending the operation of the army of reserve act; on which occasion the ministerial majority was reduced to thirty-seven, the members being two hundred and forty, to two hundred and three voices.

Ministers, finding it impossible to conduct the business of the country against such an overwhelming opposition, came to the resolution of making a tender of their resignations to the sovereign. In the mean time, the Marquis of Stafford gave notice of a motion in the house of lords, similar to that which Mr. Fox had so recently made in the other house of parliament. But, on the 30th of April, the order of the day having been read for the motion of Marquis of Stafford, Lord Hawkesbury rose in considerable agitation, and entreated the noble marquis to postpone the discussion, pledging his character, both as a minister and a lord of parliament, that the reasons by which he was induced to make this application were sufficiently cogent, if known to the noble marquis, to gain his ready acquiescence; they were, however, of that delicate nature, that he was restrained by a sense of duty from disclosing them. The Marquis of Stafford, under these circumstances, agreed to postpone his intended motion.

On the same day, in the house of commons, Mr. Addington opened the budget of the year. The chancellor of the exche-

quer expatiated on the advantages which had already been found to result from the system of preventing an augmentation of the national debt, by raising the principal part of the supplies within the year. He now entered into a very detailed statement, to show that the war taxes, which he had calculated last year at only nine millions, would probably produce in future not less than twelve millions and a half; and that the permanent taxes would continue as productive as in former years. Among the ways and means, he proposed to add a million a year to the war taxes, by increasing the duty on wine, from twelve to twenty pounds per ton, and by laying a duty of twelve and three quarters on all imports, except tea, wine, and cotton-wool. The produce of the consolidated fund, he should reckon at five millions, instead of six and a half, at which he had before calculated it, in addition to which he should propose a loan of ten millions, and a vote of credit of two millions and a half. The interest of the loan, and the one per cent. for its extinction, would amount, with the charges of management, to about seven hundred and thirty-six thousand pounds; to meet which, he should propose an alteration in the stamp duties, which would give an addition of eight hundred thousand pounds annually. After again adverting to the advantages of his system of finance, he concluded by proposing his resolutions, which were agreed to in the committee.*

The intimation given by Lord Hawkesbury in the upper house of parliament, on the 30th of April, was followed by the

* NATIONAL FINANCES.

PUBLIC INCOME of Great Britain for the year ending the 5th of January, 1804.

Branches of Revenue.	Gross Receipts.		Paid into the Excheq.	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Customs, . . .	10,419,680	16 11	7,173,620	17 1
Excise, . . .	19,568,277	18 3½	17,975,373	19 11
Stamps, . . .	3,436,067	1 3	3,177,604	12 6
Land and Assess- ed Taxes, . . .	5,776,072	15 0½	5,309,699	8 6½
Post-Office, . .	1,273,878	3 10½	896,000	0 0
Miscella. Perma- nent Taxes, . .	142,334	17 1½	129,581	13 6
Hered. Revenue, .	120,824	5 1½	88,668	19 10
Extraordinary Re- sources, . . .	2,003,759	10 4½	2,001,544	12 7½
Loans, . . .	11,960,000	0 0	11,960,000	0 0

Grand Total, —£54,710,795 8 0 £48,707,124 3 11½

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for the Year 1804.

	£	s. d.
Navy, . . .	12,350,505	7 6
Army, . . .	12,993,625	4 1
Militia and Fencible Corps, . .	6,159,114	2 11
Ordnance, . . .	3,737,091	4 6
Miscellaneous Services, . . .	4,217,286	14 8½
Ditto Extra, . . .	2,500,000	0 0
Exchequer Bills, . . .	11,000,000	0 0
Civil List, . . .	691,842	3 10½
Additional, annual, to his majesty,	60,000	0 0

Total of Supply — £53,009,574 17 6½

immediate resignation of a part of the existing administration; and on the 3d of the following month, a communication from his majesty was made to Mr. Pitt, through the medium of the lord chancellor. The elevated office of prime minister was at this time offered to Mr. Pitt; but the tender is reported to have been made with express stipulations against the revival of the Catholic question, and against the admission into the cabinet of the distinguished leader of the old opposition. On the 7th of May, the appointed interview took place between his majesty and Mr. Pitt, upon which occasion the king is said to have expressed no objection to Lord Grenville, Earl Spencer, Mr. Windham, or indeed to any of their friends, with one exception; and upon this point, it was stated, his majesty's resolution was unalterably fixed. Mr. Pitt hastened to communicate the result of his interview with the king to Lord Grenville; on which his lordship observed, that unless Mr. Fox were included in the new administration, and without a complete abandonment of the principle of exclusion, not a single member of the new opposition could accede to the ministerial arrangements. Mr. Fox, actuated by the most magnanimous and disinterested motives, and losing sight of all personal considerations, professed his desire to see his majesty surrounded, at the present crisis, by a strong administration, and urged the members of the old and new opposition, not to be influenced by any feeling of partiality towards him, but to consult only the good of their country. Notwithstanding this liberal and disinterested advice, many of the former friends and colleagues of Mr. Pitt refused to accept of power without the support of the official co-operation of Mr. Fox; conceiving that much mischief had already resulted to the state "from placing the great offices of government in weak and incapable hands; and that no hope of any effectual remedy for these mischiefs could exist, but by uniting in the public service as large a proportion as possible of the weight, talents, and character, to be found in public men of all descriptions, and without any exception."* Mr. Pitt, in expressing his views on this point in the house of commons, some days after the formation of the new administration, said, the choice of ministers rested wholly with the crown. This was one of the essential and fundamental points of our monarchical constitution. With reference to Lord Grenville, and several other persons for whom he had great affection

and esteem, he expressed his regret that they had declined the assistance and co-operation which he had wished to obtain; but he doubted whether the admission of Mr. Fox into the cabinet, would, at the same time that it might communicate energy to his majesty's councils, contribute to produce that decided unity of operation which appeared to be so extremely desirable. A union of elements so discordant, might, he conceived, have produced an effect very different from what was hoped and intended.

The peremptory refusal of Lords Grenville, Minto, Fitzwilliam, Carlisle, and Spencer, and of Mr. Windham, Mr. Grenville, and others, to accept any situation in the new government, proved extremely embarrassing to Mr. Pitt. In this emergency, he was obliged to court the assistance of those whom he had so lately stigmatized as the imbecile executors of their own contradictory and repugnant measures; and in forming a cabinet of eleven persons, he was under the necessity of assigning six of the seats to members of the late administration. The Duke of Portland continued lord president; Lord Eldon, chancellor; the Earl of Westmoreland, lord privy seal; the Earl of Chatham, master of the ordnance; and Lord Castlereagh, president of the board of control for India affairs. Lord Hawkesbury also continued in the cabinet, although he changed his office of secretary of state, from the foreign to the home department. In this new arrangement, Mr. Pitt was constituted first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer, in the place of Mr. Addington; Lord Melville, first lord of the admiralty, which office had been held by Earl St. Vincent; Lord Harrowby, secretary for foreign affairs, vacant by the removal of Lord Hawkesbury; Earl Camden, secretary at war and colonies, vice Lord Hobart; and Lord Mulgrave, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, with a seat in the cabinet, vacated by the resignation of Lord Pelham. The alteration in the different public offices were,

The Right Hon. Wm. Dundas, secretary at war, vice Mr. Bragge;

Right Hon. George Canning, treasurer of the navy, vice Mr. Tierney;

Right Hon. George Ross, Right Hon. Lord C. Somerset, joint paymasters of the forces, vice Mr. Steele, Mr. H. Addington;

Duke of Montrose, joint postmaster-general, vice Lord Auckland;

William Huskisson, Esq. Wm. Sturgeon Bourne, Esq. secretaries to the treasury, vice Mr. Vansittart, Mr. Sargent.

The government of Ireland, and the law departments in both countries, continued unchanged.

Any predilections which might be entertained in favour of the new adminis-

* Lord Grenville's Letter to Mr. Pitt, dated May 8, 1804.

tion, were considerably damped by the evident strength of the certain opposition with which it was to be encountered, and by the probability that Mr. Addington and his party would assist to swell the ranks of the adversaries of Mr. Pitt, as he had helped to strengthen the opposition formed against them. The ex-minister however had disclosed no such intentions. His position, indeed, was most enviable; his entry into office was a sacrifice, and his going out a triumph. With respect to the character of his administration, very opposite opinions had been entertained. A mild and constitutional exercise of power, secured it the approbation of a very considerable number of independent supporters; while the advocates for public energy loudly expressed their disapprobation of a system of government which they conceived to be inadequate to the extraordinary exigencies of the times. By a kind of paradoxical fatality, the peace made by Mr. Addington was, by many of his adversaries, reprobated as a national calamity, and the renewal of the war regarded as a public benefit. But the peace of Amiens stands upon an equality with almost all the treaties by which the wars of this country have been terminated; and in giving up a large share of our conquests, Mr. Addington only followed the example of former ministers. In retiring from office, he sought no indemnity for his conduct; and made no apology for any act of his government; no man was so hardy as to bring against him any public accusation; the people rejoiced not at his removal, and his sovereign attested his opinion of his virtues and his talents by presenting him with a grant from the crown, and elevating him at no distant period to the peerage.

A few days necessarily elapsed after the change of the ministry, before Mr. Pitt could be re-elected; and for a short time after he had resumed his seat, none but ordinary business was transacted. Party seemed in the mean time to be suspended, and the plan and arrangement of such a system as the altered position of affairs required, occupied the attention of the members of both houses of parliament. That the opposition would be formidable, both from numbers, character, and talent, Mr. Pitt had no room to doubt; yet he betrayed no alarm, nor was perhaps capable of drooping under that sensation. He knew the resources of his own mind, relied with confidence on his readiness to repel all attacks in parliament, and on a certain share of popularity which he enjoyed in the country; he could not, however, be blind to the difficulties with which he was beset, but he prepared to meet them with firmness,

trusting that by perseverance he should disperse or surmount them.

The first subject of importance that engaged the attention of parliament, was brought under discussion by Mr. Wilberforce, who, on the 30th of May, pressed upon the consideration of the house the abolition of the African slave-trade. It was, he said, now sixteen years since he first submitted to parliament this momentous question. In the year 1792, the plan for gradual abolition was adopted, with a view to consult the wishes and feelings of the West India merchants. The year 1796 was fixed on as the period when this nefarious traffic was in a great measure to cease; and in 1800 its ultimate abolition was to be effected. In 1796, no abolition took place; but, on the contrary, the West India colonists then began to talk of the rights and privileges which they had in those whom they denominated their practical labourers. These rights, Mr. Wilberforce determined to resist, and in their place to establish the rights of nature and humanity. Whether upon this occasion the honourable gentleman derived additional vigour from a hope that his exertions in the important cause he advocated would be attended with success; or whether, stimulated by despair, he was resolved to appeal to every feeling of the heart in defence of the claims of humanity and justice; certain it is, that his language never assumed a higher tone of eloquence, or displayed greater force of reasoning, than in supporting this grand and godlike cause. The motion submitted to parliament on this occasion, was, that the house should resolve itself into a committee, to consider the propriety of introducing a bill for the abolition of the slave-trade within the time to be limited. In the course of a very animated debate, several members opposed the motion of Mr. Wilberforce, which was supported by Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt, and carried on a division by one hundred and twenty-four to forty-nine voices. In consequence of this vote, a bill was brought into parliament for the abolition of the slave-trade, limiting the latest period at which ships were to be allowed to clear out from an English port for this traffic to the 1st of October, 1804. The debates on this bill were frequent and animated; and on the 28th of June, the third reading was carried in the house of commons by a majority of sixty-nine to thirty-three voices.

In the house of lords, the opposition was more strenuous and successful, and the bill for the abolition of the slave-trade was, on the 30th of July, thrown out in that assembly without a division, on the ground that the late period of the session

would prevent the parties interested from attaining complete justice.

No measure submitted during the whole session of parliament to the consideration of the great council of the nation, produced more elaborate and animated discussion than the plan for raising and supporting a permanent military force, and for the general reduction of the additional militia. This bill was introduced into parliament on the 5th of June, by Mr. Pitt, the chancellor of the exchequer, under the designation of the "additional force act," and aimed at the establishment of a military force, not merely to meet the present circumstances of the country, but to serve as an instrument for the intermediate improvement of the system already established, and to supply a sufficient resource to the regular force of the country, should an opportunity offer of employing our troops in foreign warfare. This measure, which embraced a great variety of details, was strenuously opposed by Mr. Windham, Mr. Fox, Mr. Addington, and others, but the bill was ultimately carried through the lower house of parliament by small ministerial majorities, there appearing on the last division of the house, for the bill two hundred and sixty-five, against it two hundred and twenty-three, leaving a majority of only forty-two members.

In the upper house, the additional force bill was introduced by Earl Camden, and opposed by Earl Fitzwilliam, the Duke of Clarence, Earl Spencer, Lord Grenville, and several other peers; but the division was far more flattering to the ministers than those in the house of commons, their measure being sanctioned by one hundred and fifty-four against sixty-nine voices.

This was the last question in which the strength of the contending parties was brought to issue. The remaining part of the session was employed principally on subjects of commerce and finance; and on the 20th of June, the complex and difficult subject of the corn laws was brought under discussion. It has been maintained by many respectable authorities conversant with the subject of national polity, that the whole system of the corn laws is prejudicial to the public weal, and that it is desirable that these laws should be altogether repealed, leaving the trade free, and the prices to find their own level; but in consequence of a report of the house of commons, it was deemed expedient to have recourse to new legislative regulations. From the report of this committee, it appears, that the price of corn, from 1791 to the harvest of 1803, had been irregular; but had upon an average yielded a fair price to the grower. The high prices had produced the effect of stimulating industry,

and bringing into cultivation large tracts of waste land; which, combined with the two last productive seasons, had occasioned such a depreciation in the value of grain, as would, it was said, tend to the discouragement of agriculture, unless immediate relief were afforded by the interference of parliament. For this purpose, although, within the period of the last thirteen years, not less than thirty millions sterling had been paid to foreign countries for supplies of grain, it was proposed to have recourse to a bounty upon exportation—a measure that had not been resorted to for a period of nearly thirty years. With this view, a bill was brought into parliament. Exportation was to be admitted, when the price of wheat was at or below forty-eight shillings per quarter of eight Winchester bushels; and importation was to be allowed when the average price in the twelve maritime counties of England should exceed sixty-three shillings, but not when corn was below that price. It was held, that this bill was necessary, in order to encourage the agriculture of the country; it was also presumed that the measure would render corn permanently cheap, by combining the interest of the grower with that of the consumer. Upon the whole, it was argued, that the true way to prevent the recurrence of scarcity, was to remove the danger of such a depreciation in the value of corn, as might discourage the farmer from producing full crops. It was on the other hand contended, that the effect of the act founded on the bill now before the house, would be to fix a minimum upon the first necessary of life, and that, if the interest of the grower of corn was to be protected by a minimum, the interest of the consumer of that article should be guarded by a maximum. That as to the idea of the act making corn cheap, it was at variance with the professed object of the bill, which was to serve the grower by keeping up the prices; and that the experience of the past had shown, what the evidence of the future would confirm, that the effect of all measures of this nature was to advance the price of corn,* and with that article to enhance the price of every other article of general consumption. The bill, however, notwithstanding these, and a variety of other objections, passed through the house of commons without any formidable opposition.

In the house of lords, some few petitions were presented against the corn bill, which Earl Stanhope designated as a bill to starve the poor. On the second reading,

* The confirmation of the truth of this remark, both retrospectively and prospectively, is to be found in the following official return of the average price of wheat per quarter, from the first

his lordship, in offering himself to the house, said, that the object of the bill was to encourage the growth of corn, by increasing its price—but he should beg leave to submit a few resolutions, calculated to produce the same effect, by decreasing the price of corn. He thought that as the farmers increased the price of their corn, the poor rates, the price of labour, and the price of our manufactures, would increase in the same proportion, and that neither agriculture, nor the farmer, nor the merchant, would derive any advantage from such a measure. Whereas by the adoption of his plan, everybody might be satisfied, and the country would enjoy plenty. The first resolution he should propose was,

“That public granaries should be established, to receive, in years of plenty, corn and grain grown in this country, in order to keep down the prices in years of scarcity, and effectually to secure to this nation, in all seasons, a sufficient supply, and likewise in order to provide for the farmers at all times a certain market for their corn and grain, and to diminish fluctuation in the price of the necessaries of life.

“Second, That all impediments, created by any law or laws, to the free warehousing of corn or grain, ought to be removed, abolished, and repealed; and,

“Thirdly, That in order to encourage the growth of corn and grain in Great Britain and Ireland, and at the same time to decrease the price, for the benefit of the people at large, and for the increase of our manufactures and commerce, farmers should be for ever discharged from the payment of all direct taxes, parish and county rates, cesses, dues, and tythes, and from all parliamentary impositions whatever; save only and except those rates of the nature of a penalty, which might be raised on any hundred as such.

These resolutions were supported by arguments applicable to each, and after expatiating at large on their beneficial tendency, his lordship concluded by moving, that the bill now before the house be rejected.

The Duke of Montrose thought it was in the highest degree mischievous for the noble lord to state that this was a bill to starve the poor, when it was, in fact, a bill to prevent famine and scarcity. The lord chancellor, and Lords Mulgrave and Hawkesbury, condemned the resolutions moved by Lord Stanhope, and the bill passed ultimately into a law.

On the 2d of July, the house of commons, upon the motion of the chancellor of the ex-

chequer, resolved itself into a committee of supply, to which several accounts relative to the augmentation of the civil list were referred. It appeared that the arrears of the civil list amounted at present to the sum of five hundred and ninety thousand pounds. This excess of expenditure, it was stated, had arisen from a variety of expenses incurred by services which could not be foreseen in the year 1802, when the house voted the discharge of arrears then due, amounting to about two hundred and thirty thousand pounds. With respect to the future state of the civil list, it was proposed that several charges upon it should be annually discharged by parliament. These charges amounted to one hundred and thirty-five thousand pounds, and related to fluctuating expenses; many of them arose from the war, others from increased law expenses, and others from the multiplication of private bills, none of which ought properly to be charged on the civil list. In addition to the payment of the arrears, and the transfer of these accounts, a positive grant was also proposed to be given in addition to the civil list; and when the increased expenses upon private bills, and upon household necessaries, were considered, it was conceived that the annual sum of £60,000 would not be thought an extravagant augmentation. The income of the civil list was stated to be about nine hundred and twenty-one thousand pounds, and the expenditure upon it was averaged at nine hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds, leaving a deficiency of fifty-four thousand pounds; but instead of this exact sum, it was proposed to make the more liberal addition of sixty thousand pounds.* It is almost unnecessary to observe, that the house readily assented to the propositions of the chancellor of the exchequer, and the discharge of the arrears, and the augmentation to the civil list, were voted almost without opposition.

* CIVIL LIST.—Previously to the accession of his present majesty to the throne, certain specific revenues were rendered applicable to this branch of the public expenditure; but these revenues were, at the commencement of his reign, relinquished, and in lieu thereof an annual sum of 800,000*l.* granted by parliament, subject to certain annuities payable to the royal family. In the month of April, 1777, the civil list revenue was augmented to 900,000*l.* per annum, and the debts owing upon that branch of the revenue discharged. But it is not to be supposed that the whole of this sum is expended annually by the sovereign and his family; or that the large and frequent accumulation of debt arising upon the civil list is altogether attributable to the royal expenditure. The following statement, being the result of a report made by a committee of the house of commons, will remove any error of this nature, and serve to give a tolerably correct view of this branch of the public expenditure:—

passing of the corn law in 1791, to the period of the last returns.

Years.	Price.	Years.	Price.	Years.	Price.
s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1792.... 42 11		1800.... 113 7		1808.... 79 0	
1793.... 48 11		1801.... 118 3		1809.... 95 7	
1794.... 51 8		1802.... 67 5		1810.... 106 2	
1795.... 74 2		1803.... 56 6		1811.... 94 6	
1796.... 77 1		1804.... 61 1		1812.... 125 5	
1797.... 53 1		1805.... 87 10		1813.... 120 0	
1798.... 50 3		1806.... 79 0		1814.... 73 9	
1799.... 67 5		1807.... 73 3		1815.... 66 3	

The session was now drawing to a close, and just on the eve of its termination, Mr. Windham took an opportunity of asking for information from ministers, respecting the case of Captain Wright, who had been made a prisoner of war, when commanding his majesty's sloop *Vincego*, and had since been committed to close confinement in the Temple at Paris, for refusing to answer interrogatories put to him by the enemy after his capture; but no satisfactory answer could at this time be given to Mr. Windham's inquiries.

On the 31st of July, the session closed with a speech from the throne, in which, after the usual acknowledgments to both houses of parliament, his majesty recommended to the members to carry into their respective counties the same zeal for the public interest which had guided all their proceedings:

"It will," said the king, "be your particular duty to inculcate on the minds of all classes of my subjects, that the preservation of all that is most dear to them requires the continuance of their unremitting exertions for the national defence. The preparations which the enemy has been long forming, for the declared purpose of invading this kingdom, are daily augmenting, and the attempt appears to have been delayed only with a view to procuring additional means for carrying it into execution. Relying on the skill, valour, and discipline of my naval and military force, aided by the voluntary zeal and active courage of my people, I look with confidence to the issue of this great conflict, and I doubt not but it will terminate, under the blessing of Providence, not only in repelling

the danger of the moment, but in establishing, in the eyes of foreign nations, the security of this country, on a basis never to be shaken. In addition to this first and great object, I entertain the animating hope, that the benefit to be derived from our successful exertions will not be confined within ourselves; but that, by their example and their consequences, they may lead to the re-establishment of such a system in Europe, as may rescue it from the precarious state to which it is reduced, and may finally raise an effectual barrier against the unbounded schemes of aggrandizement and ambition, which threaten every independent nation that yet remains on the continent."

Upon a review of the various measures brought under the consideration of parliament, it will appear that the defence of the country was an object in which all parties, however much divided in public opinion, felt and expressed the most anxious solicitude. The danger to which the country was exposed during a considerable period after the recommencement of the war, was sufficient to arouse the energy, and stimulate the vigilance of its governors; and even the spirit of party itself was made instrumental to the general safety. Upon the whole, it may be affirmed, in justice to the general conduct of parliament, that during a long period of public difficulty and alarm, they reposed a just and becoming confidence in the patriotism and spirit of the nation; and, while they differed as to the best and most efficient application of the public resources, they exhibited a firmness and resolution worthy of the representatives of a great and powerful people.

CHAPTER III.

Goree taken by the French—Recaptured by the English—Capture of Surinam—Shipwreck of the *Apollo* Frigate, and a Number of her Convoy—Alarm of Invasion—Preparations to meet it—Cambran Project—Memorable Repulse of the French Admiral Linois by the East India Fleet, under Captain Dance—Hostilities commenced against Spain—CAMPAIGN OF THE EAST: Commencement of Hostilities—Battle of Assye—Assesurshur, the Key of the Deccan, surrendered to the British—Surrender of Jagannaut, Cuttack, Balasore, and Soorong—Storming of Ally Ghur—Progress of the Campaign—Splendid Victory of Delhi—General Lake's Interview with the Emperor Shah Aulum—Fall of Agra—Decisive Battle of Laswaree—Concise Recapitulation of the Campaign.

NOTWITHSTANDING the recent change in the cabinet, from which the public natural-

CHARGES of the Civil List for sixteen years prior to the 5th of January, 1802.

Class.		Ann.		average Expenses.		Total for 16 Years.	
		£	s.	d.		£	s.
1.	Royal Family in all its branches,	209,998	15	0	3,369,828	7	10½
2.	Great Officers of State, (Archbishops, &c.)	33,279	10	0	532,472	0	1
3.	Foreign Ministers,	80,525	0	2½	1,283,416	3	4½
4.	Tradesmen's Bills (His Majesty's)	174,697	13	11	2,795,163	2	3½
5.	Menial Servants of the Household	92,424	6	7½	1,478,789	5	8
6.	Pensions, for suppressed Officers,	114,817	6	11	1,837,077	10	6
7.	Salaries, paid out of the Civil List,	76,013	18	2½	1,216,222	17	0½
8.	Commissioners of the Treasury,	14,455	14	7½	231,191	13	10½
9.	Occasional Payments,	203,964	6	0½	3,263,428	16	3
		£1,000,167	11	6½	16,002,569	17	0

ly anticipated a more vigorous administration of affairs, the prosecution of the war was still confined principally to defensive measures, and to projects for the future annoyance of the enemy; and the honour of the only captures of importance made during the present year, must be awarded to the late ministers. The first military operation claiming the notice of history, in the year 1804, occurred in the English settlement of the island of Goree, on the coast of Africa. In the month of January, this settlement was taken by a French force, under the command of the Chevalier Mabe, and recaptured by a small expedition under the command of Captain Edward Sterling Dickson, in the month of March following. The enemy's force directed against this set-

tlement, consisted of four schooners, which had been fitted out at Cayenne, and which was reinforced by another schooner, pilots, and soldiers, at Senegal. The squadron altogether carried more than sixty guns, and six hundred men, of whom about two hundred and forty were landed to storm the settlement. On the 17th of January, the enemy appeared off the coast; and about three o'clock in the morning of the 18th, a smart fire commenced from the French boats, and at the same time a schooner stood in directly for the beach. A strong and well directed fire of great guns and musketry being immediately opened upon her, by the small British garrison under Colonel Frazer, aided by a portion of the inhabitants, the people on board were all either killed or driven below, and the enemy's vessel drifted on shore. In the mean time, the invaders, approaching in eight of their boats, had unfortunately effected a landing on the rocks, to the east side of the town; and, having overcome the force which was opposed to them, penetrated through the town, as far as the main guard, of which, after having been once repulsed, they gained possession. The firing continued until nearly six o'clock; when Colonel Frazer, having formed a junction with the soldiers in the north point battery, directed that the enemy should be attacked, which service was executed with great alacrity, and the post carried with considerable loss on the part of the enemy. At day-break, the enemy appeared in so great numbers, as to leave no hope of successful resistance; and under these circumstances, Colonel Frazer, in compliance with the request of the inhabitants, sent an officer to propose terms of capitulation for the garrison.* On this occasion, the loss of the English amounted to only nineteen killed and wounded, while the enemy's loss exceeded seventy; and in the articles of capitulation, the interests of the inhabitants were consulted, and the honour of the garrison preserved.

In the month of March, in the same year, this island was recaptured by Captain Dickson, commanding his majesty's ship the *Inconstant*, accompanied by the *Eagle* store-ship, and the three sloops *Hamilton*, *Venus*, and *Jenny*. Having arrived off the island on the 7th of March, and suspecting that the settlement might be in the hands of the enemy, the captain despatched his first lieutenant to ascertain the fact, with orders to make an appointed signal if he found the island in possession of the English. But at sunset, the lieu-

tenant having neither returned nor made the signal agreed upon, Captain Dickson came to anchor with his convoy a little out of gun-shot, and at ten o'clock at night commenced hostilities, by cutting out a ship in the harbour, and stationing his small force in such a position as to prevent the enemy receiving any succours from Senegal. At daylight in the morning of the 9th, every preparation having been previously made to commence an attack upon the town, the captain was agreeably surprised to see the English colours hoisted over the French flag; and shortly afterwards information was conveyed to him, that the garrison had capitulated to the officer sent on shore.* For this cheaply purchased conquest, by which a number of troops, amounting to more than three hundred, were made prisoners without striking a blow, the captain was indebted to a *ruse de guerre*, practised by his skillful negotiator, who represented to the enemy that the force brought against them was of such magnitude as to render all resistance unavailing.

In the beginning of May, the rich and important colony of Surinam surrendered to the force under the command of Major-general Sir Charles Green; and although the capture was an enterprise of considerable difficulty, this valuable acquisition was fortunately made with little loss on the part of his majesty's troops. On the 25th of April, the fleet under the command of Commodore Hood, conveying the British forces, came to anchor about ten miles off the mouth of the river Surinam. Having succeeded in securing the entrance of the river, Major-general Sir Charles Green sent a summons to the governor of Surinam with proposals for the surrender of the colony. On the 28th, the governor's answer was received, conveying a refusal to capitulate. The general then determined to lose no time in making an impression on the enemy's posts; but to effect this, many obstacles were to be surmounted. The coast of Surinam is of very difficult approach, shallow and full of banks; and a landing is practicable only at full tide. The coast is uncleared; and from the wood and the marshy nature of the soil, it is impossible to penetrate into the interior, except by the rivers and the creeks. In consequence of these circumstances, the points of attack were confined; and the enemy, by means of their forts, ships of war, and other armed vessels, were completely masters of the navigation of the river Surinam, above Fort Amster-

* Despatch from Colonel Frazer, dated Goree, Feb. 5, 1804.

* Captain Edward Sterling Dickson's Despatch, dated Goree, March 15th, 1804.

dam. On the 29th, Lieutenant-colonel Shipley, commander of engineers, went on shore below the enemy's batteries, to endeavour to procure intelligence; and on his return he reported, that he had every reason to believe that there was a practicable way through the woods, by which a body of men might be conducted to the rear of the forts Leyden and Frederici. A detachment of about two hundred men, under the command of the Hon. Lieutenant-colonel Cranston, was accordingly landed, between the hours of ten and eleven o'clock at night, at Resolution plantation, and proceeded through the woods with negro guides. A great quantity of rain having recently fallen, it was found that the path, at all times difficult, had become almost impassable; but no obstacles could damp the enterprising spirit of the seamen and soldiers who composed the detachment; and who, with persevering courage, arrived, after a laborious march of five hours, in the rear of Frederici battery. The alarm having been given, a considerable fire of grape-shot was made upon the troops before they quitted the wood, while forming for the attack. As they approached the battery, they were exposed to a brisk discharge of musketry; but their assault, which was made with fixed bayonets, was so animated and vigorous, that it completely overcame any further resistance. The enemy, finding their situation untenable, fled to Fort Leyden, but not till they had treacherously set fire to a powder magazine, by the explosion of which several of the British officers and men were severely wounded. Brigadier-general Hughes used no delay in moving on to the attack of Fort Leyden, overcoming every obstacle in his way; and the enemy, after some firing, called for quarter, which was generously granted by the conquerors, although at the moment they were highly exasperated at the conduct of the Batavian troops, in blowing up the powder magazine at Fort Frederici, after it had been in possession of the English. This brilliant affair placed the assailants in possession of a country abounding with resources of every kind, and enabled them to silence the fire at Fort Amsterdam. Major-general Maitland, having conveyed his troops in a number of plantation boats, landed on the south side of the river, and came within a mile of Fort New Amsterdam, when a flag of truce was sent by the Batavian commander to the British head-quarters on the Commewye, with proposals for capitulation. Orders were in consequence issued, to suspend hostilities; and on the 5th of May, the articles of capitulation being signed, the advanced corps, under

the command of Brigadier-general Maitland, took possession of Fort New Amsterdam. In addition to the conquest of this valuable colony, more than two thousand prisoners of war fell into the hands of the English, besides two hundred and eighty-two pieces of ordnance, one Batavian frigate, a sloop of war, and three merchant vessels; with a loss on the part of the victors of only twenty-eight officers and men, killed and wounded.* The inhabitants had opposed no resistance to the English in their attack upon the island, but seemed on the contrary to rejoice at an event which once more restored them to the powerful protection of the British government.

Early in the spring, the country sustained a heavy loss in the wreck of the *Apollo* frigate, of thirty-eight guns, commanded by Captain Dixon, and a large portion of her convoy. The *Apollo* had sailed from the Cove of Cork, on the 26th of March, in company with his majesty's ship *Carysford*, charged with the convoy of sixty-nine merchant vessels, bound for the West Indies. About half-past three o'clock in the morning of Monday the 3d of April, from some cause, never very satisfactorily explained, the *Apollo*, with part of her convoy, went on shore, off Cape Mondego, on the coast of Portugal. The frigate soon became a complete wreck, and the most piteous cries were heard everywhere between the decks, the men having given themselves up to inevitable death. The captain, who, with the principal part of his crew, had been driven from their hammocks by the sudden rushing in of the water, stood naked upon the deck, soothing and affording every encouragement to the men in their perilous situation. About thirty of the crew, after encountering the most imminent dangers, had the good fortune to gain the shore on planks and spars from the wreck; while others, in making similar attempts, perished, and of that number was the captain. At length, after encountering, for three days and nights, the complicated horrors of fatigue, famine, and despair, without the intermission of a single moment of repose, the survivors of the crew had the inexpressible happiness to see a boat launching through the surf to their relief, and to find themselves, by four o'clock in the afternoon of Wednesday, in safety on the shore of Mondego. About forty sail of merchantmen shared the fate of the *Apollo*, and the number of lives lost upon this melancholy occasion, exceeded five hun-

* Sir Charles Green and Commodore Hood's Despatches from Surinam.

dred. Of the sixty-nine merchant ships, twenty-nine escaped the horrors of shipwreck, and proceeded, under convoy of the Carysford, to their original destination.

The hostile operations undertaken against the enemy this year, with the exception of those already mentioned, and a few single actions at sea, which reflected their usual lustre upon the British navy, consisted almost entirely of exertions rigorously to enforce the system of blockade, and in attacks upon the enemy's boats, which either ventured out of the harbour of Boulogne, for the purposes of exercise or menace, or were proceeding from other ports to that dépôt. It was, however, impossible to obviate the effects of occasional rumours of invasion. Every particular movement in the enemy's ports revived the opinion, not to say the apprehension, that the enemy were determined to execute the adventurous project. In the month of August, a general movement on the opposite coast exhibited every appearance of an approaching attack upon some part of the British empire, and at Boulogne in particular, a very extraordinary degree of activity prevailed. Of the various description of craft and armed vessels collected in that immense dépôt, a much greater number was brought out into the bay of Boulogne than on any former occasion. Disposed in hostile array, under the protection of their numerous batteries on shore, they were attacked in the most spirited and vigorous manner by the British squadron upon that station. The firing was tremendous, and its duration was such as to favour the belief, that the long threatened invasion was at this time to be certainly attempted.

Under the influence of this impression the most vigorous and general exertions were made for the public safety. Military carts, horses, and carriages, were directed to be held in a state of readiness, for the use of government. Officers were named to be employed in the staff, under the general officers of the district. Each general officer, or other officer to whom a command of volunteers was intrusted, was directed to reside in a station central and convenient to the corps under his orders. All officers of this description were required to make themselves acquainted with the nature and extent of the service for which they were respectively engaged; with the efficient strength of their corps; the character and military information of their officers; the internal economy of the force under their command; their horses, arms, ammunition, and every species of military equipment. They were also ordered to ascertain their degree of forwardness in discipline and field movements, and whether

they were competent to act with troops of the line. The routes were formed by which the corps were to arrive at the general place of rendezvous of the brigade, and every precaution taken to prevent the interposition of any obstacle which might interfere with the regularity and certainty of their movements, at the critical moment of actual service. One very material point in the directions given to staff officers, commanding volunteer corps, related to the conduct which it would be proper for them to observe. They were reminded, that the corps under their command were composed of men unused to a military life, over whom they had no direct control, until placed upon permanent duty; that they had voluntarily enrolled themselves for the patriotic purpose of sharing with the regular troops in the dangers, difficulties, and honours, presented to those engaged in the defence of their country, in a crisis of unexampled exigency; it was therefore presumed, that the commanding officers would feel the force of these considerations, and conduct their command, on every occasion, with all the urbanity, mildness, and indulgence, consistent with military discipline, but without compromising or impeding the important primary object of rendering the corps effective and fit for actual service.

In addition to these arrangements, preparatory to the contest in which there was reason to suppose the volunteers would be speedily engaged, regulations for the preservation of good order were transmitted to the lord-lieutenants, to be adopted in every county of Great Britain in case of actual invasion. The magistrates of each division were to remain at home, and to sit daily at a place to be appointed for that purpose. Trustworthy house-keepers were encouraged to enrol themselves as special constables, under the orders of the magistrates, for the purpose of preserving the general peace, and facilitating by every means in their power the public service; and the magistrates of each division were to report to the lord-lieutenant or deputy-lieutenant of the county, upon whom it was incumbent to submit all matters of importance immediately to the secretary of state for the home department.

In the early part of September, the general alarm began to subside. Either the brave and repeated attacks which the enemy had sustained from the British blockading squadron, deterred them from appearing in considerable numbers in the bay of Boulogne, or the season and other circumstances had become less favourable to the execution of menacing movements, and had compelled the hostile flotilla to keep closer within their ports. About the beginning of

October, nowever, about one hundred and fifty of the enemy's vessels ventured on the outside of the pier, and served to revive the alarm of invasion. It was at this period that a project for the destruction of the French flotilla was broached; from which a result was anticipated that would at once confound the designs of the enemy, and establish the superiority of the present administration over their predecessors in office.

This plan, which some American projector⁽⁵¹⁾ had influence enough to induce Lord Melville to countenance, was one which to every experienced naval officer appeared open to the severest animadversion. It was to be carried into effect principally through the medium of copper vessels, of an oblong form, containing a large quantity of combustibles, and so constructed as to explode in a given time, by means of clock-work. These vessels were to be fastened to the bottom of the enemy's gun-boats by the aid of a small raft, rowed by one man, who, being seated up to the chin in water, might possibly in a dark night escape detection. Fire-ships of different constructions were also employed in the projected attack. The most active and enterprising officers were distributed in different explosion vessels, and the whole placed under the orders and direction of Admiral Lord Keith, commanding in the Downs, with instructions to cover the smaller force by his powerful squadron. It is not easy to describe the mingled sensation of anxiety and confidence, which the length of time, and the extent of the preparations for this enterprise, had created in the public mind. The latter feeling, however, had a decided predominance, and was cherished and upheld by the rumours industriously spread, that the first lord of the admiralty would himself superintend the execution of the plan, and that Mr. Pitt, and others of the ministers, were to be witnesses of its success from the elevation of Walmer Castle. On the 2d of October, Admiral Lord Keith, with his formidable fleet of sixty-two sail, six of which were ships of the line, anchored at about a league and a half north-west of the port of Boulogne. In the course of the day, a sufficient force was thence detached to take up an advanced and convenient anchorage for covering the retreat, and for affording protection to the wounded, or to such boats as might be crippled; or should the wind freshen and blow in shore, to tow off the boats engaged in the attack. While these preparations

were advancing, the enemy was not inactive; the batteries, both stationary and floating, were prepared, and the army was drawn up in readiness to resist the approaching assault. At a quarter past nine at night, the first detachment of fire-ships was launched under a heavy fire from the advanced force, which was returned by a tremendous thunder of artillery from the shore. As the fire-ships approached the French line, the vessels of the flotilla opened to suffer them to pass, and so effectually were they avoided, that they sailed to the rear of the enemy's line without falling on board of any one of their vessels. At half-past ten, the first explosion ship blew up, and produced an immense column of fire; its wreck spread in every direction, but not the slightest mischief was done either to the ships or the batteries. A second, a third, and a fourth succeeded, but with no better effect: at length, after twelve of these ships had exploded, the engagement ceased about four o'clock the next morning, when the English smaller vessels withdrew in perfect order, and without the loss of a man. On the flotilla, no mischief whatever was ascertained to have been inflicted, but, from the disappearance of two brigs, and some smaller vessels, the next day, Lord Keith conjectured that they might have been destroyed.* The enemy's loss of men, according to their own account, was twenty-five killed and wounded. Thus terminated, to the confusion of the projectors, and the severe disappointment of the public, "THE CATAMARAN PROJECT," in the preparation of which, much time, expense, and ingenuity were wasted, and which tended to expose the reputation of the government of the country to derision and contempt, both at home and abroad.

No sooner had the intelligence of the renewal of the war between Great Britain and France arrived in the East Indies, than the French Admiral Linois withdrew with all convenient despatch from the roads of Pondicherry, and for some time carried on a predatory warfare, to a considerable extent, against the English commerce and possessions in that part of the globe. Not only had he captured several of the East India company's ships, and others of the private trade, but he had also made a successful descent on Fort Marlborough (Bencoolen), and plundered that settlement. Encouraged by uninterrupted success, and animated by the hopes of obtaining a prize of immense amount, he formed the determination to capture or destroy, at a single blow, the whole of the homeward bound China fleet. With this

(51) The American projector was probably Mr. Fulton, who is spoken of in the preceding part of this volume. See note 49, page 399.

* Lord Keith's despatches, dated off Boulogne, the 3d of October, 1804.

intention, he collected his force, consisting of the *Marengo*, line-of-battle ship, of eighty-four guns, the *Semillante* and *Belle Poule*, of forty-four guns, a *Batavian* brig, of eighteen guns, and a *corvette*, of twenty-eight guns, and stationed his squadron in the Indian Seas, near the entrance of the Straits of Molacca, with the determination to cruise in that latitude till the arrival of the English East India fleet from Canton. On the 5th of February, the fleet, under the command of Captain Dance, as senior commander, consisting of sixteen of the East India Company's ships from China, eleven private ships, a Portuguese East Indiaman, and a fast sailing brig, passed Macao Roads, when the Portuguese vessel, and one of the company's ships, parted company, and never again joined the fleet. At daybreak on the 14th, *Pulo A'or* was seen to the W. S. W. and at eight o'clock, the *Royal George* made a signal, indicating that four strange sail were in view, which, on being reconnoitred, proved to be the squadron under Admiral Linois. The intrepid commodore, without a moment's delay, hoisted the signal for his fleet to form a line of battle in close order. At sunset, the enemy was close upon the rear of the company's ships, and an expectation prevailed that the attack would be immediately commenced, but at the close of the day the French hauled to windward, and desisted from any hostile operation during the night.

At daybreak on the 15th, the enemy was seen about three miles to windward, when the vessels under the command of Captain Dance hoisted their colours, and offered him battle. At one o'clock in the afternoon, the commodore, resolving not to wait the attack, and apprehensive that his rear might be cut off, executed a bold and gallant manœuvre, which decided the fate of the day. Placing the *Royal George* in front of his line, seconded by the *Ganges*, and followed by the *Earl Camden*, he bore down upon the enemy, and made the signal to attack each of the hostile ships in succession. This order being correctly performed, the company's ships stood forward under a press of sail. Admiral Linois then formed in close line, and opened his fire upon the headmost of the merchant ships, which was not returned by any of them till a near approach. The *Royal George*, from her advanced situation, sustained the brunt of the action, and got as near the enemy as he would permit. This example was followed by the *Ganges* and *Earl Camden*, who both opened their fire as soon as their guns could take effect; but, before any other

ship could get into action, the enemy hauled their wind, and stood away to the eastward under all the sail they could set. At two o'clock, P. M. Captain Dance made signal for a general chase, and pursued the retreating squadron till past four o'clock; when fearing a longer pursuit might carry him too far from the straits, and endanger the immense property confided to his care, he made the signal to tack, and at eight o'clock in the evening, anchored in a situation to proceed for the entrance of the straits on the following day.* Thus, did the gallantry of a fleet of British merchantmen, and the skill and intrepidity of their commander, bring to action, and put to flight, a French admiral, commanding ships of war superior in force and in men, to the immortal honour of the British name. Nor should it be forgotten that the property rescued from the gripe of the enemy was estimated at the immense amount of not less than six millions sterling. On the arrival of Commodore Dance with his fleet in England, rewards were distributed with a liberal hand by the East India Company to the various commanders and their brave crews; and the wounded, as well as the representatives of the few who fell in the engagement, were munificently rewarded; while the sovereign, to evince the sense he entertained of the gallant conduct of Captain, now Sir Nathaniel Dance, conferred upon him the honour of knighthood.

Spain, placed between two hostile powers, and bound by treaties alike to both, found it difficult to preserve that neutrality of conduct so evidently pointed out by her interests, and to avoid being involved in a war where she had much to lose and nothing to acquire. After a protracted and unsatisfactory negotiation between the courts of Madrid and London, begun in the autumn of the year 1802, and continued till towards the close of the year 1804, the British plenipotentiary found it necessary to quit Madrid, and repair to London. But while the negotiations were pending in the Spanish capital, and previously to the departure of Mr. Benjamin Frere from that city, Admiral Cochrane acquainted the first lord of the admiralty, that preparations on a large scale were at that moment making in the port of Ferrol, so that in a few days a formidable squadron would be ready for sea; and that he had no doubt that the Spanish government waited only for the arrival of a fleet of frigates, containing treasures from South America, to commence open hostilities.

* Captain Dance's Despatch to the Court of East India Directors, dated August 6, 1804.

On the receipt of this extra-official information, orders were instantly given by the admiralty to detain the ships bound from South America to Spain, and Captain Moore, with four frigates* under his command, was ordered to cruise off Cadiz, for the purpose of carrying these instructions into effect.

On the 5th of October, the *Medusa* made the signal for four sail, and a general chase was ordered immediately. At eight in the morning, the vessels first seen by the *Medusa*, were discovered to be four large Spanish frigates, which, on finding themselves pursued, formed in line of battle, and continued to steer for Cadiz, the van-ship carrying a broad pendant, and the ship next in the line, a rear-admiral's flag. Captain Gore, of the *Medusa*, placed that ship on the weather-beam of the Spanish commodore; the *Indefatigable* took a similar position alongside of the rear-admiral; and the *Amphion* and *Lively* each took an opponent as they advanced. After firing a shot ahead of the rear-admiral's ship, he shortened sail, upon which Lieutenant Ascott, of the *Indefatigable*, was sent to inform the Spanish commander that Captain Moore had orders to detain his squadron; that it was his earnest wish to execute that duty without bloodshed; but that the determination to surrender must be made instantly. The answer returned by Lieutenant Ascott was unsatisfactory; whereupon Captain Moore fired another shot ahead of the admiral, and bore down close on his weather-bow. At this moment, one of the Spanish frigates fired into the *Amphion*, and the admiral at the same time fired into the *Indefatigable*. A signal was then made for close battle, which instantly commenced with all the alacrity and vigour of British sailors. In less than ten minutes, *La Mercedes*, the admiral's second ship astern, blew up, alongside of the *Amphion*, with a tremendous explosion.† In less than half an

hour, the Spanish admiral's ship struck to Captain Sutton, as did the opponent of the *Lively* to that ship. Perceiving at this moment, the Spanish commodore making off, Captain Moore made the signal for the *Lively*, Captain Hammond, to join the *Medusa*, in the chase; and long before sunset it was discovered, from the mast-head of the *Indefatigable*, that the only remaining ship had surrendered to the *Medusa* and *Lively*. As soon as the boats of the British squadron had taken possession of the rear-admiral, sail was made for the floating fragments of the *Mercedes*; but except the second captain and forty-five men, who were picked up by the boats of the *Amphion*, all on board had perished. The Spanish squadron, it appeared, was commanded by Don Joseph Bustamante, knight of the order of St. James, and a rear-admiral in the Spanish navy. This fleet was from Monte Video, Rio de la Platta, and contained upwards of four millions of dollars, of which about eight hundred thousand were on board the *Mercedes*; and the merchandise on board the frigates was also of great value. The loss sustained by the British on this occasion was very trifling, and the Spaniards, with the exception of the *Mercedes*, suffered chiefly in their rigging.*

This rigorous and impolitic attack upon the vessels of a neutral state, at a moment when negotiations for the prevention of hostilities were pending between the two countries, produced an immediate declaration of war by the court of Madrid, and justified the conduct of the Spanish government in the eyes of all Europe. In England, as well as in other countries, the conduct of ministers, in having anticipated all expectations, by a concealed order for an attack upon the Spanish ships, property, and subjects, was condemned as an act contrary to the public law of all civilized states, and as totally irreconcilable with those principles of moderation and liberality which belong to the British character. (52)

* The *Indefatigable*, *Amphion*, *Lively*, and *Medusa*.

† In the *Mercedes* was embarked a native of Spain, who was returning from South America, with his whole family, consisting of his lady, four daughters, and five sons. The daughters were beautiful and amiable women, the sons grown up to manhood. With such a family, and a large fortune, the gradual saving of five-and-twenty years of industry, did this unhappy Spaniard embark for the land of his nativity. A short time before the action commenced, the father, with one of his sons, went on board one of the larger ships, and, in a few moments, became the spectator of his wife, his daughters, four of his sons, and all his treasure, surrounded with flames, and sinking in the abyss of the ocean. This victim of almost unheard-of calamity, arrived at Ply-

mouth, with the only remains of so many blessings, in Captain Moore's cabin, who was unceasing in his endeavours to administer all in his power towards the alleviation of his sufferings.

* Captain Moore's Despatch to Admiral Cornwallis, dated *Indefatigable* at sea, October 6, 1804.

(52) The English feelings of our author have led him to use language far too mild to be applied to an act, to which, for bareness and atrocity, it would be difficult to find a parallel in the annals of a civilized nation. No people is more apt to refer to the laws of nations than the English, and yet by none have its most essential rules been more grossly violated. If there be any part of

Thus far, had hostilities been prosecuted, during the present year, without giving rise to a single event by which any material impression was made either upon France or Great Britain. The expenditure occasioned by the extensive scale of hostile preparations was in both countries immense; but no capture of importance, no brilliant victory, no signal defeat, marked the successes or failure of either of the belligerents. A menacing attitude was assumed and maintained by both. The navy of Great Britain was constantly hovering upon the coast of the enemy; and the armies of France incessantly threatening this country with invasion. The declaration of war issued by Spain against Great Britain, was considered by France as propitious to her interest. The Spanish navy, and large supplies in specie, were regarded by France as very important acquisitions; and the extensive line of coast which the enemy would thus command, was represented to be of infinite importance to the successful prosecution of the war, inasmuch as it enabled them to threaten invasion from a greater number of points, and compelled this country to incur a great additional expenditure by augmenting the number of our blockading squadrons.

The advantages were, on the other hand, counterbalanced by the prospect of new enemies, which the capricious, arbitrary, and insolent conduct of the French government was calculated to create. Sweden and Russia had already expressed their dissatisfaction at the conduct of Bonaparte, and fresh circumstances were continually arising, which tended to convert this dissatisfaction into actual hostility. To avail themselves of this opportunity of forming alliances upon the continent, was a distin-

the international law which ought to be strictly adhered to, it is that which forbids acts of hostility without a declaration of war on the part of the sovereign power. It is founded on the plainest principles of propriety and expediency, and has accordingly received the sanction of the civilized world in all ages. There have no doubt occurred instances of a violation of this rule, but mankind have, by common consent, fixed upon them the mark of reprobation. When Bonaparte invaded Hanover, although a dependency of England, we have seen, in a preceding chapter, that it gave rise to loud complaints and invective in that country, as an infringement of the laws of nations, and a violation of the neutral rights of Germany. What comparison however can this proceeding bear with the attack on the Spanish frigates? Even the subsequent invasion of Spain, by the French troops, was little if at all more unjustifiable than this. If any thing could add to the horror occasioned by the general aspect of the transaction, it would be the picture of individual misery it occasioned, the wanton sacrifice of lives which was produced, by an attack with a nearly equal force.

guishing feature of the policy of the British government, as at present constituted; and the appointment of Lord Leveson Gower as ambassador to the court of St. Petersburg, increased the public expectation of a speedy continental alliance, and encouraged the hope of the advantages resulting from a closer political connexion with that extensive empire.

While arrangements were forming in the cabinet of Great Britain to increase the number of our allies on the continent of Europe, information was received by the government, of the successful termination of hostilities in the peninsula of Hindostan. This happy event served to dissipate the apprehensions so generally felt at that period for the stability of the British empire in the East, and relieved the country from the necessity of weakening our army at home, by detaching troops to the assistance of our brave countrymen in India. Whatever difference of opinion might exist with respect to the justice or expediency of the war, waged, during the year 1803, against the confederate Mahratta chieftains, it is universally allowed that the contest was conducted with extraordinary judgment and vigour, and that the events to which it gave rise exhibited a series of brilliant achievements, and splendid victories, which cannot be contemplated without emotions of national pride, nor recorded without adding another splendid page to the military annals of our country.

In exhibiting the causes of the war, the Marquis of Wellesley states, that a number of the confederated Mahratta chieftains had assembled their military force on the frontiers of our ally, the Soubahdar of the Deccan, after having declared that the intention of that junction was to decide, whether there should be peace or war with the British government and its allies. The determination of the chieftains to maintain this position, was regarded by the governor-general as a manifest indication of a design to frustrate, by hostilities, or by the terror of arms, the operations of the alliance concluded between the British government and the Peishwah, to disturb the tranquillity of the Nizam, and ultimately of the East India Company. The union of the confederated forces, and their commanding and menacing position, afforded every advantage to the chieftains in prosecuting the hostile designs which they had already exhibited, and enabled them to hold in their hands the issues of peace or war, and to arbitrate the fate of the Deccan according to their interests and caprice. While the position and state of Scindiah's forces under the command of French officers, in Hindostan, and the machinations of Monsieur Perron, the

nominal representative of the deposed Moghul emperor, with the adjoining states, and with the subjects of the company, and of the vizier, exhibited additional proofs of the hostile designs of the confederates, and furnished those chiefs with additional means of prosecuting their designs. Such are stated by the Marquis of Wellesley to be the grounds, which, as he insists, constituted a just, distinct, and lawful cause of war; and if implicit confidence be placed on the accuracy and fairness of this representation, it would be difficult to dispute the existence of a legitimate object of hostility. It must, however, always be recollected, that in the investigation of the origin of the wars of India, we are unfortunately obliged, in a great measure, to form an opinion upon documents supplied by only one of the belligerent parties.

The plan of the campaign was arranged for a general and combined attack to be made nearly at the same time on the united army of Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, under their personal command, in the Deccan, and on their most vulnerable and valuable possessions in every quarter of India. The scale of operations extended from Delhi, and the presidencies of Fort William, Fort St. George, and Bombay, to Poohnah, Hyderabad, Guzerat, and Orissa. The objects, to the accomplishment of which our operations were directed in the war with Dowlut Rao Scindiah, were the occupation of the seaport of Baroach, and of the territory annexed to it, and the general reduction of his military power and resources. In the prosecution of hostilities with the Rajah of Berar, the views of the governor-general were directed chiefly to the occupation of the province of Cuttack, and the cession of all the rajah's possessions intermixed with those of the Soubahdar of the Deccan; and the general reduction of his influence within the bounds requisite for the safety of the British possessions and those of their allies. In attacking Monsieur Peron, the entire reduction of his regular corps was contemplated, and, as a necessary consequence, the annexation to the British dominions of the whole of the territory in his possession within the Doab of the Jumna and Ganges, with a view to render the river Jumna the north-western frontier of the company's dominion in that quarter.

The army may be comprehended under two general divisions; that under Major-general Wellesley* was directed to act against the combined forces of Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar; and the operations on the north-western frontier of Oude, were under the immediate direction of Ge-

neral Lake, commander-in-chief. Of the number and distribution of this force, the following abstract will present a pretty correct view:—

In Hindostan, under the personal command of General Lake,	10,500
At Allahabad and Mirzapour,	5,500
In the Deccan, under the immediate personal command of General Wellesley,	8,903
Subsidiary force under Colonel Stevenson,	7,920
At Hyderabad,	1,997
At Poohnah,	1,598
At Moodgul,	4,032
On the march from Moodgul,	1,900
Field force in Guzerat,	4,281
Garrisons at Guzerat and at Surat,	3,071
For the invasion of Cuttack,	5,216

Total, exclusive of gun-lascars, pioneers, artificers, and store-lascars, 54,918

This force was opposed to upwards of one hundred thousand native troops, including at least fifty thousand cavalry, and commanded principally by French officers. On the 8th of August, hostilities commenced in the Deccan; and on that day Major-general Wellesley commenced his march towards the fortress of Ahmednuggur, the fortified town of which was carried by escalade, with great spirit and gallantry. On the 10th batteries were opened against the fortress of Ahmednuggur, which held out only two days, and the surrender of which placed the dependent districts under British authority.

On the 24th of August, the confederate chiefs entered the Nizam's territory, with a large body of horse, by the Gaunt of Adjunter, where they formed a junction with a detachment of irregular infantry, under the command of Monsieur Pohlman and Monsieur Dupont, consisting of sixteen battalions, with a formidable and well equipped train of artillery. The whole of this army was assembled in the neighbourhood of Bokerdun, and between that place and Jafferabad. The two corps under the command of General Wellesley and Colonel Stevenson, formed a junction on the 21st of September, at Budnapoor, and immediately determined to attack the enemy on the morning of the 24th. With this view, the two divisions marched on the 22d; Colonel Stevenson by the western route, and Major-general Wellesley by the eastern, round the hill between Budnapoor and Julna. Arrived at Nulna on the 23d, Major-general Wellesley received intelligence that the combined armies of Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, were encamped at the distance of about six miles from the position which he intended to occupy. Instead of waiting till the morning of the 24th for the arrival of Colonel Stevenson,

* Now Duke of Wellington.

General Wellesley adopted the spirited resolution of attacking the enemy immediately. Having come within sight of the enemy, whom the general found encamped in the neighbourhood of the fortified village of Assye, General Wellesley formed the infantry in two lines, with the British cavalry as a reserve in a third, in an open space between the Kaitna and the Juah rivers, which run nearly in a parallel direction; the Peishwah and the Mysore cavalry occupying a position to the southward of the Kaitna, in order to keep in check a large body of the enemy's cavalry. The number of the British troops engaged, amounted to about four thousand five hundred men, of whom twelve hundred were cavalry, European and native, thirteen hundred European infantry and artillery, and two thousand sepoys. The force of the enemy, which was composed of sixteen regular battalions of infantry, amounted to ten thousand five hundred men, commanded by European officers, and furnished with a train of artillery, exceeding one hundred guns. In addition to this decided superiority of numbers, the enemy had some considerable bodies of horse in reserve, amounting, as it is stated, to thirty thousand men.

After some evolutions on the banks of the Kaitna, General Wellesley commanded the enemy to be immediately attacked, and the troops advanced under a severe and destructive fire from the enemy's cannon. The British artillery producing little effect, and many difficulties opposing its advance, the general ordered it to be left behind, and the whole line to move on, directing Lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, with the British cavalry, to protect the right of the infantry as the line advanced. The enemy, notwithstanding the tremendous cannonade which they kept up, were obliged to fall back upon their second line in front of Juah. The pickets of the infantry, and the 74th regiment, which were on the right of the first and second lines, suffered considerably from the fire of the artillery on the left of the enemy's position, near Assye. The cannonade had proved so destructive to the 74th regiment, that a body of the cavalry of the confederate chieftains was encouraged to charge this gallant band, while most exposed to the fire. The British cavalry, however, charged the enemy in turn, and drove them with immense slaughter into the Juah. Overawed by the steady advance of the British troops, the enemy at length gave way in every direction, and the cavalry, having crossed the Juah, charged the fugitives along the bank of the river, and completed the rout.

The force under General Wellesley was not equal to the task of securing all the advantages arising from this success. Many of the enemy's guns, as the British troops advanced, were in the rear, which were afterwards turned upon the lines by individuals, who having thrown themselves upon the ground, had been left on the field, under the supposition that they were dead, a stratagem often practised by the troops of the native powers. Some time elapsed, before the fire thus kept up from these guns could be stopped. To effect this object, General Wellesley took the 78th regiment and the 7th native cavalry, and compelled the assailants to abandon their guns, but in performing this service the general's horse was shot under him. The British cavalry recrossed the Juah, in order to charge a body of infantry, which had retired, but was again formed, and in this charge the gallant Colonel Maxwell was killed. The victory was then decided, and the enemy retreated, leaving twelve hundred men dead on the field of battle, and an immense number of wounded. Ninety-eight pieces of cannon, seven standards, the camp equipage of the enemy, a great number of bullocks and camels, and a large quantity of military stores and ammunition, were the fruits of this splendid victory, which, however, cost the conquerors one-third of their army, including eleven hundred and thirty-eight wounded, and four hundred and twenty-eight slain.

Upon this memorable occasion, Major-general Wellesley appears to have displayed consummate skill, promptitude, and judgment, and to have given a pledge of that splendid career, by which, at no distant period, he was destined to increase the military renown of his country, and to elevate himself to the highest rank in the state, short of sovereignty itself. Nor have the British troops ever manifested more exemplary order, courage, and discipline, and alacrity, than on the plains of Assye. The whole line, led by General Wellesley in person, advanced to the charge with the greatest steadiness and bravery, although unsupported by artillery, and in the face of a most destructive fire of round and grape-shot. Notwithstanding the decided superiority of the enemy's numbers, they were compelled, after a contest of three hours, to retire from the field of battle, but not till a French officer of distinction, and one of the principal ministers of Scindiah, had received mortal wounds, and lay stretched upon the plain. The complete defeat of the combined army of Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, an irreparable blow to the strength and efficiency of their military resources, and the expulsion of a

hostile and predatory army from the territory of the Subahdar of the Deccan, formed the advantages resulting from the triumph of the British arms in the battle of Assye. Colonel Stevenson, who had been unavoidably prevented from joining the division under General Wellesley before the evening of the 24th, was ordered on his arrival to continue his route to Boorhanpoor, and about the middle of October, this city, and the hill fort of Asseerghur, which is denominated the key of the Deccan, surrendered to the British arms.

While General Wellesley continued to observe and obstruct the movements of the chieftains, their possessions in the province of Guzerat on the western, and of Cuttack on the eastern side of India, were conquered by the British arms. In conformity with the comprehensive plan of operations formed by the governor-general, which was calculated to attack at the same time the most distant possessions of Scindiah and of the Rajah of Berar, Lieutenant-colonel Woodington attacked and carried the fort of Baroach by storm, by which achievement, the company obtained possession of the district of that name, which yields an annual revenue estimated at eleven lacks of rupees.* The remaining territory belonging to Scindiah, in the province of Guzerat, was the district of Champaneer, and on the 17th of September, the fort and town of that district were in the possession of the British troops.

The invasion of the province of Cuttack was undertaken by Lieutenant-colonel Harcourt, of his majesty's 12th regiment of foot, who, on the 11th of September, arrived at Ganjam, and took the command of the troops at that station. On the 14th, they made a movement in advance, and took possession of Manickpatam without resistance. Influenced by a letter from Colonel Harcourt, the brahmins of the pagoda of Jagarnaut sent a deputation to the British camp at Manickpatam, to claim the promised protection of the British government. Colonel Harcourt accordingly proceeded to Jagarnaut, the Mecca of the Hindoos, and on the 18th encamped in the neighbourhood of this metropolis of idolatry, the pagoda having been previously evacuated by the Mahratta forces. The governor-general, in an enumeration of the advantages derived from the conquests of this campaign, says, that it is by no means an immaterial circumstance, that the possession of the great temple of Jagarnaut will increase the reputation of the East India Company, if the affairs of that tem-

ple, which is resorted to by innumerable pilgrims, from every part of the Indian peninsula, be administered with justice and benevolence. After the surrender of Jagarnaut, the towns of Cuttack, Balasore, and Soorong, fell successively into the hands of the British troops, without resistance. At Barabutty, the only remaining fort in the province of Cuttack, a vigorous stand was made by the enemy, but all resistance was overcome by the courage and constancy of our troops, and on the 13th of October that fortress was stormed and carried by the troops under Colonel Harcourt.

Victory continued faithful to the British arms, and crowned the gallant and vigorous exertions of General Lake, on the north-west frontier of Oude, with the most splendid success. On the 29th of August, General Lake moved into the Mahratta territory, with the intention of attacking the force under Monsieur Perron, which occupied an advantageous position at a short distance from the fortress of Ally Ghur. The force under the command of this French representative of the Emperor of Moghul, consisted of about fifteen thousand horse, of which between four and five thousand were regular cavalry. But the regular and determined advance of the British troops so completely overawed Monsieur Perron's forces, that they immediately retired, and quitted the field without venturing to risk an engagement. The army having taken possession of Coel without resistance, General Lake encamped before Ally Ghur on the 4th of September, and determined, after an unsuccessful negotiation with Monsieur Pedron, the commander of the garrison, to carry the fort by assault. The command of the storming party was confided to Lieutenant-colonel Monson, who, after encountering a vigorous resistance, which lasted upwards of an hour from his commencement of the attack to its successful termination, accomplished the object of his enterprise. About two thousand of the enemy were killed on this occasion; numbers were drowned in attempts to escape, and those who surrendered were afterwards permitted to quit the fort. The French commandant, the only European in the place, was taken prisoner. The loss of the British, though bearing no proportion to that of the enemy, was extremely severe, and consisted of forty-three killed, and one hundred and eighty wounded, amongst the latter of whom were Lieutenants-colonel Monson and Browne, Major Macleod, and several other gallant officers. In the fort, some tumbrils of money were found, which the storming party divided on the spot. Ally

* A Rupee is equal to 2s. 6d. A lack of rupees consists of 100,000, and is equal to 125000. sterling.

Ghur was the residence of Monsieur Perron, and the grand dépôt of his military stores, the greater part of which was, by the acquisition of this fortress, placed in the hands of the British commander. The day after the successful assault of this fortress, Monsieur Perron addressed a letter to General Lake, informing him that he had resigned the service of Scindiah, and requesting permission to pass, escorted either by British troops or his own body-guard, with his family, property, and the officers of his suit, to Lucknow, through the territory of the company, and of the Nawaub Vizier. General Lake complied without hesitation with his request, and allowed him to pass with his body-guard, with every mark of honour and respect.

The only check which the British troops appear hitherto to have experienced, was at Shekoabad. Repeatedly attacked by a superior force under the command of a French officer, of the name of Fleury, Colonel Coningham was at length, after having resisted the enemy with great resolution and spirit, compelled to surrender; on the advantageous condition, however, that the garrison, which consisted of five companies of sepoy, should be permitted to march to Cawnpore. In the heroic defence of this place, numbers of the company's troops were killed, and amongst the rest the brave and distinguished commandant, Colonel Coningham.

The British army, under the personal command of General Lake, reached Secundra on the 9th of September, and on the 11th arrived at Jehnah Nullah, about six miles from Delhi, at eleven o'clock in the morning. The commander-in-chief having received intelligence that Monsieur Louis Bourquien had crossed the Jumna in the night, with sixteen battalions of regular infantry, six thousand cavalry, and a considerable train of ordnance, for the purpose of attacking the British forces, immediately upon his arrival at Jehnah Nullah, proceeded in person to reconnoitre them with the whole of his cavalry, consisting only of three regiments, and found them drawn up on a rising ground in order of battle, and in full force. Their position was strengthened by a swamp covering each flank, beyond which the cavalry was posted; their front being covered by a numerous artillery, and protected by a line of intrenchments. Unintimidated either by the superiority of the enemy's numbers, or the advantages of his position, General Lake ordered the line to fall in without delay, and to move to the front in columns of grand divisions. The troops engaged in this glorious action, were his majesty's 76th regiment, seven battalions

of sepoy, the artillery, the 27th dragoons, and two regiments of native cavalry. The enemy's forces consisted of thirteen thousand infantry, and six thousand cavalry; the British force, both cavalry and infantry, of only four thousand five hundred men.

The position of the enemy was such as to render it difficult to attack them with effect. General Lake determined therefore to make a feint retreat, that they might be induced to leave their intrenchments, and to advance upon the plain. By this retrograde movement, the cavalry, which had before considerably advanced, soon formed a junction with the infantry in the rear, which still continued to advance. The cavalry then opened from the centre, and allowed the infantry to pass in front. The false retreat of the cavalry completely deceived the enemy. They immediately quitted their strong position, and advanced with the whole of the numerous artillery, shouting and exhibiting the strongest demonstrations of confidence in victory. The British infantry instantly formed into one line, with the cavalry about forty yards in the rear. The whole then proceeded against the enemy, led by General Lake in person, at the head of the 76th regiment. The enemy kept up a tremendous fire of round, chain, and grape shot. But notwithstanding the destruction it produced, the troops advanced with the greatest bravery and steadiness, without taking their muskets from their shoulders. When they approached within a hundred paces of the enemy, they were exposed to a heavy fire of grape from all their artillery. Orders were then given to charge the enemy with the bayonet; the whole line, with their brave general at their head, after firing a volley, rushed on with irresistible impetuosity, and the enemy, giving way, fled in every direction. When the line halted, it was ordered to break into columns of companies. This manœuvre enabled the British cavalry to pass through the intervals, and to charge the enemy with their galloper guns, and pursuing them to the banks of the Jumna, they drove vast numbers into the river, and completed the victory. By this splendid victory, sixty-eight pieces of ordnance, and thirty-seven tumbrils laden with ammunition, fell into the possession of the British army. Twenty-four other tumbrils exploded during the battle, and many others, with a number of ammunition carriages, were left by the enemy in the Jumna and the Jehnah Nullah. Two tumbrils containing treasure were taken on the field of battle. The loss of the enemy was estimated at three thousand men. That of the British force was also very considerable, amounting, in killed,

wounded, and missing, to four hundred and eighty-five men—about one-ninth of the army brought into the field on this ever memorable occasion. Major Middleton, Cornet Sanguine, and several other European soldiers, fell under the scorching influence of the sun. The evacuation of the city and forts of Delhi, the dispersion of the enemy in all directions, and the increased reputation of the British arms, were amongst the important consequences of this memorable victory.

Immediately after the action of Delhi, the unfortunate Emperor Shah Aulum sent to General Lake, expressing his desire to place his royal person and authority under the protection of his victorious arms. On the 16th of September, General Lake waited on his majesty, and congratulated him on his emancipation from the oppressive and degrading control of a French faction. The eldest son of his majesty, Mirza Akbar Shah, conducted the commander-in-chief to his royal presence. The crowd in the street was so great that it was with some difficulty the cavalcade could proceed to the palace, but General Lake was at length ushered into the presence of the unfortunate and venerable emperor. Oppressed by the accumulated calamities of old age, degraded authority, poverty, and the loss of sight, this unhappy prince was seated under a tattered canopy, with every external appearance of misery and destitution. The impression which General Lake's conduct at this affecting and interesting interview, produced on the minds of the inhabitants of Delhi, is not to be described. In the metaphorical language of Asia, the extraordinary joy excited by the deliverance from bondage of the aged and infirm Shah Aulum is represented to have restored his majesty's sight! In addition to many distinguished marks of royal favour, the emperor conferred on the general the second title in the empire; signifying "The sword of the state, the hero of the land, the lord of age, and the victorious in war."

On the 24th of September, General Lake moved from the city of Delhi, and on the 4th of October arrived before the fortress of Agra. The commander-in-chief immediately summoned the garrison to surrender, but having received no answer, he determined to attack the fort. In conformity with this determination, Colonel Clarke was directed, on the 10th of October, to take possession of the town with his brigade of sepoy, while Lieutenant Macculloch, with three battalions of native troops, advanced to the attack of the ravines. After a long and severe contest, the enemy evacuated the town. The attack on the ravines was equally successful; but the high

spirit and bravery of the officers and men of the native battalions exposed them in some degree unnecessarily to considerable loss. On this occasion, twenty-six guns, with several tumbrils, were taken; and about two thousand five hundred men surrendered to General Lake, and marched into the British camp on the 13th of October.

On the same evening, the garrison of the fort sent proposals to capitulate; and for the purpose of finally adjusting the terms of the capitulation, a British officer was sent into the fort; but while he was actually engaged in the negotiation, the enemy treacherously recommenced their fire, and the officer returned. In consequence of this act of perfidy, the breaching batteries were opened on the 17th, and the same evening the garrison, consisting of about five thousand men, capitulated. In the fortress of Agra, which was now placed under the command of Colonel Macdonald, were found a large quantity of stores, many guns, and several tumbrils, containing about twenty-four lacks of rupees.

In the early part of the campaign, Scindiah had detached from the Deccan a considerable force, under the command of Monsieur Dudernaigue, for the purpose of reinforcing the army of Monsieur Perros. This force, which was furnished with a numerous artillery, was destined to attempt the recovery of the important post of Delhi. To frustrate this design, Major-general Lake marched from Agra on the 27th of October in pursuit of the enemy, and on the 31st encamped a short distance from the ground which they had quitted the same day. At 12 o'clock the same night, General Lake marched with the cavalry, and came up with the enemy about seven o'clock in the morning of the first of November. The enemy's force, which was posted with the right in front of the village of Laswaree, and the left upon the village of Mohauloor, consisted of nine thousand infantry, more than four thousand cavalry, and seventy-two pieces of artillery. Although the British infantry had not arrived, the original plan of attack, which had for its object to prevent the retreat of the enemy, and to secure their guns, was immediately carried into execution. Major Griffiths, Colonel Vandeleur, and Colonel Macan, with their respective brigades, charged the enemy with great gallantry and spirit, forced their line, and took several of their guns. The enemy's fire was however found so galling and destructive, that the British cavalry, after maintaining their ground with distinguished heroism for some time, were at length

obliged to retire, leaving Colonel Vandeleur, and several of their gallant comrades, dead upon the field. At twelve o'clock at noon, the infantry, who had that morning performed a march of five-and-twenty miles, arrived on the banks of the rivulet, where the cavalry were assembled. After about an hour's delay, spent principally in preparation, the British infantry advanced to the attack, and as soon as they became exposed to the enemy's artillery, opened their batteries and commenced their fire. The enemy, whose artillery was decidedly superior to that of the British, both in number and weight of metal, discharged grape-shot from large mortars, as well as from guns of very heavy calibre. The 76th regiment, which headed the attack, suffered so much from the fire of the enemy, that General Lake judged it preferable to proceed to the attack with that regiment, and a small body of native infantry which had closed to the front, rather than wait for the remainder of the column. As soon as this small band of heroes had arrived within reach of the enemy's guns, a most tremendous fire of cannister-shot was opened upon them. The loss sustained by the British troops was so severe, that the enemy were encouraged to attempt a charge; but they were repulsed with loss, and obliged in their turn to retreat. Their cavalry, however, immediately rallied, and their posture became so menacing, that General Lake deemed it necessary to order the cavalry to advance and to charge them. At this instance, Major Griffiths fell, by a cannon-shot; but Captain Wade, by whom his station was immediately supplied, achieved this service with the most distinguished gallantry and success. The remainder of the first column of British infantry having arrived in time to join in the attack on the enemy's reserve, Major-general Ware was proceeding to execute this service, but was killed by a cannon-shot. The loss of this distinguished officer was deeply lamented. To the last moment of the battle, the enemy opposed a vigorous resistance, nor did they abandon their ground until all their artillery was lost. Their left even then attempted to retreat in good order, but this movement was entirely frustrated by Lieutenant-colonel John Vandeleur, who broke in upon their column and completed the victory.

General Lake very truly states, in his despatch to the governor-general, that the zeal which the British army displayed on this memorable day was plainly proved by the returns of the killed and wounded. The numbers amounted to eight hundred and twenty-two, including many meritorious and sincerely lamented officers. Of

the enemy, two thousand were taken prisoners, and the greater part of the remainder slain. In addition to this irreparable loss, the whole of their bazars, camp equipage, and baggage, fell into the hands of the British troops; with a considerable number of elephants, camels, and upwards of seven hundred bullocks; seventy-two pieces of cannon of different calibres; forty-four stands of colours, and sixty-four tumbrils completely laden with ammunition. Three tumbrils with money were also captured, together with fifty-seven carts laden with match-locks, muskets, and stores. During the action, several tumbrils with ammunition exploded; and five thousand stand of arms thrown down by the enemy were found on the field.

On this memorable day, his majesty's 76th regiment maintained the high reputation it had so justly acquired for bravery, steadiness, and discipline. The victory, however, was in a considerable degree attributed to the skill, judgment, and valour of General Lake, whose illustrious name, and heroic example, inspired the army with universal confidence. In the midst of the slaughter, the general had two horses killed under him; but while the shot poured round him in every direction, he displayed the most resolute fortitude, and the most ardent valour. Of every advantage presented by the enemy, he availed himself with admirable promptitude, and manifested the highest degree of professional ability. His unrivalled personal activity carried into immediate execution his various and masterly plans of attack; and in the front of every principal charge he appeared with all the ardour and enthusiasm of matchless courage.

The staff of the army maintained their distinguished reputation. The conduct of Major G. A. F. Lake, of his majesty's 94th regiment, son to the commander-in-chief, was conspicuously meritorious. He attended his father, throughout the whole campaign, in the capacity of military secretary and aid-de-camp. In executing his father's orders, he displayed the utmost gallantry and valour in every service of difficulty and danger. He constantly attended his father's person, and, independently of the ties of natural affection, he possessed the highest place in the commander-in-chief's confidence and esteem. In the heat of the action, his father's horse was killed under him by a shot; Major Lake immediately dismounted, and after much earnest solicitation prevailed on his father to mount his horse—mounting himself a horse of one of the troops. At that instant, he was struck by a shot, which wounded him severely, in the presence of his affectionate father.

At the same moment, General Lake found it necessary to lead the troops against the enemy, and leave his wounded son upon the field of battle. Exerting the last efforts of human fortitude, the commander-in-chief, in this dreadful and distracting moment, prosecuted victory with undiminished ardour. At the close of the battle, he had the satisfaction to learn that the wound, though severe, was not dangerous.

Thus terminated, the short but brilliant campaign of the east. In the brief interval between the 8th of August, the day on which hostilities commenced, and the 1st of September, the British army conquered all the possessions of Scindiah in Guzerat, the city of Boorhanpoor in Candeish, the province of Cuttack in Orissa, the Mahratta dominions between the Jumna and the Ganges, the city of Delhi with the right bank of the Jumna, and the city of Agra and the adjoining territory. The fortified town of Ahmednuggur, the fort of Allyghur, Baroach, and Cuttack, were taken by storm. The forts Ahmednuggur, Powanghur, and Champoneer, the fort of Asseerghur, denominated the key of the Deccan, and the fort of Agra, which the natives term the key of Hindostan, surrendered, after batteries had been opened against them, by capitulation. The British army completely defeated the enemy in three general engagements: at Delhi, on the 11th of September; at Assye, on the 23d of September; and at Laswaree, on the 1st of November. According to the official returns, the British troops took, in those engagements, and under the walls of Agra, two hundred and sixty-eight pieces of ordnance, five thousand stand of arms, two hundred and fifteen tumbrils, and fifty-one stand of colours, with a large quantity of stores, baggage, camp equipage, and ammunition. It does not appear that any official returns of the artillery, stores, &c. taken from the enemy in the greater part of the fortresses mentioned above, had been transmitted to the supreme government in India, at the time this statement was prepared. But according to the returns

which had been received, the total number of ordnance, exclusive of tumbrils, stores, &c. captured from the 8th of August to the 1st of November, amounted to seven hundred and thirteen.

After this splendid termination of hostilities, treaties of peace and alliance were, in conformity with instructions from the governor-general, concluded with the following chieftains of Hindostan: the Rajahs of Berar, Bhurrapore, Macherry, Jeynagur, and the Rajah Umbajee Rao Englah. Two separate treaties were concluded with Dowlut Rao Scindiah; a partition treaty with the Peishwah, and with the Soubahdar of the Deccan; and a treaty was also concluded with the Ranah of Gohud.

In the terms of peace, the governor-general was as moderate as the British forces were irresistible in the prosecution of the war. The combined exertion of the talents and wisdom of the Marquis of Wellesley, and the military genius and courage of Generals Lake and Wellesley, accomplished every object for which the war was undertaken. In every part of the company's possessions in Hindostan, the glorious events of the campaign diffused the most enthusiastic joy. The inhabitants of Calcutta voted that a marble statue of the governor-general should be erected, as a lasting memorial of his eminent public services; and it was at the same time agreed to present swords of considerable value to Generals Lake and Wellesley. At home, the public gratitude was not less alive to the extraordinary ability and exertions of the governor-general of India. The thanks of parliament were voted to his excellency, and to the commanders, officers, and soldiers of the several armies which had shared in the dangers and in the glories of the contest; while his majesty, in order to express the royal approbation of the signal services conferred upon the country by the generals of the east, was pleased to create General Lake a peer of the realm, and to confer upon General Wellesley the honour of the noble order of the Bath.

CHAPTER IV.

FOREIGN HISTORY : State of France—Conspiracy against the French Government—Arrest of Georges, Pichegru, Moreau, and others of the Conspirators—Death of General Pichegru—Of Captain Wright—Execution of Georges, and eleven of his Confederates—Moreau permitted to exile himself—Arrest and Execution of the Duke d'Enghien—Charge exhibited by the French Government against Mr. Drake and Mr. Spencer Smith—Arrest of Sir George Rumbold—Plot against the Life of Louis XVIII.—Proposal to elevate Bonaparte to the Imperial Dignity—Ineffectual Opposition by Carnot—Organic Senatus Consultum conferring the Title of Emperor—Voted by the Senate—Accepted by Napoleon—Protest of Louis XVIII.—The Pope invited to perform the Ceremony of Consecration—Allocation of his Holiness issued on his Departure from Rome—Coronation—The Title of Emperor of Austria assumed by Francis II.—Situation of Europe at the Close of the year 1804—Indications of the Renewal of War on the Continent.

THE French legislative body was this year assembled on the 7th of January, and on the 16th of the same month the annual *expose* of the state of the republic was submitted to that assembly. This publication, which was the last in which the ruler of France was to be contemplated as a citizen giving an account to his fellow-citizens of the origin and success of his measures, portrayed the state of the republic in the most captivating colours.* Although France had been forced to change her attitude, her situation, according to the government organ, was in no respect deteriorated; the internal tranquillity of the country had not been disturbed since the torch of war had been rekindled by a jealous enemy; against that enemy, the public indignation had been as much increased, as the devotion to the first consul had been augmented, and all danger of internal divisions was at an end, in despite of every effort made by the English government to promote them. In short, the war had not even interrupted the plans marked out for a time of peace; the construction of roads, canals, bridges, and harbours, as well as the promotion of all objects of a similar nature, proceeded with undiminished zeal; and the government had pursued with constancy every measure that tended to attach all interests and all hopes to its duration. The finances were described as in the most prosperous situation, the revenues were collected with unprecedented facility, and public credit had maintained itself in the midst of the shocks of war. Out of two hundred millions (of livres) which might have been captured by the enemy, more than two-thirds of that amount had been saved. In Hanover, success had invariably attended the French troops; the Hanoverian army, to the number of twenty-five thousand men, had laid down their arms, and the cavalry of the republic had been remounted at the expense of a possession dear to the King of England, and which

presented a security of the justice which that monarch would be obliged hereafter to return to France. It was in conclusion declared, that France would never acknowledge less advantageous conditions than those of the treaty of Amiens; that the most perfect harmony subsisted between the French republic and the United States, Helvetia, Italy, and the Ottoman empire; and that the tranquillity given to the continent by the treaty of Luneville was secured and ratified by the proceedings of the diet at Ratisbon.

The public mind being thus prepared to repose implicit confidence in the government of Bonaparte, an event occurred which materially contributed to accelerate the completion of his projects, and to elevate this modern Charlemagne to the summit of his ambition. Early in the month of February, a plot was detected, the object of which seems to have been the overthrow of the existing government. The principal persons implicated in this conspiracy, were General Pichegru, Georges Cadoudal, formerly a leader of the insurgents in Brittany, and Lajollais, a confidant of General Pichegru. It likewise appeared that General Moreau had, to a certain extent, been made acquainted with the views of Pichegru, and that he had held secret interviews with the general since his return from England to Paris. The first intimation of this intrigue was given by a confidential agent of the conspirators, who had been arrested near Calais; and on his information, Lajollais, Moreau, and several others, were placed under arrest. This treason against the consular government was announced to the public in a report to the first consul, prepared by Regnier, the minister of justice, and which ascribed the whole plot to England and her emissaries. On the promulgation of this report, the genius of the French nation displayed itself in a profusion of legislative provisions, and in copious and abject addresses. The tribunate, the senate, and the legislative body, all vied with each other in terms of courtly adulation. The army and the navy,

* *Exposé* of the state of France laid before the legislative body, on the 25th of Nivose, 12th year.

following the example of their rulers, swelled the number of addresses, and the right wing of the armament collected at Ostend, declared, that they waited with impatience the arrival of the moment when the first consul should "proclaim the hour of vengeance against England."

To the addresses of felicitation on the discovery of the conspiracy, delivered by the deputation from the senate, the legislative body, and the tribunate, the first consul replied :

"Since I have attained the supreme magistracy, many plots have been formed against my life. Educated in camps, I have never regarded dangers which give me no fear. But I cannot avoid experiencing a deep and painful feeling, when I consider the situation in which this great nation would have been placed, if this plot had been successful, for it is principally against the glory, the liberty, and the destiny of the French people that the conspiracy was formed. I have long since renounced the hope of enjoying the pleasures of private life. All my days are employed in fulfilling the duties which my fate and the will of the French people have imposed upon me. Heaven will watch over France, and defeat the plots of the wicked. The citizens may be without alarm. My life will last as long as it shall be useful to the nation; but I wish the French people to understand, that existence, without their confidence and affection, would be for me without consolation, and would for them have no object."

These congratulatory addresses did not so much engross the attention of government, as to induce them to relax their vigilance for the detection of the persons implicated in the conspiracy. Pichegru had hired of one Le Blanc, a broker, a small apartment at an enormous price, relying on the fidelity and attachment of his host for his security. But his confidence was misplaced; for this unprincipled wretch, having obtained from Murat, the governor of Paris, and the brother-in-law of Bonaparte, a promise of one hundred thousand livres, introduced six gens d'armes into the general's apartment, on the night of the 27th of February, while he was asleep, and secured his pistols and dagger, which were laid upon a table near his bed. Awaked by the noise, the general sprang on to the floor, naked and unarmed, and it was not till he was exhausted by fatigue and loss of blood, that he surrendered, and was conveyed to prison. The following day, the legislature passed a law, that any person concealing Georges, or any of the individuals who were named as associates in his plot, should be considered as principals in guilt, and should expiate their offence with their life. For some days, Georges had the good fortune to escape the vigilance of the police, but on the 10th of March, he was discovered in a chaise with his friend Leridan the younger, and after a desperate resistance,

in which he shot the police officer by whom he was stopped, dead upon the spot, and wounded another of the officers of justice, he was secured and conveyed to prison.

Immediately on the arrest of General Pichegru, he underwent an examination before the prefect of the police, the object of which was to obtain from him a confession, that he returned to France under the direction of the French princes, and that his intention was to replace the Bourbons on the throne of their ancestors. After a second examination, he was committed to the tower of the Temple, where he remained for about a month, when on a sudden the government announced that he had terminated his existence by suicide. The account given of this event by the government, was, that the general went to bed about midnight on the 6th of April, and that when the boy who waited upon him had retired, he drew from beneath his bolster, where he had secreted it, a black silk cravat, which he wound round his throat, and introducing into the two ends of the cravat a piece of stick, which he had also secreted, he twisted it about until strangulation was produced; and to prevent the stick from returning, he placed one end of it behind his left ear, and then placing the left side of his head upon his pillow, expired in that situation. At seven o'clock in the morning, the turnkey entered his room to light his fire, but seeing the prisoner a corpse, with his face discoloured, his jaw locked, and his tongue pressed between his teeth, he immediately gave the alarm. No sooner had the fact of the death of General Pichegru come to the knowledge of the criminal tribunal, than they despatched eight physicians and surgeons to inspect the body, and their report agreeing in substance with the above representation, was publicly read in the tribunal of the section, by the officer of health. But with whatever art and care these proceedings were drawn up, the account they contained was by no means satisfactory. The formation of an artificial tourniquet, by means of a piece of fagot stick, and the persevering use of it, as described in the report, were considered as improbable and unnatural. The description of the deceased general taking his handkerchief from under his bolster, at a time when no eye could see him, was deemed an absurd invention; and the moral and religious character of the man was considered a strong presumptive proof that he had not committed the crime imputed to him. It was, on the contrary, said, but it must be confessed that the assertion rested on no positive evidence, that while General

Pichegru was in prison, attempts were made to extort from him confessions, by the application of the torture, but that his unconquerable firmness rendered these barbarities unavailing, and that in order to conceal the marks of the torture, and to avoid the exposure which must have taken place on his trial, recourse was had to the last expedient of a despotic government, and the victim of private assassination was calumniated as a suicide.*

* Soon after the death of General Pichegru, died, in the same prison of the Temple, a British naval officer, whose fate was deeply deplored, and the circumstances of which gave rise to the suspicion that his death proceeded from the hands of violence, rather than from the ordination of Providence. On the 15th of May, accident threw into the hands of the enemy, Captain Wright, who, while cruising on board a corvette, in the Bay of Quiberon, was becalmed and made prisoner by the French gun-boats. He was a person in whose capture Bonaparte would for every reason rejoice. He had been the fellow prisoner of Sir Sidney Smith, and, after escaping with that officer from the Temple, had served with him in Egypt and Syria, and had already been named in the reports as the person who effected the landing of Georges, Pichegru, and their companions, on the coast of France. Captain Wright, on his arrival in Paris, was immured in the Temple, where he resisted every temptation that was held out to allure him to make disclosures to the injury of his country, and where he fell the victim, as is supposed, of his virtue, honour, and constancy. (53)

(53) On this subject, we can have no higher authority than Napoleon himself. In conversation with Mr. Warden, he asked the latter "If he remembered the history of Captain Wright?"—"Perfectly well," was the reply, "and it is a prevailing opinion in England that you ordered him to be murdered in the Temple." With the utmost rapidity of speech, he replied, "For what object? Of all men, he was the person whom I should have most desired to live. Whence could I have procured so valuable an evidence as he would have proved, on the trial of the conspirators, in and about Paris? The heads of it, he himself had landed on the French coast."—"My curiosity," says Mr. Warden, "was at this moment such as to be betrayed by my looks. 'Listen,' continued Napoleon, 'and you shall hear. The English brig of war, commanded by Captain Wright, was employed by your government in landing traitors and spies on the west coast of France. Seventy of the number had actually reached Paris; and so mysterious were their proceedings, so veiled in impenetrable concealment, that although General Ryal, of the police, gave me this information, the name or place of their resort could not be discovered. I received daily assurances that my life would be attempted, and though I did not give entire credit to them, I took every precaution for my preservation. The brig was afterwards taken near L'Orient, with Captain Wright its commander, who was carried before the prefect of the department of Morbeau, at Vannes. General Julien, then prefect, had accompanied me in the expedition to Egypt, and recognised Captain Wright on the first view of him. Intelligence of this circumstance was immediately transmitted to Paris; and instructions were expeditiously returned, to interrogate the crew se-

The trial of the other parties concerned in this plot, took place in Paris in the month July, before the criminal tribunal of the department of the Seine, when Georges, and nineteen others, were convicted, and condemned to suffer death, with confiscation of property. General Moreau was sentenced to two years imprisonment. To Armand Polignac, M. de Riviere Lajollais, and M. de Lozier, who were in the number of the convicted, a pardon was extended. On the 25th of July, Georges, and eleven others were guillotined at the *Place de Greve*. They died with the most heroic firmness, and were accompanied to their graves by the regrets of thousands. How far General

parately, and transfer their testimonies to the minister of police. The purport of their examination was at first very unsatisfactory, but at length, on the examination of one of the crew, some light was thrown upon the subject. He stated, that the brig had landed several Frenchmen, and among them, he particularly remembered one, a very merry fellow, who was called Pichegru. Thus a clue was found, that led to the discovery of a plot, which, had it succeeded, would have thrown the French nation a second time into a state of revolution. Captain Wright was accordingly conveyed to Paris, and confined in the Temple, there to remain till it was found convenient to bring the formidable accessories of this treasonable design to trial. The laws of France would have subjected Wright to the punishment of death; but he was of minor consideration. My grand object was to secure the principals, and I considered the English captain's evidence of the utmost importance towards completing my object." He again and again most solemnly asserted, that Captain Wright died in the Temple, by his own hand, as described in the *Moniteur*, and at a much earlier period than has been generally believed. At the same time, he stated, that his assertions was founded on documents which he had since examined. The cause of this inquiry arose from the visit, I think he said, of Lord Eslington to Elba; and he added, "that nobleman appeared to be perfectly satisfied with the account which was given him of this mysterious business."

On the subject of the death of Pichegru, he observed, "Your country also accuses me of his death." I replied, "It is most certainly and universally believed throughout the whole British empire, that he was strangled in prison by your orders." He rapidly answered, "What idle, dissingenuous folly! a fine proof how prejudice can destroy the boasted reasoning faculties of Englishmen! Why, I ask you, should that life be taken away in secret, which the laws consigned to the hands of a public executioner? The matter would have been different with respect to Moreau. Had he died in a dungeon, there might have been grounds to justify the suspicion that he had not been guilty of suicide. He was a very popular character, as well as much beloved by the army; and I should never have lost the odium, however guiltless I might have been, if the justness of his death, supposing his life to have been forfeited by the laws, had not been made apparent by the most public execution."—*Warden's Letters.*

Moreau was implicated in the plot, it is impossible accurately to determine: from his own interrogatory, no evidence could be deduced against him, but General Roussillon, Bouvet de Lozier, one Rolland, and some other persons accused, were allowed to state, that he first engaged in a conspiracy to overturn the existing government, and to restore Louis XVIII. but afterwards preferred assuming the office of dictator himself, and was making exertions for that purpose. In an exculpatory letter written by Moreau to the first consul, he acknowledged that distant overtures had been made to him, to enter into correspondence with the French princes; but to those proposals, which appeared to him to be ridiculous, he returned, as he affirms, no answer. The part of giving information to government, was repugnant to his character; such an office, he adds, is always judged of severely; but it becomes odious, and is marked with the seal of reprobation against the individual who exercises it to the injury of those persons to whom his gratitude is due, and with whom he has long cultivated habits of friendship. Duty, he observed, may sometimes yield to public opinion.

Such was the substance of General Moreau's letter. It is a weak defence of innocence; and if he were conscious of the integrity of his conduct, he should have assumed a manly and heroic tone of self-defence. He should have demanded to be brought before a public tribunal. His great and well-merited popularity would have confirmed a just assertion of his innocence. Even the uplifted sword of tyranny would not have dared to strike. The truth appears to be, that he was aware of the conspiracy against the government and person of Bonaparte, but there was not the least evidence that he had ever taken any active share in perpetrating the designs of the conspirators. After some delay, Moreau was permitted to embark for the United States of America, in which country he remained without any fixed pursuit, till the sovereigns of Europe, duly appreciating his talents, called the expatriated general from exile, and gave him a distinguished rank in their military councils.

While the government of France was engaged in prosecuting the conspirators in its own capital, the territory of the Elector of Baden was violated, and a prince of the house of Bourbon sacrificed to the jealousy of the first consul. Louis Antoine Henri de Bourbon, Duc d'Enghien, son of the Prince of Condé, following the fortunes of his family, had emigrated from France at an early stage of the revolution, and during the whole of the last war, had served with

distinction in the royalist army. Nature had been liberal in the endowment of his person, and his mind was enriched by many virtues, and adorned with the acquirements of a liberal and judicious education. At the end of the war, he had sought a retreat in the dominions of the Elector of Baden, where he lived in a state of cautious privacy, avoiding alike that activity which would have exposed him to suspicion, and that publicity which would have rendered him the object of mortifying curiosity or of illiberal reflection. Early in the present year, feeling the irksomeness of his situation, and the disgraceful oblivion to which he seemed to be consigned, he had written to the British minister at Vienna, soliciting to be employed in the army of his majesty, in any way that might be thought proper, and declaring, that as he could have no individual nor family interest to advance, his hopes were limited to the attainment of a commission in the army, or in any other honourable employment that government might be pleased to assign.

While the duke was thus employing himself, in the supposed security which a neutral territory should afford, a party of fifteen hundred French dragoons, headed by Ordener,* one of Bonaparte's generals, crossed the Rhine in the night of the 15th of March, in three divisions; the guards of the elector, finding all resistance vain, were obliged to open to these invaders the gates of Offenburgh and of Ettenheim, at the latter of which places the duke had fixed his abode. Proceeding to his house, they seized the duke, and a few old priests and invalids who dwelt with him, and loading him with irons, repassed the river, and conveyed him a prisoner into France. With the utmost rapidity, without sleep, and in fetters, he was obliged to travel day and night, until he reached Paris. When his guards brought him to the Temple, they found an order, in obedience to which they immediately carried him away to the castle of Vincennes. On his arrival at that place on the 21st, a military committee composed of seven persons, selected for the purpose by Murat, repaired to the castle, to try, or rather to order him for execution. In his absence, the charges against him, and the proofs in support of them, were read. The charges were, 1st, having born arms against the republic; 2d, having offered his services to England; 3d, having received and conspired with agents of England; 4th, having put himself at the head of a troop of emigrants in the pay

* General Caulaincourt's letter to the Emperor of Russia.

of England in Fribourg and Baden; 5th, having endeavoured, by correspondences with Strasburgh, to cause insurrections in the neighbouring departments, in order to make a diversion in favour of England; and 6th, having aided the late conspiracy against the life of the first consul.

It was not until after the reading of these charges and papers, that the prisoner was admitted into court; and then, the report of the trial published by the French government says, he was interrogated, and allowed to make his defence; but what was the nature of the interrogatory, or of the defence, no information was ever given. Indeed, it appears that the unfortunate prince was brought to his trial rather dead than alive; exhausted with fatigue, with the weight of his irons, and with want of sleep, to such a degree that with difficulty he could keep his eyes open. The court, without much deliberation, found him guilty of all the charges, and sentenced him to death. The same night, he was taken from his dungeon, and led, at one o'clock in the morning, by torch-light, to the wood of Vincennes, where he was inhumanly shot by the Italian soldiers in the service of Bonaparte. This unfortunate prince, who was in the thirty-second year of his age, met his fate with the most undaunted and heroic firmness. On his way to the place of execution, he expressed his joy that his murderers were to be foreigners, and not Frenchmen; and when the bandage was to be placed over his eyes, he exclaimed, "A loyal soldier can face death with open eyes and without fear." In his last hours, he was allowed to have the attendance of a priest, but, with the barbarity which characterized every part of this dark and murderous transaction, they were not permitted to be alone, nor to have any intercourse but in a tone of voice sufficiently loud to be heard by the guards. (54)

(54) No act of Napoleon's extraordinary life has thrown a greater shade upon his character, than the seizure of the Duke d'Enghien. The violation of neutral rights, always unjustifiable, which accompanied his arrest, the mock trial which ensued, and the secret and hurried manner in which the death of this young prince was effected, added to the original enormity of the transaction. The relation of this occurrence, given by the emperor in his conversations with Mr. Warden, throws so much light upon the subject, that it is proper for the sake of historical accuracy to subjoin it. "At this eventful period of my life, I had succeeded in restoring order and tranquillity to a kingdom torn asunder by faction, and deluged in blood. That nation had placed me at their head. I came not as your Cromwell did, or your third Richard. No such thing. I found a crown in the kennel; I cleansed it from its filth, and placed it on my head. My safety now became necessary to preserve that tranquillity so recently restored;

The effect of this event formed a striking contrast to that of the discovery of the conspiracy of Georges. Gloom overspread every countenance, and silence stifled every

and hitherto so satisfactorily preserved, as the leading characters of the nation well know. At the same time, reports were every night brought me" (I think he said by General Ryal), "that conspiracies were in agitation; that meetings were held in particular houses in Paris, and names even were mentioned; at the same time, no satisfactory proofs could be obtained, and the utmost vigilance and ceaseless pursuit of the police was evaded. General Moreau, indeed, became suspected, and I was seriously importuned to issue an order for his arrest, but his character was such, his name stood so high, and the estimation of him so great in the public mind, that as it appeared to me, he had nothing to gain, and every thing to lose, by becoming a conspirator against me: I, therefore, could not but exonerate him from such a suspicion. I accordingly refused an offer for the proposed arrest, by the following intimation to the minister of police. You have named Pichegru, Georges, and Moreau: Convince me that the former is in Paris, and I will immediately cause the latter to be arrested. Another and a very singular circumstance led to the development of the plot. One night, as I lay agitated and wakeful, I rose from my bed and examined the list of suspected traitors; and chance, which rules the world, occasioned my stumbling, as it were, on the name of a surgeon, who lately returned from an English prison. This man's age, education, and experience in life, induced me to believe that his conduct must be attributed to any other motive than that of youthful fanaticism, in favour of a Bourbon: as far as circumstances qualified me to judge, money appeared to be his object. I accordingly gave orders for this man to be arrested; when a summary mock trial was instituted, by which he was found guilty, sentenced to die, and informed he had but six hours to live. This stratagem had the desired effect: he was terrified into confession. It was now known that Pichegru had a brother, a monastic priest, then residing in Paris. I ordered a party of *gens d'armes* to visit this man, and if he had quitted his house, I conceived there would be good grounds for suspicion. The old monk was secured, and in the act of his arrest, his fears betrayed what I most wanted to know—Is it, he exclaimed, because I afforded shelter to a brother, that I am thus treated?—The object of the plot was to destroy me; and the success of it would, of course, have been my destruction. It emanated from the capital of your country, with the Count d'Artois at the head of it. To the west, he sent the Duc d'Berri, and to the east, the Duc d'Enghien. To France, your vessels conveyed underlings of the plot, and Moreau became a convert to the cause. The moment was big with evil: I felt myself on a tottering eminence, and resolved to hurl the thunder back upon the Bourbons, even in the metropolis of the British empire. My minister vehemently urged the seizure of the duke, though in a neutral territory. But I still hesitated, and Prince Benevento brought the order twice, and urged the measure with all his powers of persuasion: it was not however until I was fully convinced of its necessity, that I sanctioned it by my signature. The matter could be easily arranged between me and the Duke of Baden. Why indeed should I suffer a man residing on the very confines of my kingdom, to commit a crime which,

emotion. No one ventured to congratulate the first consul on his escape, or on the destruction of his mortal enemy; no

within the distance of a mile, by the ordinary course of law, justice herself would condemn to the scaffold? And now answer me; did I do more than adopt the principle of your government, when it ordered the capture of the Danish fleet, which was thought to threaten mischief to your country? It had been urged to me again and again, as a sound political opinion, that the new dynasty could not be secure while the Bourbons remained. Talleyrand never deviated from this principle: It was a fixed unchangeable article in his political creed. But I did not become a ready or a willing convert. I examined the opinion with care and with caution: and the result was a perfect conviction of its necessity. The Duc d'Enghien was accessory to the confederacy; and although the resident of a neutral territory, the urgency of the case, in which my safety and the public tranquillity, to use no stronger expressions, were involved, justified the proceeding. I accordingly ordered him to be seized and tried; he was found guilty, and sentenced to be shot. The sentence was immediately executed; and the same fate would have followed, had it been Louis the Eighteenth. For I again declare, that I found it necessary to roll the thunder back on the metropolis of England, as from thence, with the Count d'Artois at their head, did the assassins assail me." In a subsequent part of the same conversation, he is reported to have said, "I was justified in my own mind, and I repeat the declaration I have already made, that I would have ordered the execution of Louis XVIII. At the same time, I solemnly affirm that no message or letter from the duke reached me after sentence of death had been passed upon him." "Talleyrand, however," observes Mr. Warden, "was said to be in possession of a letter from the royal prisoner, addressed to Napoleon, which they who are well qualified to know, declared he took upon himself not to deliver, till it was too late to be of any service to the writer. I saw a copy of this letter in possession of the Count de Las Cases, which he calmly represented to me as one of the mass of documents, formed or collected to authenticate and justify certain mysterious parts of the history which he was occasionally employed in writing under the dictation of the hero of it. The letter was to beg his life; and to this effect: it stated his opinion that the Bourbon dynasty was terminated. That was the settled opinion, and he was about to prove the sincerity of it. He now considered France no otherwise than as his country, which he loved with the most patriotic ardour, but merely as a private citizen. The crown was no longer in his view. It was now beyond the probability of recovery; it would not, it could not be restored. He therefore requested to be allowed to live, and devote his life and services to France, merely as a native of it. He was ready to take any command, in any rank, in the French army, to become a brave and loyal soldier, subject to the will and orders of the government, in whose hands soever it might be, to which he was ready to swear fealty, and that if his life was spared, he would devote it with the utmost courage and fidelity, to support France against all its enemies. Such was the letter which, as it was represented to me, Talleyrand took care not to deliver, till the hand that wrote it was unnerved by death."—*Warden's Letters*

one dared to blame, and no one was allowed to vindicate the act. The intelligence of the trial and the execution was first imparted in papers printed out of France, for it was not until several days after the event, that the Paris newspapers contained any narrative on the subject. In private, where men could venture to intimate an opinion, every one declared his abhorrence of the act, and every Frenchman sought to alleviate his portion of the burden of national infamy, by congratulating himself that he was not one of the Italians who had performed this task of midnight butchery. In foreign countries, where any free opinion could be expressed, the murder was stigmatized in becoming terms, and in some, solemn funeral obsequies were performed in honour of the victim. Several notes on the illegal seizure of the Duke d'Enghien, and the violation of the neutrality of the German empire, were delivered to the diet of Ratisbon, and also addressed to the French minister for foreign affairs. Among these, by far the most spirited were the notes presented by the Russian, Swedish, and Hanoverian ministers.

The tragic scene in the wood of Vincennes had scarcely closed, when another conspiracy was announced by the grand judge of the French courts. In his report to the first consul, it is stated, that the British minister resident at the court of Munich, had engaged in a clandestine correspondence with certain individuals in the heart of France, with a view to overturn the government of that country; that these agents had been supplied with large sums of money by the British government, which were to be employed by establishing an intelligence in the different public offices of France; in gaining over those employed in the powder-mills of that country; in procuring a correct knowledge of the different parties in France; and in taking every means to disorganize the armies. Such is the substance of the instructions cited by the grand judge, as given by Mr. Drake to his principal correspondent, Mehee de La Touche, who was supposed to be at the head of a committee of malcontents assembled at Paris, and these facts were supported by a variety of documents and intercepted letters annexed to the report. This M. Mehee was, it appears, a man of notoriously infamous character—an intriguer by profession, who had insinuated himself into the confidence of some of the members of the British government, and through their introduction had gained access to Mr. Drake, to whom he had made a tender of his services. But the proposal from Mehee was merely a snare, in order to discover the views and the private means of procuring

information adopted by the English cabinet; for the supposed conspirator was, from the beginning of his intrigue, actually in the confidence of the French government. The principal object of the report promulgated by Regnier, the grand judge, was to implicate Mr. Drake in a participation in the plans of Georges and his adherents, and the conduct pursued on this occasion by the Elector of Bavaria, shows that he was not altogether unsuccessful in establishing his position. Copies of the report, and the documents, were addressed to the several ministers from the foreign courts resident at Paris, and these papers were accompanied by a circular from M. Talleyrand, denouncing Mr. Drake as an associate in the infamous plot at that time before the French tribunals. The answers to this communication, were for the most part conveyed in general terms of compliment to the first consul, but some of the representatives of foreign states condemned the conduct of the British envoy, in terms of the severest reprehension, and of this number the Danish minister, Mr. Dreyer, and the American minister, Mr. Livingston, were the most conspicuous. The original documents, upon which the charge against the British minister was founded, were transmitted to Munich, and on the 31st of March, a note was addressed to Mr. Drake, by the Baron de Montgelas, prime minister to the Elector of Bavaria, expressive of the regret of his serene highness, that his capital should have been the central point of a correspondence so inconsistent with the mission with which Mr. Drake was invested; and intimating, that it was due to his own dignity, and to the welfare of his subjects, to declare, that from the present moment it became impossible for him to hold any communication with Mr. Drake, or again to receive him at his court. After the receipt of this note, it was no longer in the power of Mr. Drake to prolong his residence in the Bavarian territories; and Mr. Spencer Smith, the British envoy to the Elector of Wurtemberg, who was stated to have been implicated in these transactions, was also under the necessity of quitting Stuttgart.

The impression made by these transactions in every court of Europe, rendered it necessary that some notice should be taken of them by the British government. Accordingly, a circular letter was addressed by Lord Hawkesbury to each of the foreign ministers resident at the court of London, in which the secretary for foreign affairs repels the charge preferred against his majesty's government, of participating in any project of assassination; but his lordship at the same time maintains, that if any

minister, accredited to a foreign court, had held correspondence with persons in France, with a view of obtaining information of the projects of the French government, or for any other legitimate purpose, he had done no more than ministers, under similar circumstances, had been uniformly considered as having a right to do, with respect to the countries with which their sovereign was at war. This position of Lord Hawkesbury was commented upon some time afterwards in a circular note from M. Talleyrand; in which the French minister asserts, that diplomatic agents had at all times been considered as ministers of peace—organs of conciliation—but the British government wished to make them the instigators of plots, the agents of troubles, the directors of machinations; vile spies; cowardly seducers; the fomenters of seditions; the paymasters of assassins; and the French ministers to whom these notes were directed, were ordered to declare to the governments where they resided, that Bonaparte would not recognise the English diplomatic body in Europe, so long as the British government did not abstain from charging its ministers with any warlike agency, and did not restrain them within the limits of their function.

Shortly after the appearance of the circular note of M. Talleyrand, in which the French government attempted to place the British diplomatic corps out of the protection of the law of nations, upon the ground of their violating this general international code, that government committed a most daring infraction of the very law which they had just expressed so much solicitude to uphold. On the night of the 24th of October, a body of two hundred and fifty French troops, under the command of a general officer, embarked at Harburgh, and landed between Harburgh and Altona, at a place called the Harburgh-hill. They proceeded to Grindelhof, where Sir George Rumbold, the British minister to the Hanseatic towns, and the circle of Lower Saxony, had his country residence. Those who first approached the house affected to be couriers with despatches from Tonnin-gen; but entertaining suspicion, Sir George refused them admittance. Upon this the whole body rushed forward, broke open the doors, seized Sir George and his papers, and conveyed him to a carriage, which was waiting for the purpose of conducting him to Hanover, whence he was sent off to Paris. The following morning, as soon as the senate of Harburgh heard of this violation of their territorial rights, they assembled at seven o'clock, and continued sitting till five o'clock in the afternoon. As the result of their deliberations, they pre-

sented a remonstrance to the French minister, M. Reinhard, who denied having any knowledge whatever of the transaction. The order for the arrest, it seems, was transmitted from Paris directly to Marshal Bernadotte. Being thus foiled in their attempt to procure reparation, or even any explanation of the affair from the French minister, the senate conceived it proper to apprise the courts of Berlin, Vienna, and Petersburg, of this violation of their territory.

An explanation of this act of violence was afterwards given to the senate of Hamburg, by the French minister, Reinhard, who pretended to justify the seizure of Sir George Rumbold, upon the ground of his being concerned in the conspiracy imputed to Mr. Drake; but the fallacy of the pretext is sufficiently obvious, from the circumstance of Sir George Rumbold being no where alluded to in the correspondence with Mehee de Latouche.

It appears that upon his arrival at Paris, Sir George Rumbold was conveyed to the Temple, where he was treated with civility during a confinement of two days and two nights. On the third day, he was removed from the Temple, and conducted towards the coast of the Channel, having first entered into a stipulation not to return to Hamburg; nor, after his departure from France, to go within fifty miles of any part of the French territory. Before he left the Temple, he made an application for his papers, which had been transmitted to the minister of the police; but this demand was peremptorily refused. He was then put into a carriage with his servant, and conveyed to Boulogne, and afterwards to Cherbourg. The flag of truce in which he had embarked, falling in with his majesty's frigate the *Niobe*, Sir George was taken on board, and landed at Portsmouth on the 17th of November. This act of violence was the subject of an official note from Lord Hawkesbury to the cabinet of Berlin; but that court had previously made a remonstrance on the subject to the French government, and to that remonstrance the release of Sir George Rumbold is chiefly to be attributed.

In recording the events of this period of conspiracies, it is proper shortly to advert to a plot formed against the life of Louis XVIII. It appears that two men, of what nation or condition of life is not stated, became acquainted with one Coulon, a Frenchman by birth, who kept a billiard table at Warsaw. Having discovered that Coulon was intimate with several of the domestics of the French king, and in particular with the cook, and that he was in want of money, they gradually revealed to him their design against the life of the

king, and offered him for his services four hundred louis d'ors. In executing this plan, Coulon was to visit the cook, and after betraying him into a state of intoxication, he was to throw into the pot a small parcel, consisting of carrots filled with arsenic, with which he was to be provided. Coulon, although he affected to acquiesce in these diabolical suggestions, went immediately to the Baron de Milleville, usher to the queen, and informed him of the plot. It was afterwards communicated to the Count Avaray, who thought proper to conceal it from his majesty until he obtained more positive information. He waited without delay on the President de Hoym, who authorized him, in case the information was well founded, to cause the authors of the plot to be arrested by the king's domestics. By order of M. de Milleville, Coulon repaired to the place, where he was under an engagement to meet the agents of the plot, and returned with the poisoned carrots in his pocket. Coulon then made a declaration of what had passed, and the packets were placed in the possession of Count Avaray.

This strange and almost incredible story was differently received, as prejudice or party prevailed. Some adopted the opinion, and the Archbishop of Rheims, the Duke de Pienne, and the Abbe Edgeworth, were of that number, that the report of Coulon was fully to be relied upon, while others declared their belief that he was an impostor, and had fabricated the plot to extort from the credulity of Louis and his adherents sums of money as the price of his intelligence. The whole narrative is certainly very extraordinary, not in itself easily credible, and, resting entirely on the testimony of a man of desperate fortune, the associates of gamblers and sharpers, seems entitled to less credit than was bestowed upon it by the court of Louis, in their laudable anxiety for the safety of their royal master.

Neither internal conspiracies nor external wars appear to have in the least diverted the mind of the first consul from the prosecution of his schemes of inordinate ambition. The chief magistracy was conferred on him, in the first instance, for ten years. To secure the permanent exercise of sovereign power, he afterwards obtained an extension of this supreme authority for life. The executive power, although in reality concentrated in himself, was apparently divided with two individuals, who held in common with him the title of consul, qualified with a slight distinctive denomination of subordinate rank. The title of first consul was, besides, too simple to convey an adequate idea of the dignified

elevation to which he had been raised by fortuitous circumstances combined with his own exertions. Equally ambitious of undivided power and titular splendour, he aspired to imperial distinction. Thus a soldier of fortune, who, at the commencement of the French revolution, was an obscure individual serving in the armies of the republic, was successively promoted to the highest military rank, and, after having usurped the supreme authority of the state, was invested with the title of Emperor of the French!

The subject of conferring on Bonaparte the rank and title of Emperor of the French, and making them hereditary in his family according to the laws of primogeniture, was agitated for the first time on the first of May in the tribunate, when Cürée submitted to that assembly a proposition to this effect. Carnot, maintaining an unshaken adherence to republican principles, opposed the motion made by Cürée, and ascending the tribune, said,

"Is it to grant the first consul a reward for his services, to offer him the sacrifice of liberty? Is it not to destroy Bonaparte's own work, to make France his private patrimony? I voted against the consulate for life, and I will not this day follow a different course. I am determined to pursue consistency of conduct; but the moment that the order of things which is proposed shall be established, I will be the first to conform to it, and to yield to the new authority proofs of my deference."—He then proceeded to examine the form of government proposed to be established. He cited a number of examples from the history of Rome, and drew as an inference from them, that a government by one individual was not in the smallest degree a sure pledge of its stability or its tranquillity. He applied the same inference to the history of France, where intestine commotions, and civil discords, had so often existed under the government of weak or unworthy princes. After the peace of Amiens, Bonaparte, he asserted, had the choice of confirming the republic, or of establishing a monarchy; but he had sworn to defend the former, and to respect the wishes of France, which had made him her guardian. It was now proposed to make of that power a property, of which, at present, only the administration was possessed. The Romans were most jealous of their liberty. Camillus, Fabius, and Cincinnatus, saved the republic by relinquishing, after having rescued the state, the power with which they had been intrusted. But when Cæsar usurped absolute power, the liberty of Rome perished. Citing the example of the United States of America, it was reserved, he said, for the new world to show to the old the practicability of the enjoyment of national liberty, and the rising prosperity of the people. He then asked, whether the opinion of the public functionaries would be the free wish of the whole nation, and whether no inconveniences would attend the expression of an opposite sentiment? He demanded if the liberty of the press would be so much restrained and degraded, that it would be impossible, in the public prints, to make the most respectful remonstrances against the proposed arrangement? Considering the question in another point of view, he asked if the expulsion of the Bourbons at all involved

the necessity of a new dynasty; if the establishment of that dynasty would not place obstacles in the way of a general peace; if it would be recognised by foreign powers; and if, in case of a refusal to recognise it, arms would not necessarily be resorted to, and, for an empty title, the security of the French nation endangered? The existing government, he observed, had other means of consolidating itself. The means of this consolidation, in his opinion, consisted in adherence to justice. By this remark, he had no intention to make any particular application, or to cast any blame on the operations of government. "Is liberty, then," he exclaimed, "disclosed to man, only that it may never be enjoyed? No! I cannot consent to regard it as a mere chimera; for my heart tells me, that its government is easy." He concluded by voting against the motion.

A number of tribunes supported the motion, and insisted that a monarchical government was the original wish of the French nation at the period of the existence of the constituent assembly; that the republican revolutionary governments had been productive of nothing but public calamities; and that permanent tranquillity could be effectually secured only by intrusting the reins of government to an individual, whose merits and services entitled him to the dignity of supreme ruler of the French nation.

On the third of May, the tribunate, exercising the right given them by the 20th article of the constitution, passed a decree relative to the conferring of the imperial title on Bonaparte, and on the following day laid their proposition before the conservative senate. After taking into consideration the various grounds upon which the justice, expediency, and necessity of this decree, are represented to be established, the tribunate proceeded to vote,

"That Napoleon Bonaparte, the first consul, be proclaimed Emperor of the French, and in that capacity invested with the government of the French republic:—That the title of emperor and the imperial power be made hereditary in his family in the male line, according to the order of primogeniture:—That in introducing into the organization of the constituted authorities the modifications rendered necessary by the establishment of hereditary power, the equality, the liberty, and the rights of the people, shall be preserved in all their integrity."

This decree having been put to the vote by the president of the tribunate, was carried by acclamation, with the single exception of Carnot, the only member who delivered his sentiments against its adoption.

In consequence of the communication which had taken place between the tribunate and the senate, the latter, on the 4th of May, presented to the first consul a copy of the decree passed on the preceding day; on which occasion, he required that the senate would make known to him the whole of their thoughts touching the insti-

tutions which required to be established, in order to secure the equality, the liberty, and the rights of the people.

On the 18th of May, the senate, under the presidency of Cambaceres, the second consul, decreed an organic *senatus consultum*, conferring the title of emperor on the first consul, and establishing the imperial dignity hereditary in his family. After the close of the sitting, the organic members, accompanied by several bodies of troops, proceeded to St. Cloud, to present the organic *senatus consultum* to the emperor. Upon their arrival, they were immediately admitted to an audience of the emperor, when the Consul Cambaceres, on presenting to Bonaparte the organic *senatus consultum*, addressed him in a speech prepared for the occasion, and concluded by stating, that the senate entreated his imperial majesty to consent that the organic dispositions should be immediately carried into effect, and that, for the glory as well as the happiness of the republic, Napoleon might be immediately proclaimed Emperor of the French.

To this address, the emperor replied in the following terms:—"Every thing that can contribute to the good of the country, is essentially connected with my happiness. I accept the title which you think necessary to the glory of the nation. I submit to the sanction of the people the law of hereditary succession. I hope France will never repent of having surrounded my family with honours. In all cases, my spirit will cease to be present with my posterity, the day on which it shall cease to deserve the love and confidence of the great nation."

The senate was afterwards admitted to an audience of her majesty the empress, upon which the Consul Cambaceres addressed her majesty, on the part of that body, in a speech conveying the homage of its respect, in terms of flattering congratulation.

The organic *senatus consultum* was then proclaimed by the emperor. His imperial majesty nominated to the dignity of grand elector, his imperial highness, Prince Joseph Bonaparte; to that of constable, his imperial highness Prince Louis Bonaparte; to that of arch-chancellor of the empire, the Consul Cambaceres; and to that of arch-treasurer, the Consul Lebrun. The arch-chancellor, the arch-treasurer, the constable, the ministers, the secretary of state, and General Duroc, governor of the imperial palace, took the oaths before the emperor. On the 20th of May, the emperor decreed the following generals to be marshals of the empire:—Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Massena, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lasnes, Mortier,

Ney, Davoust, and Bessieres. He also decreed the title of marshals of the empire to be given to the following senators:—Kellerman, Lefebvre, Perignon, and Serurier.

By the organic *senatus consultum*, a variety of regulations were established, which materially changed the constitutional code promulgated upon the erection of the consular power. It was divided into sixteen titles, subdivided into one hundred and fifty articles, and comprised the following provisions:—

Title 1. The government of the republic shall be intrusted to an emperor, and Napoleon Bonaparte shall be Emperor of the French.

Title 2 regulates the law of hereditary succession. The imperial dignity is to descend from male to male by order of primogeniture. Females and their descent are perpetually excluded. The present emperor may adopt the children or grandchildren of his brothers in case of the failure of male heirs of his own. His adopted sons enter into the line of his direct descent. In case of an entire failure of heirs to the throne, an organic *senatus consultum*, proposed to the senate by the titularies of the grand dignities of the empire, and submitted to the acceptance of the people, shall nominate the emperor, and regulate in his family the order of hereditary succession. The affairs of the state in the interregnum shall be placed under the direction of the ministers, who shall form the government in council, and shall decide by a majority of voices.

Title 3 determines the titles of the members of the imperial family, their mode of education, their functions under the government, their marriages, the attestations of their birth, marriages, deaths, and the public provision to be made for them.

Title 4 regulates the mode of appointing a regency. The emperor is a minor till the age of eighteen years, complete; and during his minority a regent of the empire is to be appointed.

Title 5 determines the grand dignities of the empire, the titularies of the grand dignities, their privileges and functions; and in particular those of the grand elector. It defines the duties of the arch-chancellor. He performs the functions of chancellor in promulgating treaties of peace, and in declaring war. He presents to the emperor, and signs, the credentials and correspondence with the different courts of Europe. The arch-treasurer presides at the united sections of the council of state and tribunate, and executes the financial arrangements of the empire. The duties of the constables chiefly relate to military affairs, and those of the grand admiral to navy concerns.

Title 6. The grand officers are the sixteen marshals of the empire, eight inspectors of artillery, and several grand civil officers of the crown. This title defines their prerogatives and duties.

Title 7 prescribes the form of oaths. The oath is taken upon the evangelists. The oath taken by the emperor is as follows: "I swear to maintain the integrity of the territory of the republic; to respect, and cause to be respected, the laws of the concordat and the liberty of public worship; to respect, and cause to be respected, the equality of rights, political and civil liberty, the irrevocability of the sales of the national domains; to levy no duty, to impose no tax, but by virtue of the law; to maintain the institution of the legion of honour; and to have no view in governing, but

the interest, the happiness, and the glory of the French people." The oath of the regent is also prescribed. The public functionaries take the following oath:—"I swear obedience to the constitutions of the empire, and fidelity to the emperor."

Title 8 determines the formation of the senate. The senate is composed of the French princes who have attained their 18th year; of the titularies of the grand dignities of the empire; of the 24 members chosen by the emperor from the lists delivered in by the departmental electoral colleges; and of citizens whom the emperor deems proper to raise to the dignity of senator. The president of the senate is named by the emperor, and chosen from the list of senators. His functions continue for twelve months. This title prescribes the duties of the president and the functions of the senate. A commission of seven members takes cognizance of arrests whenever the person arrested is not brought before the tribunals within the space of ten days after the time of such arrest. This is called the senatorial commission for personal liberty. The complaints of authors, and the liberty of the press, come under the cognizance of a similar commission. The laws decreed by the legislative body are transmitted to the senate on the day of their adoption, and are deposited among the archives. Every decree issued by the legislative body may be denounced in the senate by any of the members, provided they are supposed to have any tendency to restore the feudal system, to affect the sale of national domains, or if they have been issued contrary to the forms prescribed by the constitutions of the empire. After various deliberations, the senate may declare their opinion as to the propriety of promulgating the said law; and the president lays the decision of the senate before the emperor, who, after hearing the council of state, either declares by a decree his adherence to the deliberation of the senate, or causes the law to be promulgated. The operations of the electoral colleges can only be annulled, on the ground of their being unconstitutional, by an express *senatus consultum*.

Title 9 relates to the organization of the council of state, whose chief duties are confined to deliberation on laws proposed to be enacted.

Title 10. The members of the legislative body may be elected without interval. Every projected law presented to the legislative body is returned to the three sections of the tribunate. The sittings of the legislative body are divided into ordinary sittings and general committees. At the former, the legislative body hear the orators of the council of state, and those of the three sections of the tribunate, and vote on the *project de loi*.

Title 11. The functions of the members of the tribunate continue for ten years. The president, whose functions continue for two years, is named by the emperor. The tribunate is divided into three sections:—of legislation, of the interior, and of finance. Each section discusses separately, and in a sectional assembly, the projected laws transmitted to it by the legislative body. In no case, can a *project de loi* be discussed by a general assembly of the tribunate; but it may form itself into a general assembly for the exercise of its other privileges.

Title 12 regards the electoral colleges. One of the most important privileges of this institution consists in forming the list of candidates for the legislative body.

Title 13 relates to the organization and functions of the high imperial court. This tribunal

takes cognizance of crimes committed by members of the imperial family, by titularies of the grand dignities of the empire (the senators and counsellors of state), and by all the principal, civil, and military officers of the state. Outrages and plots against the internal and external security of the state, the person of the emperor, and the presumptive heir to the empire, are also brought before this court. The seat of the high imperial court is in the senate. The arch-chancellor of the empire is president. The high imperial court is composed of the princes, the titularies of the grand dignities, and grand officers of the empire, the grand judge, sixty senators, the six sectional presidents of the council of state, fourteen counsellors of state, and twenty members of the court of cassation. An attorney-general, nominated by the emperor for life, is attached to this tribunal. No exception can be made to the decision of the high imperial court. The proceedings of this court originate only with the government, and no appeal can be made against the decision of this tribunal.

Under Title 14, the judicial order is included. The decisions of the courts of justice are entitled *arrêts*. The presidents of the court of cassation, the court of appeal, and the court of criminal justice, are nominated for life by the emperor. This title also determines the officers of these courts, and their respective titular distinctions.

Title 15 describes the mode in which the organic *senatus consulta*, the *senatus consulta*, the acts of the senate and laws, are to be sealed, signed, and promulgated.

Title 16 contains the proposition relative to the law of hereditary succession. The following is the form in which it is to be presented for the acceptance of the people:—"The people wills the imperial dignity to be hereditary in the direct, natural, legitimate, or adopted descent of Napoleon Bonaparte, and in the direct, natural, and legitimate descent of Joseph and of Louis Bonaparte, as regulated by the organic *senatus consultum* of the 23d Floreal, year 12."

Although the power of the first consul was extended by this decree of the senate, yet the augmentation of his authority was rather indirect than immediate, and arose, in a great measure, from the new institutions, of which the chief officers were nominated by the emperor. As chief consul, he was invested with the whole efficient executive power, and with him the laws originated which were discussed in the legislative body. The means of securing a more submissive obedience to his will, were, however, increased by the modifications introduced into the senate, the legislative body, and the tribunate. In raising Bonaparte to the imperial dignity, a very considerable number of persons, whose talents and exertions contributed to give permanence and security to the consular power, so far consulted their own interests as to obtain for life the titles, offices, and emoluments, which they had received under the new form of government. But this circumstance, instead of diminishing the authority of the emperor, had a tendency to confirm it by a consolidation of reciprocal advantage.

The question, whether the throne should or should not be hereditary, was submitted to the people, who, as might have been anticipated, decided in the affirmative by an immense majority.

A short time after the rank and dignity of Emperor of the French had been conferred upon Bonaparte, Louis XVIII. issued a protest against his assumption of the imperial title. The protest was dated from Warsaw, and it was through the medium of the *Moniteur* that this document was first communicated to the public. His majesty declares, that, in assuming the title of emperor, and attempting to render it hereditary in his family, Bonaparte has put the seal to his usurpation. This new act of revolution, where every thing from its origin has been null and void, cannot, his majesty says, weaken his rights; but being accountable for his conduct to all sovereigns, whose rights are not less injured than his own, and whose thrones are shaken by the dangerous principles which the senate of Paris has dared to publish:—accountable to France, to his family, and to his own honour, he should consider himself as betraying the common cause, were he to preserve silence on this occasion. His majesty then declares, in the presence of all the sovereigns of Europe, after having renewed his protestations against all the illegal acts which, from the opening of the states-general of France, have led to the alarming crisis in which France and Europe are now involved, that far from acknowledging the imperial title that Bonaparte has received from a body which has no legal existence, he protests as well against that title, as all the subsequent acts to which it may give birth.

On the 9th of July, Bonaparte issued an imperial decree, directing that the oath should be taken, and the coronation ceremonies performed in the *Champ de Mars*; and the 18th Brumaire (9th of November), the anniversary of the day on which the directorial power was subverted, and the consular government established upon its ruins, was the time appointed for this purpose. In order to give solemnity to the coronation, the pope, notwithstanding his advanced age and his infirmities, was required, at the commencement of the winter, to pass the Alps for the purpose of performing the ceremony of consecration. In the early part of November, his holiness left the Vatican, with a splendid retinue, and was escorted to Paris by a strong guard of French troops, and two hundred and fifty hussars, who were ordered to meet him on the frontiers of the French territory.

Previously to the pope's departure from Rome, he addressed an allocution to a

secret consistory, the object of which was, to state to the venerable brethren of whom it was composed, that his holiness had made provision for the administration, during his absence, of the duties of the papal office. This address contained many passages which may be considered as strongly indicative of the reluctance of the pope to undertake the journey, and the presentiment which he entertained that he should never return to Rome. But the interests of religion, and sentiments of gratitude to Bonaparte for the re-establishment of the Catholic church, by the concordat, are represented to be the just and momentous causes of the journey. "We have," his holiness says, "formed great hopes, that having undertaken this journey by the invitation of the Emperor of France, when we shall speak to him face to face, such things may be effected by his wisdom for the good of the Catholic church, that we may be able to congratulate ourselves on having perfected the work of our most holy religion."

Circumstances had arisen which made it necessary to defer the ceremony of the coronation till the 2d of December. Early on the morning of the preceding day, the senate proceeded in a body to the Tuileries, where they were presented to Bonaparte by Joseph Bonaparte, the grand elector. To use the language of the French account of this ceremony, the president Neufchateau addressed himself in a long complimentary speech, to which the emperor replied in the following terms:—

"I ascend the throne, to which the unanimous wishes of the senate, the people, and the army have called me, with a heart penetrated with the great destinies of that people, whom, from the midst of camps, I first saluted with the name of great. From my youth, my thoughts have been solely fixed upon them: and I must here add, that my pleasures and my pains are derived entirely from the happiness or misery of my people. My descendants shall long preserve this throne. In the camps, they will be the first soldiers of the army, sacrificing their lives for the defence of their country. As magistrates, they will never forget that contempt of the laws, and confusion of the social order, are the result only of the imbecility and indecision of princes. You, senators, whose counsels and support have never failed me in the most difficult circumstances, your spirit will be handed down to your successors. Be ever the support and first counsellors of that throne, so necessary to the welfare of this vast empire."

The ceremony of the coronation of Bonaparte was performed on Sunday, the 2d of December, 1804. The military deputations assembled at six o'clock in the morning, and proceeded to the church of Notre Dame by seven. The deputations from the different tribunals of justice, and the functionaries, invited by the emperor, met at

the Palace of Justice at seven, and walked to the church, where they arrived before eight. They were succeeded by the senate, the council of state, the legislative body, and the tribunate. Each of these bodies was escorted by a body of cavalry. The diplomatic corps had a place assigned them in the church. The pope left the Tuileries at nine o'clock, attended by his retinue, and at ten the departure of the emperor from the palace was announced by a discharge of artillery.

The pope and the emperor, instead of going directly to the church of Notre Dame, repaired to the archiepiscopal palace, where his holiness pronounced the usual prayers, while the emperor put on the imperial robes. They afterwards went in splendid procession to the church. The coronation ornaments of Charlemagne were borne before Bonaparte, and he was preceded by Marshal Serrurier, carrying the ring of the empress upon a cushion; Marshal Moncey, with a basket, to receive the mantle of the empress; Marshal Murat, with the empress's crown; the empress, with the imperial mantle, supported by the princesses; Marshal Kellerman, carrying the crown of Charlemagne; Marshal Perignon, the sceptre of Charlemagne; Marshal Bernadotte, the collar of the emperor; General Beauharnois, his majesty's ring; Marshal Berthier, the imperial globe; and the grand chamberlain, the basket to receive the mantle of the emperor. Bonaparte then entered the church of Notre Dame, with the crown previously placed on his head by himself.

The imperial throne and the altar were equi-distant from the centre of the church of Notre Dame. On the imperial throne, was seated the emperor in his ornaments; the empress, on his right hand, was seated a step lower, in an arm-chair. The princesses were on his right hand. On the left hand of the emperor, but two steps lower, were seated the two princes, with the two dignitaries of the empire at their left hand. The throne on which the pope was seated, was raised near the altar. At the moment their majesties entered the porch, the pope descended from his throne, and advancing to the altar, sang *Veni Creator*. The emperor and the empress then said prayers upon their cushions, and were immediately divested of their imperial ornaments. The grand elector took off the crown from his majesty's head; the arch-chancellor took from him the hand of justice; other grand officers stripped him of the imperial mantle, while he himself drew his sword, and delivered it to the constable of the empire. In the mean time, the empress's attendants took from her the im-

perial mantle and ornaments; which, with all the other insignia, were placed upon the altar, for the purpose of being consecrated by the pope.

Then followed the ceremony of inauguration. The grand almoner of France, with the first of the French cardinals and archbishops, conducted their imperial majesties from the throne to the foot of the altar, there to receive the sacred unction. His holiness bestowed a triple unction both on the emperor and on the empress;—one on the head, the other two on the hands. After having received the unctions, they were reconducted to the throne, when the pope performed the mass. His holiness then said prayers separately over both crowns, and over the mantles, the sceptres, and the hand of justice. When their imperial ornaments were consecrated, the emperor put them on again; and afterwards placed the crown on the head of the empress. After this, the pope, preceded by the master of the ceremonies, followed the emperor from the altar to his throne; were, after pronouncing a prayer, he kissed the emperor on the cheek, and cried aloud to the audience, "*Vivat imperator in eternum!*" and the audience exclaimed "*Vive l'empereur! vive l'empereur!*" The pope was then reconducted to the altar by the master of the ceremonies. At the elevation of the host, the grand elector again took the crown off the head of the emperor.

At the *Agnus Dei*, the grand almoner received the kiss of peace from his holiness, and carried it to their imperial majesties. The emperor then, with the crown upon his head, and his hand upon the gospel, pronounced the coronation oath in a firm tone of voice. The chief herald at arms proclaimed: "The most glorious and most august Emperor Napoleon, emperor of the French, is crowned and enthroned. Long live the emperor." The audience again exclaimed, "*Vive l'empereur! vive l'empereur!*" and a discharge of cannon announced the coronation and enthroning of their majesties.

The oath was presented by the president of the senate, attended by the president of the legislative body, and of the tribunate. Their majesties left the church with the same pomp and state, and returned to the archiepiscopal palace. When they had arrived, the pope was reconducted by his clergy, and the procession returned in nearly the preceding order.

On the following day, the heralds at arms proceeded through all the principal streets of the city, and distributed a great quantity of medals, of different sizes, destined to commemorate the coronation. On one side of the medals, the emperor was re-

presented, bearing the crown of the Cæsars, with this legend:—*Napoleon Empereur*; on the reverse, was the inscription, *Le Sénat et le Peuple*; with an allegorical representation of a figure clothed in the attributes of magistracy, and of a warrior newly clothed with the imperial attributes.

The assumption of the imperial dignity by Bonaparte, gave a new interest to the political concerns of Europe; and the time had now arrived when the Germanic Body was no longer to be considered as united under one head. In the month of August, the Emperor Francis issued a decree,* by which his title of Emperor of Germany was changed for that of Emperor of Austria. The decree of the council of state stated the object of this measure to be, "the preservation of that degree of equality which should subsist between the great powers, and the just rank of the house and state of Austria among the nations of Europe." The emperor further urged, that in conferring upon his family an hereditary imperial title, he was following the example of Russia in the last century, and of France in the present day. This event was hailed with undissembled joy by France and Prussia; and when it was announced to the diet of Ratisbon, it excited no animadversion, except from the King of Sweden, who considered this change so inseparably connected with the composition of the German empire, that it was not to be laid before the diet merely as a notification, but as a subject for deliberation, in the discussion of which all the members of the diet might express their opinions as authorized by the constitution. No tribute could have been more flattering to Bonaparte than this concession, which made the sovereign, hitherto considered as the first in Europe, in point of dignity, not only more recent in the creation of title than himself, but even recorded the example of the French emperor as one of the motives of the conduct of the emperor of Austria.

The perturbed situation of Europe, during the year 1804, led to the expectation that the renewal of the war on the continent was at no great distance. On the 5th of May, the emperor of Russia presented an energetic note to the diet of Ratisbon, on the seizure of the Duke d'Enghein; in which, he declared, "that he learned with equal astonishment and concern the event that had taken place at Ettenheim, the circumstances by which it was attended, and its melancholy result. The concern of the emperor on this occasion was the

more lively, as he could by no means reconcile the violation of the territory of the German empire, to those principles of justice and propriety which are held sacred among nations, and are the bulwark of their reciprocal relations." To this remonstrance, the French minister, in a style of lofty indifference, replied, "that the Emperor of Germany, and the King of Prussia, who, undoubtedly, were the two powers most concerned in the fate of the German empire, had considered the French government sufficiently authorized to arrest, at two leagues distance from her frontiers, French rebels, who conspired against their own country, and who, by the nature of their plots, as well as by the terrible evidence which corroborated them, had placed themselves out of the protection of the law of nations." "The German princes being thus satisfied, the first consul felt himself in no way responsible to the Emperor of Russia on a point which did not concern his interest; and if it was the intention of his majesty to form a new coalition in Europe, and to recommence the war, what need was there of empty pretences, and why did he not act openly!"

Two months elapsed, before a reply was made to this paper, but on the 21st of July, M. D'Oubril, the Russian charge d'affaires, complained that it was in all respects evasive, and by no means an answer to the note he had delivered. In this reply, the dispositions and conduct of the Russian and French governments were exhibited in contrast. Russia, it was asserted, had on every occasion endeavoured to maintain peace, and to mediate between France and those nations with which she had disputes. The French government, on the contrary, thought itself competent to occupy neutral countries, and to deprive them of their commerce. His majesty was thereby alarmed, not indeed on his own account, but he was alarmed for the security of the other states of Europe. After an enumeration of the aggressions practised by France towards Denmark, Portugal, Switzerland, Holland, and the Italian states, the charge d'affaires concluded by saying, that he was ordered to declare, that he could not prolong his stay at Paris, unless the French government should order its troops to evacuate the kingdom of Naples, and engage to establish, without delay, some principle of concert with his imperial majesty, for regulating the basis upon which the affairs of Italy should be formally adjusted. In addition to which, it was required, that France, in conformity with the 6th article of the convention entered into with Russia, on the 11th of October, 1801, should

* Decree of the Council of State of Vienna, dated August 11th, 1804.

indemnify the king of Sardinia for the losses he has sustained; and in virtue of the obligation of a mutual guarantee and mediation, should promise immediately to evacuate and withdraw its troops from the north of Germany, and to enter into engagements to respect in the strictest manner the neutrality of the Germanic body.

M. Talleyrand answered this note by referring to an article in the treaty, cited by M. d'Oubril, by which the two contracting governments engaged not to suffer their respective subjects to maintain any correspondence, direct or indirect, with the enemies of the two states. The promotion of French emigrants to places of honour and trust in Russia, and the behaviour of the Russian ambassador, M. Markoff, while at Paris, were cited as breaches of this article. France also demanded the execution of the 9th article of this treaty, by which Russia engaged to guarantee the independence of the Seven Islands; and of the 2d article, the evident application of which it was said should have been, that instead of manifesting such a partiality for England, and of becoming, perhaps, the first auxiliary of its ambition, Russia should have united with France, in order to consolidate a general peace, to establish a just balance in the four parts of the world, and to promote the liberty of the seas.

M. d'Oubril, in reply to this note, recapitulated all his complaints, animadverted on the evasive manner in which they had been answered, and on the 28th of August demanded his passports.

During this correspondence, the King of Sweden appeared to be animated with a courageous resolution to support the principles of the laws of nations, and to make common cause with the Emperor Alexander. As Duke of Pomerania, he charged his envoy to enter his vote in the protocol of the diet, under the date of the 27th of July, by which he declared, that he could not learn without the greatest anxiety and alarm, the events which had taken place in the Electorate of Baden, in the month of March last—events by which

the territorial rights of the German empire were flagrantly violated, and its future security exposed to the greatest danger. This note excited the resentment of the French government, and called down upon Gustavus a severe attack in the official paper, the *Moniteur*. In this paragraph, the young and gallant sovereign was charged with folly and inconsistency, and assured, that his insignificance alone secured him from the resentment of the French government, which was too wise to confound a loyal and brave nation, justly called the "France of the north," with the conduct of a young man led astray by false notions, and unenlightened by reflection. Fired with indignation at this attack, the King of Sweden issued a decree on the 7th of September, prohibiting the introduction of French publications into his dominions, and on the same day transmitted a note to M. Gaillard, the French charge d'affaires at Stockholm, stating his resentment at what he termed the improper, the insolent, and the ridiculous observations which *Monsieur* Napoleon Bonaparte had allowed to be inserted in his *Moniteur*. In consequence of this heated discussion, he declared that all diplomatic intercourse of every kind, both private and public, should immediately cease between the French legation at Stockholm and his government, but he nevertheless allowed the subsisting relations of commerce to remain uninterrupted.

If from the powers which retained their independence, the attention is directed to those which, under the appearance of alliance, were forced into war, or under the semblance of neutrality compelled by France to contribute to its charges, Spain, Portugal, and Naples, will be found to rank amongst that number, while Holland, which had been for so many years the victim and sport of those who called themselves her deliverers, was rapidly approaching to that state in which the very name of independence is lost in the blandishments of fraternity and the torpor of incorporation.

CHAPTER V.

BRITISH HISTORY: Situation of the Country at the Commencement of the year 1805—State of Paris—Opening of the Session of Parliament—Army and Navy Estimates—Renewal of the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act in Ireland—Debates on the Origin of the Spanish War—Motion by the Earl of Darnley for the Repeal of the Additional Force Bill—Mr. Whitbread's memorable Motion on the Tenth Report of the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry—Carried by the Casting Vote of the Speaker—The Office of First Lord of the Admiralty resigned by Lord Melville—Erasure of his Lordship's Name from the List of Privy Counsellors—His Lordship's Defence in the House of Commons—Resolution of the House to institute a Criminal Prosecution against his Lordship—Subsequent Resolution to proceed by Impeachment—Proceedings on the Loan of 40,000*l.* made to Boyd and Benfield—Finances—Dimensions in the Cabinet—Partial Change of Ministry—Mr. Pitt's declining Health.

ENGLAND had now perfected her defensive force; and, confident in the loyalty and public spirit of her population, held in derision the preparations for invasion which still continued to prevail on the coasts of the enemy. Her finances were upon the whole in a prosperous condition, and the people endured the additional imposts, rendered necessary for her security, if not with cheerfulness, at least without repining. Her navy was formidable, and triumphantly prescribed a barrier to French aggression, by blockading all the ports subject to the control of the enemy. The nation had, however, been disappointed in the formation of the new ministry. They had looked with confidence to a union of all the political weight, talents, and character of the country, cordially coalescing and acting for the benefit of the state; instead of which, they found a ministry formed upon the principle of exclusion, and remarkable only for mediocrity in all those qualifications requisite for securing the interests of the country, and establishing the independence of Europe. That Mr. Pitt should have submitted to assume the direction of affairs, without the support of those, whom he had himself conceived to be necessary to constitute a powerful administration, surprised and afflicted his best friends and adherents. Lord Grenville, himself a host, had declined to take a seat in the cabinet; and Lord Spencer, Mr. Windham, and the friends of these senators had concurred in this determination. These personages had indeed not only repulsed the advances of the minister, but they had cemented a close alliance with Mr. Fox, and ranked with those gentlemen who looked up to his councils. The minister's capacity and pre-eminent talents were the same; but the radiance of glory arising from the persuasion of his decisive importance in the country, and from the deference that had hitherto been paid to his opinions and volition, had become obscure. Shorn of his deams, but entire in his own strength, he

was compelled to humble the natural loftiness of his disposition, and to gather the scattered and secondary breaches of former administrations, to fill up offices that had been rejected by more competent hands. The fasces, though bound together with his extraordinary faculties; were found to be weak and inefficient; and the same minister, who, when he had scarcely attained to manhood, had numbered among the ranks of his supporters many of the most exalted characters in the kingdom, found himself, at a more advanced period of life, obliged to preside in a cabinet, where nothing presented itself but the wreck of his former greatness. In this situation, the minister deemed it prudent to avail himself of an influence which seemed to be floating about with erratic uncertainty, amidst the discordant elements of the political world; and to the astonishment of both his friends and his enemies, Mr. Pitt renewed his connexion with that minister whom he had so lately joined in expelling from office on the ground of incapacity. In virtue of this arrangement, Mr. Addington became a member of an administration, which could scarcely be called new, and having been previously called up to the house of peers, by the title of Viscount Sidmouth, was, on the 14th of January, 1805, appointed to succeed the Duke of Portland, as lord president of the council.

The day after this appointment, the session of parliament was opened by his majesty in person.

The speech from the throne announced that the preparations for invasion were still carried on by France, with unremitting activity; that Spain, under the control of the French government, had issued a declaration of war against this country; and that a communication, containing a profession of a pacific disposition, had recently been received from France, to which his majesty had replied by expressing his earnest desire for the restoration of the blessings of peace, not deeming it proper to

enter into a more particular explanation, without previously consulting those continental powers with whom he was engaged in confidential intercourse. His majesty in conclusion regretted the necessity of imposing any additional burthens upon his people; but, since their future safety and happiness depended on extraordinary exertions, he felt a perfect conviction that parliament would enable him to prosecute the war with energy, in order to bring the contest to a safe and honourable termination.

The usual address to his majesty, which was on this occasion moved in the house of peers by Lord Elliot, and in the commons by the Hon. Henry Augustus Dillon, passed unanimously in both houses, and was on the 17th of January presented to the king.

On the 23d of January, one hundred and twenty thousand men, including marines, were voted by the house of commons for the service of the navy for the year 1805, and a sum not exceeding two millions eight hundred and eighty-six thousand pounds for the payment of the men. At the same time, the sum of two millions nine hundred and sixty-four thousand pounds was granted for victualling, and four millions six hundred and eighty thousand pounds for wear and tear of shipping, &c. In answer to a question from Mr. Johnstone, on the same day, it was stated that the number of men at that time actually employed in the navy amounted to one hundred and eight thousand. On the 4th of February the secretary at war moved the army estimates of the year, which amounted to 12,395,400*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* for three hundred and twelve thousand and forty-six men, under the different heads of service.

The next question of importance that engaged the attention of parliament, was a motion made by Sir Evan Nepean, principal secretary to the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, for leave to bring in a bill to continue the act of the last session for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in that country. The grounds assigned for the renewal of this measure, were, the notoriety of disaffection still prevailing in Ireland, the preparations of the enemy for the invasion of that country, the number of Irishmen associated with the forces destined for that purpose, and the existence of a committee of united Irishmen then sitting in Paris, and corresponding with the disaffected in the sister kingdom. It was, the honourable secretary said, the more necessary to arm the government with this authority, as the present act would expire in about six weeks, at which

time a number of persons now imprisoned on charges of high-treason must otherwise be liberated, and left uncontrolled to pursue their own machinations.

Sir John Newport thought the slight grounds now stated insufficient for suspending the most valuable part of the constitution throughout the whole kingdom of Ireland, and involving the people of that country in a general proscription. If a committee of united Irishmen sitting in Paris were a sufficient argument for the suspension, the suspension act must become perpetual during the war; for the enemy would take care to avail himself of that handle for a measure, which he knew must exasperate and inflame the minds of the people, among whom it was his object, as it was his interest, to stir up and keep alive the spirit of disaffection. The people of Ireland should be made to feel that the imperial parliament were as tender of their privileges, as they were of those of the people of England, and even more so, as powers increased at a distance were always the most liable to abuse. The treatment received by the Irish could not easily be brooked by a loyal and strong-minded race of people, and he should therefore move as an amendment to the honourable gentleman's proposition, "That a committee of twenty-one members be chosen by ballot, to examine such documents as may be laid before them, and to report to the house their opinion whether the continuance of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act be a measure necessary to the tranquillity of Ireland at the present time." After a very animated debate, leave was given to bring in the bill, which in the course of the session advanced through its several stages in both houses of parliament, and ultimately passed into a law.

Few subjects ever excited so much interest as the origin of the Spanish war; and probably none was ever debated with more ardour, research, and elaboration, in both houses of parliament, than this question. On the 11th of February, the lords, as well as the commons, entered into the discussion of this momentous question. The subject was brought forward in the lower house of parliament by the chancellor of the exchequer, in a speech remarkable for perspicuous arrangement, elaborate detail, and that measured eloquence for which he was so celebrated. "I feel great satisfaction," said Mr. Pitt on this occasion, "that the day is at length arrived, when we can enter into that full and ample discussion of the papers before the house, which the magnitude of the subject requires; and in the course of what I shall have the honour to submit to this assem-

bly, I hope that I shall be able, not only to establish that which I believe few can now be disposed to question, the ultimate justice and necessity of the war; but also, the exemplary moderation, liberality, and forbearance of the ministers of this country, in every period of our relation with Spain since the breaking out of the war with France.

"In the first place, then, it is necessary to take into consideration the relative situation in which Spain stood with this country at the breaking out of the war, in consequence of her antecedent engagements with France. I need hardly say more to characterize that situation, than barely to mention the treaty of St. Ildefonso, and the stipulations it contained. Spain was bound to France by a treaty, on the face of it both offensive and defensive; and, in fact, a treaty which was by the contracting parties so entitled. Besides guaranteeing neutrality, territories, &c. the two countries agreed to assist each other with fifteen ships of the line, and twenty-four thousand men; and this assistance, too, as appears from the eighth article, is to be given upon the demand of the requiring party, precluding the party required from making any investigation or inquiry as to the justice of the war, or the policy of the object for which the succours were to be granted. Nay, by the 11th articles of this treaty, the contracting parties are to assist each other with their whole forces, in case the stipulated succours should be insufficient. This treaty is most important to be kept in view, as the foundation of all the proceedings which it was thought incumbent on the British government to adopt. Such a treaty, unless distinctly disclaimed, I contend, must *ipso facto* have rendered Spain a principal in the war. Indeed, who, that recollects the circumstances in which the treaty was concluded in 1796, when Spain was compelled to subscribe and ratify that record of her vassalage to France, can doubt the spirit of the contract, or of its hostility to the British nation.

"Such was the situation in which his majesty's ministers found themselves, when the aggressions and injustice of the ruler of France forced them into the present rupture. In whatever light the treaty should be viewed, it could be considered on the part of Spain only as a reluctant tribute to the overbearing dictates of its ambitious and tyrannic ally. On this ground, I am convinced, that the tenderness, moderation, and forbearance, shown by his majesty's ministers for the degraded situation to which necessity, not choice, had reduced Spain, will meet with the de-

cided approbation of this house. I state this particularly, because it was, in the first instance, deemed expedient to gain time, and the Spanish court seemed as desirous to get rid of their engagements, as we were to detach them from their ally. But forbearance had its bounds, and to act longer upon such a system, when the French ruler seemed resolved to compel Spain to take an active part with him in the war, would not have been to give way to the influence of generous sentiments, or honourable feelings, but to enable Spain, under the dictation of France, to accumulate resources, and armies, and fleets, and arsenals, to be at the disposal of our inveterate enemy. France might at once demand the contingent of fifteen sail of the line, and twenty-four thousand men; she could moreover demand that Spain should put into activity the whole force that she could command: and for what purpose? The purpose of aiding France in the war against this country; for a purpose announced at the very outset of the war, continued through every stage of its progress, and never once suspended, but in practice, for the purpose of destroying the power and independence of this country; for the purpose of overthrowing this noble barrier against the encroachments of French ambition on the liberties and independence of mankind."

Having stated these general principles as applicable to the state of our relations with Spain, the chancellor of the exchequer proceeded to consider how they had been followed up. From the documents on the table, it would appear that our policy was, if possible, to separate Spain from her degrading connexion. His majesty's government at the same time wisely gave no opinion on the question of limited succours in kind to be furnished by Spain to France; but they apprized the Spanish government, that our forces would resist any attempt of the auxiliary fleet to form a junction with the enemy. When, on the demand of the succours alluded to, the Spanish government had agreed to commute the contingent in kind for pecuniary aid, Mr. Frere exerted himself in vain to obtain from them the precise amount of the contribution, but he learned that the sum was not less than three millions sterling; and surely a war subsidy to such an amount rendered Spain a principal in the war. In consequence of this commutation, the Spanish government was informed that it could only meet with a temporary connivance on our part, and that the forbearance of actual war could be continued only on the expectation that the subsidy, which amounted to nearly one-half of the annual

revenue of that country, was to be for a limited time. Desirous to afford every facility to an amicable arrangement, ministers recalled Mr. Frere from the court of Madrid, because some unpleasant circumstances had occurred between that gentleman and the Prince of Peace, and another ambassador was to be appointed in his stead. In the mean time, however, despatches were received from Admiral Cochrane, stating the most important facts, that an armament was preparing in the port of Ferrol, collateral with the equipment of the Dutch squadron and the French men-of-war; that soldiers and sailors were conveyed through Spain to reinforce the crews of the French ships; and that the packets were armed as in time of war. The Chevalier d'Andagua, indeed, had endeavoured to account for the armament in the port of Ferrol, by asserting that it was to quell an insurrection in Biscay; but the governor of Galicia, in reply to Admiral Cochrane's demand of an explanation on this point, stated that the armament was for a secret expedition; and made not the least mention of insurgents in Biscay, while all the answer that Mr. Frere could obtain from M Cevallos was, that the armament was not intended to hurt Great Britain. The simple question in respect to our moderation towards Spain, was, not whether we had done enough, but whether we had not done too much. If we had at once declared war, it would have been consistent with substantial justice. As it was, our reservation amounted to a conditional declaration of war, by which we were enabled and justified, if circumstances should require it, to act without delay. Circumstances did require our immediate action; because, when the hostility of Spain became manifest, if we could prevent her treasure ships from arriving in her ports, we should prevent a junction of the forces of the three powers of France, Spain, and Holland, the succouring of an inveterate enemy, the replenishing his coffers, and the recruiting of his armies; for assuredly those treasures were not destined for the coffers of Spain, but for the exchequer of France.

"I trust," said Mr. Pitt in conclusion, "that I have sufficiently proved, that even in the commencement of the negotiations, we had a just cause of war, which was never abandoned; that during the second period, our forbearance, while Spain became bound for, and actually paid a war subsidy of three millions sterling to France, was conditional; and that the condition being violated, we again were possessed of the right of war provisionally declared: and all our demands of satisfac-

tion and security being rejected, we were in consequence in a state of war. Under these circumstances, I entertain a full confidence that the vote of this house will recognise the justice of our cause, and sanction the conduct of the government, and that we shall lay at the foot of the throne the professions of a dutiful and loyal people, determined to make every sacrifice in the vindication of their rights, and in the defence of their country." The honourable gentleman concluded by proposing an address to his majesty to this effect.

Mr. Grey, in a speech of considerable length, combated most of the positions laid down by the minister. He admitted, indeed, the hostile character of the treaty of St. Ildefonso, but deprecated the abuse of the principle of war which that treaty yielded. He contended that we abandoned our claim to the right of making war, and substituted for it the recognition of a neutrality; that Spain had in no instance directly violated the neutrality; that it all along manifested pacific dispositions; that there were no armaments carrying on against Great Britain in the ports of that power; and that the seizure of the Spanish frigates was not a measure of precaution, but of violence, injustice, and bad faith. He concluded by moving the following elaborate amendment to the address, which embraces, substantially, the whole scope of argument used on the part of the opposition in the course of the debate:—

"To return his majesty the thanks of this house for the communication made to us relative to the rupture with Spain. To express our entire conviction that the existence of a defensive treaty between France and Spain would have entitled his majesty to have considered Spain as a principal in the present war, unless the obligations of that treaty were renounced, or their execution disclaimed; and to assure his majesty that we shall at all times be ready to support him in giving effect, so far as the interests of his dominions may require, to this just and undisputed principle. That we observe, however, that his majesty has been advised to waive the exercise of this right in order to negotiate with Spain, for the maintenance of her neutrality, and that, without taking upon ourselves to decide in the present moment upon a question of policy, depending so much upon circumstances of which we are still uninformed, we acknowledge with gratitude this proof of his majesty's paternal desire to have prevented the farther extension of the calamities of war.—But that we beg leave humbly to represent to his majesty, that the execution of these his benevolent wishes, indispensably required from his ministers the adoption of some just, intelligible, and uniform principle of negotiation, declared in the outset with frankness, and steadily pursued to its conclusion, followed by an unremitting attention to every new circumstance arising in the progress of the discussion, and accompanied by the most scrupulous care that all engagements resulting from it should, on the part of Great Britain, be

defined with precision, and performed with good faith, moderation, and integrity: That we have, on the contrary, seen, with regret, in the whole conduct of this transaction, the clashing effects of undecided, equivocal, and contradictory policy: That the wishes for peace, professed in the outset by his majesty's ministers, have uniformly been counteracted by their studious endeavours to keep alive both the cause and the menace of the war; a purpose equally inconsistent with justice and with wisdom, destructive of all confidence on the part of the power with whom they treated, and incompatible with the object for which they were negotiating:

"That, during the whole course of these discussions, while they were continually soliciting from Spain unreserved communications, on points of mutual interest, their own decision prevented them, in return, from returning a distinct statement of the terms on which Great Britain would consent to acknowledge the neutrality of that power: That their ground of negotiation was frequently shifted, their demands varied, and their concessions undefined; and that although some agreement appears, at least, to have been concluded, neither its date nor conditions were ascertained with precision; yet both are repeatedly referred to, by the British, as well as the Spanish minister, and the breach of these very conditions is alleged as the motive on the part of Great Britain, for her actual commencement of hostilities: That the omissions and defects which distinguish these transactions, as well as the fatal consequences to which they have led, can be ascribed only to the erroneous principle on which they were grounded, and to the criminal and almost incredible negligence with which they have been conducted:

"That it is particularly our duty to represent to his majesty, that, in a negotiation for peace or war between Great Britain and Spain, carried on principally at Madrid, no instructions were sent to his majesty's minister at that court, from the 2d of June to the 24th of November, in the year 1803; from thence to the 21st of January, in the year following; and again from that date to the 29th of September: That in the first of these intervals, being little less than six months, the negotiation for a treaty of neutrality between France and Spain was begun, continued, and concluded; yet not the smallest intimation was given, in that long time, to Mr. Frere, of the light in which that negotiation was considered here; of the language it was proper for him to hold; or of the measures it might be necessary for him to take; although frequent communications were made to him on the subject by the Spanish government, who appear to have been disposed to pay great attention, in this instance, to any representation from Great Britain: That during the last of the above mentioned periods, the same minister, though left again for many months without any instructions whatever, negotiated and concluded some agreement with the court of Spain on this important subject, of which agreement no opinion was ever expressed to him from hence, either before or after its conclusion; nor does it even now appear, from any official document, whether the same was meant to be allowed or disallowed, ratified or rejected, by the British government:

"That we feel ourselves compelled to express to his majesty, that, in the farther progress of these transactions, the indecision and neglect of his government were succeeded by resolutions and acts of violence equally injurious to the honour and interest of the kingdom: That we should have applauded any endeavour, by firm and tem-

perate representation, to extricate our relations with Spain from the confusion in which they are involved, and to bring them to a distinct issue of acknowledged neutrality, or decided war, but that we find no trace of any such attempt: and that, in the middle of September, on the first intimation of supposed movements in the Spanish ports, acts of hostility were decided on by his majesty's government, previous to all complaint, and executed, without notice, during a period of amicable negotiation: That the dispositions of Spain appear, from the information of his majesty's minister at Madrid, to have continued up to that moment friendly to Great Britain, and that the conduct of his majesty's ministers, in having, under such circumstances, anticipated all explanation, by a concealed order for an attack upon Spanish ships, property, and subjects, cannot be justifiable on any ground of public law, much less reconciled to those principles of moderation and liberality which belong to the British character, and which, in the present situation of Europe, it is peculiarly the duty of this country to maintain inviolate:

"That in reviewing the discussions which immediately preceded the present war, we cannot but represent to his majesty the essential difference between the conduct of the person left in charge of his majesty's affairs at Madrid, and the tenor of the instructions under which he appears to have acted: That the explanations given to that gentleman, by the Spanish government, though not, in all respects, adequate to the just expectations of this country, were yet such as ought manifestly (according to these instructions) to have determined him to await at Madrid the arrival of an accredited minister, authorized by his majesty to arrange with that court all points of difference; and that we have therefore seen, with equal surprise and indignation, the final decision of his majesty's ministers, not only to adopt the inconsiderate resolution taken by the king's representative, in withdrawing himself from Madrid, but also to treat with utter disregard the subsequent offer from the Spanish minister at this court, to pursue the same discussion here; an offer which, if accepted, might probably have led to a satisfactory conclusion on matters upon which the two courts were so nearly agreed:

"That while we have thus thought it our duty to represent to his majesty the errors of his ministry, in the conduct of this important transaction, and the future consequences which have resulted from them, we beg leave to repeat our humble assurance, that we are ready to support his majesty to the utmost, in every measure necessary to assert the rights and vindicate the honour of his crown; objects which can never be successfully pursued by negligent and undecided councils, nor attained by the violation of engagements on which those with whom we treat have rested their security."

A very animated debate ensued, which was continued for two successive nights, and terminated in the adoption of the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, by a majority of three hundred and thirteen to one hundred and six voices. In the lords, an address of similar import was carried without a division.

The next subject of importance that engaged the attention of the parliament, arose out of a motion made by the Earl of Darnley for the repeal of the additional force

bill, a measure which, as his lordship contended, had, in the course of the last eight months, raised no more than one thousand two hundred and ninety-five men, of whom three hundred and forty-three only had been applicable to general service. This motion, which produced a very elaborate and spirited debate, was lost by a majority of sixty-eight voices.

Among the measures for the reformation of the public expenditure, either meditated or resolved upon by the Addington administration, an inquiry into the abuses of the naval department was one of the most prominent; and to give efficacy to these investigations, a bill was passed in the year 1803, appointing commissioners for that purpose, and empowering those commissioners to take examinations with a view to the discovery of abuses. This bill, in a great degree, originated with Earl St. Vincent, at that time at the head of the board of admiralty—a situation that, upon Mr. Pitt's readmission to power, Lord Melville was appointed to occupy. In the mean while, however, the commissioners had with persevering attention prosecuted their investigations, the result of which was the production of several successive reports; one of which appeared to implicate, in no light manner, the present first lord of the admiralty, who had, while he filled the office of treasurer of the navy, retained in his hands large sums of the public money, contrary to the statute of the 25th of his present majesty.

On the 8th of April, Mr. Whitbread

brought the tenth report of the commissioners of naval inquiry under the consideration of the house of commons. The honourable gentleman began by complimenting the commissioners on their zeal and activity; they had done their duty to the public, and it fell to his lot to bring to justice those whom they had exposed.* The report, he observed, involved a considerable number of individuals; not only Lord Melville and Mr. Trotter, his paymaster, but Mr. Wilson; and Mr. Mark Sprott, the stock-broker, made a considerable figure in the scene. "In exhibiting a charge against Lord Melville," said Mr. Whitbread, "I do not accuse a mere unprotected individual: that nobleman has enjoyed, during the greater part of his life, an ample share of the public rewards and public honours. For a period of thirty years, he has been in the uninterrupted possession of some lucrative office, and has exercised a most extensive influence. He has many individuals attached to him by the consciousness of obligation; and, though not personally present, he has, no doubt, powerful friends in this house, who will be found ready to undertake his defence." He then referred to the act of 1785, of which Lord Melville (then Mr. Dundas) was the supporter, for regulating the department of treasurer of the navy, and to the order of council, by which his salary was advanced from two thousand to four thousand a year, in lieu of all profits, fees, or emoluments, which he might before have derived from the public

* See "the Tenth Report of the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry, appointed by an act of the 43d year of his majesty's reign." From this report, it appears that during the treasurership of Lord Melville, "the money issued for naval services was used to a great amount for purposes of private emolument;" and that the sums standing in the name of the treasurer of the navy, at the Bank of England, were for the most part considerably less than his unappropriated balances, as will be seen from the following statement, copied from that report:

Time.	Treasurer's aggregate Balances.			In the Hands of his Sub-accountants.			In the Bank of England.			Deficiencies.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
31st Dec.												
1784	180,692	9	11	109,860	16	4	64,331	13	7	6,500	0	0
1785	275,820	15	11	162,168	19	4	9,026	10	8	104,625	5	11
1786	185,939	18	7	103,997	18	6	25,942	0	1	56,000	0	0
1787	658,569	2	10	199,199	11	2	406,269	11	8	53,100	0	0
1788	238,820	14	4	181,041	5	4	9,179	8	11	48,600	0	0
1789	315,065	17	1	208,784	1	3	52,481	15	10	53,900	0	0
1790	385,863	12	8	282,965	16	6	102,897	16	1			
1791	376,246	15	0	282,803	7	10	73,454	17	6	19,988	9	8
1792	336,532	1	0	248,312	19	7	61,742	1	9	26,476	19	8
1793	519,273	10	7	371,261	1	7	120,986	11	3	27,025	17	9
1794	700,833	5	2	510,713	19	9	161,360	17	8	28,758	7	9
1795	1,132,966	3	0	577,210	18	10	525,438	8	1	30,316	16	1
1796	638,978	8	6	383,716	16	9	179,848	6	9	75,413	5	1
1797	480,903	9	11	320,450	1	7	101,812	13	6	58,640	14	10
1798	504,786	9	1	308,484	18	7	142,160	15	6	54,140	15	0
1799	687,623	18	0	334,572	14	0	298,910	9	0	54,140	15	0
1800	896,509	18	4	510,087	8	10	386,422	9	6			
1801	951,217	13	5	521,554	13	5	429,663	0	0			
1802	268,232	3	9	141,232	3	9	127,000	0	0			

money lying in his hands. "With respect to the period he was in office," said Mr. Whitbread, "I shall make three distinct charges: I charge Lord Melville with having applied the money of the public to other uses than those of the naval department, with which he was connected, in express contempt of an act of parliament. I also charge him with conniving at a system of peculation in an individual, for whose conduct he was officially responsible; and for this connivance, I denounce him as guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor. There is yet a third charge, on which I shall not insist very largely at present, but which, if the inquiry I ask be instituted, I shall feel myself most powerfully called upon to support: I mean, sir, the strong suspicion which arises from what has appeared before the commissioners, that the noble lord himself was a participator in that system of peculation. It is certainly to the honour of public men, that charges like this have seldom been preferred; and it is a singular circumstance, that the only instance of a similar charge, for a great number of years, was brought against Sir Thomas Rumbold, by the noble lord himself, on the ground of malversations in India.

"With respect to the first charge, it appears from the report of the committee, that there have been, for a number of years, deficiencies in the treasurer of the navy's department, to the amount of upwards of six hundred thousand pounds a year. When Lord Melville was asked a plain question, as to the appropriation of this money, what, if conscious of innocence, had he to do, but to return a plain and distinct answer? But the noble lord, as well as his agent, Mr. Trotter, professed total ignorance of the deficiencies; but by-and-by, the paymaster begins to recover his recollection, and he then confesses, that from the year 1786, down to the period when he was examined, he had been in the habit of drawing out public money, and placing it in the hands of his own bankers. But when the commissioners inquire a little further, he tells them that they have no right to ask him any more questions. Lord Melville, in a letter to the commissioners, is a little more communicative; his lordship acknowledges the fact of advances having been made to him; but he tells the commissioners, that he cannot give the other information required, because he cannot disclose state secrets, and because he is not in possession of the papers containing the accounts of advances made to other departments, having himself committed them to the flames; and not only has the noble lord destroyed the papers, but he

has actually lost all recollection of the whole affair!*

"My second charge against Lord Melville, that he connived at the appropriation of public money to private purposes. Trotter does not deny that he had large sums in the hands of Mr. Coutts, his private banker; but he says it was more convenient for the money to be there, than in the Bank of England, and more secure; and for the truth of this opinion he appeals to Lord Melville, who framed and sanctioned the bill of 1785! to Lord Melville, who, not satisfied with the regulations of the act of 1785, proposes still stricter limitations in 1786! For what purpose, however, I would ask, was there so constant a fluctuation in Mr. Trotter's account at the bank of Mr. Coutts? and why such perpetual drafts for money in the name of Mr. Trotter? At the time that he is anxious for the safety of what is passing through his hands, is it always lodged at Mr. Coutts's, allowing that to be the place of fittest security? No, sir, it was employed in discounting bills, in forming speculations, in gambling on the stock exchange. I am appalled at the reflection of not less than thirty-four millions of the public property having passed through Lord Melville's paymaster's hands. Why, sir, the report states explicitly, that upwards of eight millions

* Copy of a letter from Lord Melville to the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry:

"Wimbledon, June 30th, 1804.

"GENTLEMEN,

"I have received your requisition, of date of the 26th inst. It is impossible for me to furnish you with the account you ask. It is more than four years since I left the office of treasurer of the navy, and at the period of doing so, having accounted for every sum impressed in my hands, I transferred the whole existing balance to the account of my successor. From that time, I never considered any one paper or voucher that remained on my hands as of the smallest use to myself or any other person, and consequently, being often in the practice, since I retired to Scotland, of employing occasionally some time in assorting my papers and destroying those that were useless, I am satisfied there does not exist any one material by which I could make up such an account as you specify. But independently of that circumstance, I think it right to remind you, that during a great part of the time I was treasurer of the navy, I held other very confidential situations in government, and was intimately connected with others. So situated, I did not decline giving occasional accommodation from the funds in the treasurer's hands to other services, not connected with my official situation as treasurer of the navy. If I had materials to make up such an account as you require, I could not do it without disclosing delicate and confidential transactions of government, which my duty to the public must have restrained me from revealing.

(Signed)

"MELVILLE."

had been in the hands of his private banker, and nearly seven millions more are allowed to have passed through the same channel. While Mr. Trotter is thus busy, what is become of Lord Melville and his responsibility? Had Mr. Trotter's speculations failed, it was not to him, but to Lord Melville, that the public had to look for redress. I cannot then but think, that this negligent criminality is deserving of the severest reprehension. While the people were struggling with the heaviest burthens ever laid upon them, Mr. Trotter, and his silent discreet broker, Mr. Mark Sprott, were placing their heads together to lay out the public money to the greatest advantage: and Lord Melville never interferes, never once inquires into this paymaster's proceedings. Mr. Sprott, when interrogated by the commissioners, declines to answer their questions, and says, 'I have had the opinion of Mr. Serjeant Shepherd, and other eminent lawyers, and they advise me to preserve a religious silence.' Lord Melville and Mr. Sprott are not quite uniform on this part of the business; Mr. Sprott says nothing; but Lord Melville acknowledges that he knew of the transactions, but not of the detail. If he knew that his paymaster was speculating in the funds, he was, at least, bound to see what was the extent of these speculations. He ought to have felt that his responsibility was at stake, that the public money was put to hazard, and that it was time to put a stop to so serious an evil."

On the third part of the subject—the suspicion of criminal participation in this system of peculation, Mr. Whitbread said, "Lord Melville had found Mr. Trotter clerk to the navy pay-office; he made him his paymaster, and in a short time makes him his agent. In this situation of agent, Lord Melville has pecuniary concerns with him to a great amount; and when his lordship is examined, he is unable to tell the commissioners whether the advances made to him by Mr. Trotter were from his own or the public money. The truth was, Mr. Trotter had originally no fortune; he was a man of good family; but when Lord Melville first began to patronize him, his lordship himself knew that he had no property but what was derived from his salary; it was absolute equivocation, then, to pretend, that Lord Melville could be ignorant of the source whence Trotter was enabled to supply him with advances. What was the language of all the predecessors and successors of Lord Melville? When the paymaster of Mr. Barré was asked whether Mr. Barré had ever received an emolument from the

application of the public money? he readily answered, No. Had Lord Bayning received any advantage?—No. Had Lord Harrowby?—No. Had Mr. Bragge?—No. Had Mr. Tierney?—No. Lord Melville alone shelters himself beneath the confidential communications of government. He can afford no intelligence, for his papers are destroyed. He has no recollection of what took place only a few years ago. His memory, naturally so strong, has now lost its retentive faculty. Mr. Trotter's answers, too, respecting Lord Melville were of the most damning nature. 'Did you receive any emolument from the use of the public money?' inquired the commissioners. 'I won't tell you,' was the reply. 'Did Lord Melville share in any such profits?'—'I won't tell you,' was again reiterated."

Mr. Whitbread, in his comments upon the evidence of Lord Melville, delivered his sentiments with great energy and spirit, and strongly awakened the attention of the house, and of the country. The honourable gentleman expressed his conviction that he must that night have a majority in favour of the resolution he meant to move. He called upon the country gentlemen, upon the officers of the army and navy, upon the great commercial men, upon all who were independent members of that house, to give him their support, and to arrest, by their vote of that night, a practice of the most dangerous and pernicious tendency. He concluded by moving thirteen resolutions founded on the subject matter of his speech.

The chancellor of the exchequer, after a number of preliminary observations, said that there was no allegation in the report, or even in the speech of the honourable gentleman, that any loss to the public had been sustained by the transactions now under the consideration of the house; there was no allegation that any defalcation, any mischief, any evil whatever, had accrued to the nation. He complained that the honourable gentleman had attempted to give a view of the case altogether erroneous, when he called upon the house to pass sentence, as upon a person already tried and convicted. He admitted, at the same time, that the subject was one of a grave and solemn nature, and that though no loss or inconvenience could be alleged to have arisen from the transactions that had taken place, yet, if in a great money department, irregularities had been committed, it might be the duty of the house to set a mark upon such proceedings. But whether in this case it might be fit so to do, must depend upon a consideration of all the circumstances,

which at present were not before them in the report. Till these circumstances were investigated and ascertained, the house could not be in a situation to form a fair opinion of the matter, far less could it be justified in coming to any vote of censure.

"The first charge," said Mr. Pitt, "dwelt upon by the honourable gentleman, though not that on which he calls for an immediate resolution, is, that certain sums of money were applied to other than naval services. On this head, I must say, that the whole case is not before us. Will the house be contented to pass judgment on the naked unexplained fact? Will they refuse to inquire, what were the circumstances under which this application took place? Can it be denied that such a fact may exist in a vast variety of shades; that it may have been wanton, or it may have been necessary; that it may have been small or great; that it may have been done upon a responsibility, by which the public cause was benefited in a most important matter? Will the house then refuse to inquire into those circumstances? Will they refuse to ascertain in what light the affair deserves to be viewed?"

"As to the charge of Lord Melville's connivance, I do not say that conniving at the application of the public money for the purpose even of innocent profit to individuals, without actual loss to the state, is altogether to be justified. But our judgment should depend upon a complete knowledge of all the circumstances—upon an inquiry into the mode of its employment, and the probable danger, and amount of the sum employed. The commissioners of naval inquiry, however, do not say that the issues to the treasurer or paymaster of the navy were greater than necessary, or that the money impressed in his hands was not forthcoming whenever it was wanted. In fact, nothing could accelerate those issues so much as to increase the balance in the paymaster's hands at pleasure." Mr. Pitt then proceeded to point out several errors in the tenth report of the commissioners, and argued therefrom that before the house came to any decision, the documents should be submitted to a more minute examination.

"With regard," said he, "to the charge of Lord Melville having participated in the profits derived from the employment of the public money, it is particularly necessary that a more detailed examination should take place, as that is a point which depends so much upon matters of account. I had expected, however, that after the solemn denial of Lord Melville on this subject, no suspicion of that kind would have been any longer insisted upon.

Lord Melville has most expressly disclaimed his having knowingly or intentionally derived any profit or advantage from Mr. Trotter's application of public money—and he declined to answer positively, only because from the blending of the accounts, the advances by Mr. Trotter might have been public money. On the face of these accounts, one hundred thousand pounds is the whole amount of the advances to Lord Melville. It is known, that of all the sums of one hundred and sixty millions, which have passed through the hands of his lordship, every farthing has been applied to the purposes for which it was issued, and has been regularly accounted for; and it will be found, that of the hundred thousand pounds, which, on the face of the account, was paid to Lord Melville, many of the drafts were, in reality, payments for public services. If this can be made out, as I am informed it can, it will place this matter in a new light, and is of itself a conclusive argument for further inquiry. Upon the whole, as there are no materials before the house, on which they can form a fair judgment; as the parties accused have not had a fair trial, have not enjoyed the right of hearing the charges, and meeting them by evidence and explanation; as the conclusions passed in the house are many of them drawn from accounts detailed, and difficult to be unravelled, which a committee can alone state with clearness and precision; as the appointment of such a committee, while it interposes little or no delay in the determination of this important subject, will enable the house to do justice at once to the country and the parties accused; I shall conclude with moving, 'that a select committee be appointed, to consider the 10th report of the commissioners of naval inquiry, and the documents therewith connected, that they examine the same, and report their opinion thereon to the house.'"

At the suggestion of Mr. Fox, Mr. Pitt consented, in the first instance, to move the previous question. Mr. Tierney said, that during the time he was treasurer of the navy, he felt no inconvenience from a compliance with the act of parliament, and held that the report of the commissioners should be taken as conclusive evidence against Lord Melville. That noble lord had, in his opinion, already enjoyed as fair a trial as the nature of the case would admit, and no committee of that house could throw any more light upon the subject. After a number of observations from the attorney-general, Mr. Canning, the master of the rolls, and Lord Castlereagh, in favour of a select committee; and from Lord Henry

Petty, Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Wilberforce, in support of the original motion, the house divided, when there appeared,

For the previous question . . .	216
Against it . . .	216

The numbers being thus equal, the speaker gave his casting vote against Mr. Pitt's amendment; when the original motion was put and agreed to.

On Wednesday, the 10th of April, the chancellor of the exchequer announced to the house of commons, at its meeting, that Lord Melville had tendered his resignation of the office of first lord of the admiralty, which resignation his majesty had been graciously pleased to accept.

Mr. Whitbread said, that had the issue of the debate on Monday been merely of a personal or party nature, he might have been satisfied with Lord Melville's removal from the responsibility, dignity, and emolument, attached to the situation which he had resigned—the humiliation of the individual was complete indeed. But there was a duty still remaining to the public. Having done so much, having exerted so much independence, having deserved and having received the thanks deserved in the general exultation of the country, ought not the house to take another step, to complete their triumph? Ought not Lord Melville to be prevented from ever again polluting with his presence the councils of his majesty? This he thought so necessary, that previous to any other proceeding, he should move—"That an address be submitted by the house to the throne, praying his majesty to deprive the noble lord of every civil office held during the pleasure of the crown, and to dismiss him from the councils of the kingdom for ever." "I ask," said Mr. Whitbread, "the right honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Pitt) whether he is prepared to give a pledge to this effect? I also ask whether the vote of this house has been treated with due deference in another quarter; whether Mr Trotter has been dismissed?" (Mr. Canning, in reply, answered, "Yes.")

Mr. Canning did not think that the case of Lord Melville, which at the most amounted to no more than a bare suspicion, warranted the severity of the proceedings now proposed; and after a very animated conversation, Mr. Whitbread agreed to withdraw his motion, in lieu of which he moved—"That the resolutions of the former night be laid before his majesty; and that they be carried up by the whole house." This resolution being carried, the house waited upon his majesty with a copy of the resolutions, on Thursday the

11th of April, to which, his majesty was graciously pleased to return the following answer:—

"GENTLEMEN,—I shall, on all occasions, receive with the greatest attention any representation of my commons; and I am fully sensible of the importance of the matter which is the subject of your resolutions."

It was not till the 6th of May, that Mr. Whitbread renewed his motion for the erasure of Lord Melville's name from the list of privy counsellors; on which occasion, the chancellor of the exchequer rose and said, "In consequence of the honourable gentleman's notice that his motion would be renewed, I have had occasion to ascertain the sentiments of respectable gentlemen on both sides of the house, and I see reason to believe that the step desired by the honourable gentleman is considered generally as expedient; I have, therefore, felt it my duty to advise his majesty to erase the name of Lord Melville from the list of privy counsellors; to this advice, his majesty has acceded, and on the first day that a council is held for general purposes, the business will be finally executed. I am not ashamed to confess that I have not given this advice without a bitter pang. I will not erase from my bosom, feelings of private friendship, but I cannot suffer these feelings to interfere with what I find to be the declared sense of a majority of this house." Mr. Whitbread then inquired whether Lord Melville held any place of profit during the pleasure of the crown, and was answered "None but for life;" on which he withdrew his motion.

The commissioners of naval inquiry had, in the progress of these discussions, been sedulously occupied in the researches arising out of the tenth report: and Mr. Whitbread, in consequence of the facts which had transpired in the progress of that inquiry, now considered himself justified in giving notice of an intention finally to move for an impeachment. This notice was met on the part of Mr. Robert Dundas, son of Lord Melville, by a requisition that the noble lord should be admitted and heard by the house on the subject of the tenth report, previously to the motion for impeachment being put. Leave to appear having been obtained from both houses, on the 11th of June, Lord Melville, escorted by the sergeant-at-arms, advanced within the bar of the house of commons, where a chair was placed for his reception, on which having reposed himself, he rose and entered upon his defence.

His lordship described the difficulties he had encountered in all the endeavours

which he had hitherto made, to clear his character; and expressed his extreme satisfaction, that he could now, in some measure, gratify his feelings upon this point; although he was limited in the range of his defence by the resolution of the lords. He solemnly asserted, that he never knew that Mr. Trotter had drawn any money for the purposes of speculation; and declared he had felt highly indignant at the charge that such transactions were conducted with his privacy; and that, in execution of them, Mr. Trotter had enjoyed the advantage of his (Lord Melville's) knowledge of the confidential secrets of government. His lordship as positively denied his participations in the profits of Mr. Trotter. He admitted, when the money was drawn for naval purposes, that he had suffered that gentleman to place it in the house of Messrs. Coutts, until it should be wanted, instead of putting it into the iron chest, or transferring it to the custody of the respective sub-accountants; but that he had ever given Mr. Trotter power to draw money from the bank indiscriminately, he protested was untrue; and in lodging the money at a banker's, after it was fairly drawn out of the bank for official purposes by a competent authority, until it was claimed by the parties to whom it belonged, he contended that he violated no clause in the act of parliament. He certainly did suppose the paymaster derived a profit from the sums invested in the hands of Messrs. Coutts, but he had never considered it as a clandestine, a secret, or an unlawful proceeding. His lordship said, the reason that he had not directly disclaimed having any share in Mr. Trotter's profits, when he was examined before the committee was, because he had that moment been informed of the confusion in which his paymaster's accounts stood; and that, although there was a doubt in his own mind, whether he might not, in consequence of that circumstance, unintentionally have received what was his own property, from unlawful profits, he could then, as well as at the present time, have denied any participation with his knowledge or volition. His lordship referred to two sums of about 10,000*l.* each, which had come to his hands, as the confidential adviser of government, for the affairs of Scotland. The circumstances relative to them he felt equally bound, by private honour and public duty, never to disclose; though he affirmed, in the most unqualified terms, that those sums were neither used nor meant to be employed, for any object of profit by him. He had certainly directed his agent to procure for him the loan of

20,000*l.* for which he had paid regular interest; but it was not, till within the last six weeks, that he knew Mr. Trotter was the lender of the money. After explaining the nature of his transactions with respect to the loyalty loan, to which he subscribed the sum of ten thousand pounds, his lordship said, when he destroyed all vouchers, it was because he considered them useless; and certainly not from the most remote apprehension of danger of their existence. Lord Melville said, when he reviewed the past proceedings of parliament, he could scarcely believe that an impeachment was intended, and he was equally incredulous with respect to an indictment. He observed that he did not even yet despair of receiving justice from his deluded country, although he could not persuade himself to mention circumstances which it was his interest to explain.

When his lordship had withdrawn, Mr. Whitbread addressed the house. The honourable member said the excuse offered by Lord Melville for not directly answering questions, in consequence of the mixed state of Mr. Trotter's accounts, was strange and incredible. He argued on the suspicious circumstance of refusing to give any account of the two sums of ten thousand pounds; and declared he should be satisfied if his lordship would refer the matter to a jury of honour, consisting of the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Windham, and any other person of equal integrity, in case they acquitted him. Mr. Whitbread concluded by moving "that Henry Lord Viscount Melville be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors."

A long debate ensued, in the course of which Mr. Bond objected to an impeachment, as cumbrous and expensive; and moved as an amendment, "that his majesty's attorney-general be directed to prosecute Henry Lord Viscount Melville for the several offences which appear from the report of the commissioners of naval inquiry, and that of the select committee of the house of commons, to have been committed by the said Henry Lord Viscount Melville." On a division of the house, the motion for impeachment was rejected by a majority of seventy-seven; and Mr. Bond's amendment for a criminal prosecution adopted by a majority of two hundred and thirty-eight to two hundred and twenty-nine voices. It was however ultimately determined, on the 25th of June, that the mode of prosecution by impeachment should be resorted to, and Mr. Whitbread was appointed manager of the impeachment, with directions to acquaint the lords on the following day with the

determination of the commons' house of parliament. On this occasion, Mr. Pitt delivered his last speech in the senate, and argued strongly in favour of a trial by impeachment, in preference to proceedings by criminal prosecution.

Another subject, arising out of the tenth report of the commissioners of naval inquiry, and closely connected with the delinquency of Lord Melville, was a loan of forty thousand pounds of the public money made by government, with the privy of Mr. Pitt, to the private banking house of Messrs. Boyd and Benfield. In introducing this transaction to the consideration of parliament, Mr. Whitbread disclaimed all intention of imputing corrupt or improper motives to the chancellor of the exchequer; but he considered it necessary to prevent such a practice from being drawn into a precedent by future ministers, and recommended that a bill of indemnity should be introduced in favour of the existing government, to exonerate them from a transaction which was certainly illegal. The following resolution was in consequence moved by Mr. Lascelles:

"Resolved, That the measure of advancing forty thousand pounds to Messrs. Boyd and Co. upon unquestionable securities, which have been regularly discharged, was adopted for the purpose of averting consequences, that might have proved highly injurious to the commercial and financial interests of the country; and, although not conformable to law, appeared at the time to be called for by the peculiar exigency of public affairs."

This resolution was adopted by the house without a division, and Mr. Lascelles afterwards obtained leave to bring in a bill of indemnity, which passed into a law.

No other business of prominent importance engaged the attention of parliament during the present session, with the exception of a statement of the financial affairs of the country, brought forward by the chancellor of the exchequer, on the 18th of February, and which may be compressed into the subjoined marginal summary.*

* NATIONAL FINANCES.

PUBLIC INCOME of Great Britain for the Year ending the 5th of January, 1805.

Branches of Revenue.	Gross Receipts.			Paid into the Excheq.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Customs, . . .	10,949,097	11	6½	8,367,971	5	0½
Excise, . . .	22,470,812	12	7½	20,604,143	3	3
Stamps, . . .	3,631,745	16	6½	3,364,322	16	0
Land and Assessed Taxes, . . .	5,911,329	0	6	5,309,130	3	9½
Post-Office, . . .	1,296,405	11	0	924,000	0	0
Miscellaneous Permanent Tax, . . .	147,694	3	6½	143,991	15	0½
Heredit. Revenue, . . .	106,682	0	2½	71,211	7	6½
Property Tax, . . .	3,373,939	19	11½	3,494,351	10	6
Extraordinary Resources, . . .	2,072,403	11	0½	2,043,779	15	3½
Loans, . . .	13,302,351	13	9	13,209,351	13	9

Grand Total, £63,374,295 2 8 £57,507,163 12 9½

Dissensions still continued to shake the British cabinet; and the conflicting sentiments of its members threatened to produce a partial change in the ministry, if no subject of paramount interest had arisen to call them more strongly into action. But the inquiry into Lord Melville's official transactions, served to fan the slumbering embers of disagreement into an open flame. Soon after the Easter parliamentary recess, Lord Sidmouth, it appears, suggested the propriety of removing Lord Melville from the privy council; but Mr. Pitt, wishing to avoid that measure of just severity, conceived that both parliament and the country would be satisfied with the noble lord's resignation of his office as first lord of the admiralty. Neither party was disposed to yield, and Lord Sidmouth, the Earl of Buckinghamshire, and Mr. Vansittart, expressed their determination to throw up their several appointments. This extremity was, however, for the present averted, by the erasure of Lord Melville's name from the list of the privy council, and the vote of impeachment, which afterwards passed against that nobleman. The current of public opinion was decidedly unfavourable to the noble viscount. The city of London took the lead, in presenting an address to his majesty, requesting him to remove his lordship from his councils for ever; and various similar resolutions were voted in different parts of the country, couched in language of unqualified censure.

It was not to be expected that the imperfect accommodation which had been recently established in the ministry would be lasting; and it therefore created no surprise when it was learned that Lord Sidmouth and his adherents wished to retire from a cabinet, the proceedings of which they could not approve. On the 5th of July, his lordship, in conformity with this resolution, went out of office; and five days afterwards his example was followed by the Earl of Buckinghamshire. These noblemen were succeeded by Earl Camden and Lord Harrowby, while Lord Castlereagh was appointed to the foreign department; the office of first lord of the admiralty having been previously conferred

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for the Year 1805.

	£	s.	d.
Navy, . . .	15,035,630	6	9
Army, . . .	14,576,087	3	6
Militia and Fencible Corps, . . .	4,010,311	16	9
Miscellaneous Services, . . .	8,854,851	14	1½
Ditto Extra, . . .	1,000,154	10	8½
Exchequer Bills, . . .	12,000,000	0	0
Civil List, . . .	10,458	1	6½

Total of Supply—£56,990,122 13 5

red on Sir Charles Middleton, who was called to the upper house of parliament under the title of Lord Barham.

The impolicy of the desperate experiment made by Mr. Pitt to carry on the affairs of the government by means of his own personal weight and importance, unaided by the efficient co-operation which he had relinquished, when in an evil hour he consented to the formation of a ministry on the principles of exclusion, had now become manifest to the whole nation. The minister had seen an old political ally disgraced, and almost annihilated, without possessing the means of soothing his lacerated feelings by any circumstance of

alleviation. Mortified at this obvious proof of his declining influence and authority with the nation, he was attacked by a fever, which the perpetual and deep chagrin arising from the reflection of his past grandeur and authority, and his present declining credit, contributed to aggravate. From this corporeal malady, he fortunately recovered; but his disorder, joined to the rooted vexation of his mind, and the calamitous train of subsequent occurrences on the continent of Europe, laid the foundation of that extreme debility of system with which he became affected, and which finally deprived the country of one of its most distinguished statesmen.

CHAPTER VI.

FOREIGN HISTORY: State of France—Political Relations of the principal States of Europe—Letter from the Emperor Napoleon to the King of England—Answer of Lord Mulgrave—The Italian Republic dissolved, and a Monarchy substituted—Bonaparte crowned King of Italy—Genoa annexed to the French Empire—The immediate Cause of a new Coalition against France—The Army of England ordered to march from the French Coast to the Rhine—Bavaria invaded by the Austrians—Bonaparte places himself at the Head of the French Army in Germany—Plan of Operations—The French Forces advance to the Danube—Perilous Situation of the Austrian Army under General Mack—Capitulation of Ulm—Advance of the French towards Vienna—Entrance into that City—Campaign in Italy, the Tyrol, and the Voralberg—Passage of the Bridge of Verona by the French—Retreat of the Archduke Charles towards the Hereditary States—Surrender of an Austrian Column under General Hillinger—Conquest of the Tyrol and the Voralberg by the French—Indication on the part of Prussia of an intention to join the allied Powers—Landing of the King of Sweden in Stralsund—Debarcation of an Anglo-Russian Army in the Neapolitan Dominions—Retreat of the Russian Army to Olmutz—Battle of Austerlitz—Termination of the War—Peace of Presburg.

THE republic of France, which had assumed so many different forms, which during a period of twelve years, had fixed the attention, excited the hopes, and awakened the fears of mankind, had at length expired, and a new empire arose from its ashes, founded principally upon the power of the sword. It was remarked by a profound statesman,* that the French republic would become the prey of the first ambitious chieftain, who had sufficient boldness and dexterity to avail himself of a fortunate train of circumstances to seize the government, and this prediction found its fulfilment in the elevation of Napoleon to the imperial purple. The immense and increasing power of France, had occasioned the utmost disquietude to all the surrounding nations. Depending chiefly upon her agriculture and the natural resources of the country, she had soon, in a great degree, recovered from the convulsive shock of the revolution. The suspicious and selfish policy of the powers that had coalesced against her, had united men of almost all parties in defence of their common country. More than twelve years

of active warfare, and the complete destruction of her commerce, had given a military character to her whole population. Not only were the ambitious projects of Louis XIV., which had been suspended during the subsequent weakness of the monarchy of France, now realized, but greatly exceeded; and the establishment of an empire as extensive as that of Charlemagne, was a favourite object of pursuit, both with the government and the people. The union of all the powers of the state in one individual, had increased the vigour of the nation, both in its foreign and internal operations; and the activity, the boldness, and the military talents of its chief, ensured a prompt and universal obedience to his will. To the armies, he was endeared by his victories and the brilliancy of his career; and the assumption of imperial dignity, by enabling him to confer new honours upon his adherents, and new rewards upon the soldiery, increased and confirmed their attachment. At this period, the military force of France amounted to upwards of six hundred thousand men; and this army, by the laws for the regulation of the conscription, and the fer-

* Mr. Burke.

mation of the national guard, was capable of being augmented to almost any extent.

Two years had now elapsed, since the renewal of hostilities between Great Britain and France; but the war had not hitherto been signalized by any memorable event. In the prosecution of the war, this country laboured under one essential deficiency: so great was the drain from her population, in consequence both of her extensive navy and the force required for the security of her colonies, which the war had tended to augment, that the amount of that part of the regular army which was destined for European service, scarcely exceeded fifty thousand men; and it was evidently impossible, without the support of other powers, to undertake offensive operations against the continental dominions of France. But on the other hand, France, in the reduced state of her navy, possessed no means of attacking Great Britain. The alarm of invasion had long ceased: and the more the project was considered, the more difficulties appeared in the way of its execution.

Such was the posture of affairs, when Mr. Pitt returned to power. While in opposition, he had loudly condemned the inactivity of ministers, and he felt the necessity therefore of signalizing his administration by some extraordinary effort. His attention was of course immediately directed to the continent; and he laboured to form a new league among the states of Europe against the power of France. The situation of the continent was favourable to the accomplishment of this design. Russia and Sweden were disgusted and irritated by the conduct of Bonaparte; and Austria observed the measures of his government with jealousy and alarm. The negotiation was carried on with great activity, through the medium of the court of St. Petersburg. Russia entered into the measure with eagerness and zeal; but Austria, who was sensible that she had much more at stake than the other powers, was wavering and indecisive. It was, however, hoped and expected that the pecuniary means of Great Britain, the treaties and remonstrances of Russia, and the continually increasing irritation rising from the course of conduct pursued by the French government, would at no instant period induce Austria to unite in the league.

The diplomatic intercourse between Russia and France, had been for a considerable time suspended; and the resentment and hostility of Alexander were increased to the highest degree, by the conduct of the French government towards the inde-

pendent states of Germany, and by the seizure and execution of the Duke d'Enghien. Influenced by these dispositions, he entered towards the close of the last year into active negotiations with Great Britain; and every effort was made to induce the court of Vienna to co-operate with this power, to reduce the influence of a government which a concurrence of extraordinary circumstances had rendered formidable to all the other states of Europe.

The adventurous character of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, had directed much of the public attention towards that country. Provoked at the spirit of aggression manifested by France, and irritated at the indecent and insolent language of its government towards him, he had recalled his minister, and had suspended all diplomatic intercourse with that country, before the Emperor of Russia had resorted to the same measure. The resources of Sweden, however, were too inconsiderable to render her enmity formidable to France, but Gustavus was resolved not to remain inactive, and on the 3d of December, in the last year, a preliminary and secret convention was concluded with England; in which, it was agreed that a dépôt, for Hanoverian troops, should be assigned in Swedish Pomerania, and that the British government should advance sixty thousand pounds, in order to enable Sweden to provide more effectually for the defence of Stralsund.

The pride of the house of Austria had been humbled by the disastrous events of the two wars in which she had been engaged with the republic of France. Her population or territory, however, had not suffered any material diminution. She had, indeed, lost the provinces of Belgium, but she had acquired the rich and extensive territory of Venice. The dominions of the emperor were of vast extent; comprehending, besides the lesser provinces of Hungary, the Tyrol, Bohemia, the two Austrias, and the recent acquisition of Venice. But these immense possessions were not cemented by any general bond of union, or animated by any common principle of patriotism. Bohemia was divided by religious dissensions; and Hungary, attached to its ancient constitution, regarded the measures of the imperial cabinet with jealousy and distrust. The government, through all its departments, was destitute of energy and vigour, and the court itself was distracted with dissensions and cabals.

One of the first measures adopted by Bonaparte after his elevation to the imperial dignity, was to transmit new overtures to the British government. This communication was conveyed in the form

of a letter, written by Napoleon's own hand, and addressed to his Britannic majesty. This unusual mode of communication, which he had before adopted upon his accession to the office of first consul, was chosen from a professed desire to disengage so important a transaction from the intrigues of cabinets, and the perplexities and delays of diplomacy. After advertent to his recent elevation to the throne of France, and lamenting the unnecessary effusion of blood; he said he considered it no disgrace to take the first step towards conciliation; for though peace was the wish of his heart, war had never been inconsistent with his glory. As it had never been customary for the English sovereign to communicate directly with a foreign potentate, an answer was returned by Lord Mulgrave, addressed to the French minister. The secretary of state for foreign affairs intimated his majesty's wish to procure the blessing of peace, on terms compatible with the permanent security of Europe; but stated the impracticability of more fully meeting the overture now made, until communications had been held with the powers of the continent, with whom his majesty was engaged in confidential connexions and relations.*

* LETTER from the Emperor Napoleon to the King of England.

Dated January 2d, 1805. Communicated to the French Legislative Body, February 4th, 1805.

"SIR AND BROTHER,

"Called to the throne of France by Providence, and by the suffrages of the senate, the people, and the army, my first sentiment is a wish for peace. France and England abuse their prosperity. They may contend for ages; but do their governments well fulfil the most sacred of their duties, and will not so much blood shed uselessly, and without a view to any end, condemn them in their own consciences? I consider it as no disgrace to make the first step. I have, I hope, sufficiently proved to the world, that I fear none of the chances of war; it besides presents nothing that I need to fear; peace is the wish of my heart, but war has never been inconsistent with my glory. I conjure your majesty not to deny yourself the happiness of giving peace to the world, nor to leave that sweet satisfaction to your children; for certainly there never was a more fortunate opportunity, nor a moment more favourable, to silence all the passions, and listen only to the sentiments of humanity and reason. This moment once lost, what end can be assigned to a war, which all my efforts will not be able to terminate! Your majesty has gained more within ten years, both in territory and riches, than the whole extent of Europe. Your nation is at the highest point of prosperity; what can it hope from war! —To form a coalition with some powers of the continent? The continent will remain tranquil; a coalition can only increase the preponderance and continental greatness of France. To renew intestine troubles? The times are no longer the same. To destroy our finances? Finances founded on a flourishing agriculture, can never be

Early in the month of February, the letter to the King of England was communicated to the French legislative body, by order of Napoleon, together with the answer received from the English secretary of state. M. Segur, in presenting these documents, very naturally availed himself of the opportunity they afforded of ascribing the continuance of hostilities to the hatred and ambition of the British government: "If," said the orator, "blood must flow on the earth, and on the sea, this letter of the emperor will for ever absolve the French nation from its guilt; and throw all the responsibility upon that government, which would prolong its effusion."

The establishment of the new empire of the French, and the elevation of Bonaparte to the imperial dignity, was followed by a correspondent change in the government of the Italian states. The vice-president of the Italian republic, Melzi, the

destroyed. To take from France her colonies? The colonies are to France only a secondary object; and does not your majesty already possess more than you know how to preserve? If your majesty would but reflect, you must perceive that the war is without an object, without any presumable result to yourself. Alas! what a melancholy prospect, to cause two nations to fight, merely for the sake of fighting. The world is sufficiently large for our two nations to live in it, and reason is sufficiently powerful to discover the means of reconciling every thing, when the wish for reconciliation exists on both sides. I have, however fulfilled a sacred duty, and one which is precious to my heart. I trust your majesty will believe in the sincerity of my sentiments, and my wish to give you every proof of it, &c.

(Signed)

"NAPOLEON."

LORD MULGRAVE'S ANSWER.

Dated 14th January, 1805. Addressed to M. Talleyrand.

"His Britannic majesty has received the letter which has been addressed to him by the head of the French government, dated the second of the present month. There is no object which his majesty has more at heart, than to avail himself of the first opportunity to procure again for his subjects the advantages of peace, founded on bases which may not be incompatible with the permanent security and essential interests of his dominions. His majesty is persuaded that this end can only be attained by arrangements which may at the same time provide for the future safety and tranquillity of Europe, and prevent the recurrence of the dangers and calamities in which it is involved. Conformably to this sentiment, his majesty feels it is impossible for him to answer, more particularly, to the overture that has been made him, till he had time to communicate with the powers on the continent, with whom he is engaged in confidential connexions and relations, and particularly the Emperor of Russia, who has given the strongest proofs of the wisdom and elevation of the sentiments with which he is animated, and the lively interest which he takes in the safety and independence of the continent.

(Signed)

"MULGRAVE."

members of the consulta of state, and the deputies of the colleges and the constituted bodies, had repaired to Paris, for the purpose of attending at the imperial coronation. This body, whom Bonaparte chose to consider as the legal representatives, and authorized organ of the Italian republic, determined, after a decent interval of deliberation, that the constitution of Lyons was merely provisional, and that a change had become necessary, in order to ensure the repose and happiness of Italy. Impressed with these sentiments, they besought the French emperor, to perfect the wishes of the citizens by deigning to become their sovereign. "You wished, sire," said Melzi, "that the Italian republic should exist, and it has existence. Wish that the Italian monarchy shall be happy, and it shall be so." After a short pause, Bonaparte replied to the address of the vice-president. He reminded the deputies, that to him their country was indebted for the original establishment of their independence, and expatiated upon the interest which he had always taken in the welfare of the republic. "When at Lyons," he added, "you deemed it for your interest that we should be at the head of your government; and still persevering in the same opinion, you now will that we shall be the first of your kings. The separation of the crowns of France and Italy, which might be advantageous to ensure the independence of your posterity, would, at the present moment, be fatal to your existence and tranquillity. I shall keep this crown, but only so long as your interests shall require it; and I shall with pleasure see the moment arrive, when I can place it on the head of a younger person, animated with my spirit, and equally anxious to provide for your security and happiness."

It was stipulated that the throne of Italy should be hereditary in the male line, both natural and adopted; but that the right of adoption should not extend to any other person than a citizen of the French empire, or of the republic of Italy; that the crown of Italy should not be united to that of France, except upon the head of the present emperor; that none of his successors should be allowed to reign in Italy, unless they reside upon the territory of the Italian republic; and that Bonaparte should, during his life, have the right of giving a successor among his legitimate male children, whether begotten or adopted.

In the mean time, Bonaparte, in compliance with the addresses which poured in upon him from the various constituted authorities of the Italian republic, repaired

to Milan, to assume, with the requisite solemnities, the crown of his new kingdom. The ceremony was performed on the 26th of May, in the cathedral church of Milan, by Cardinal Caprara, the archbishop of that city, who was authorized by the pope to preside upon this occasion. Bonaparte, wearing the two diadems of France and Italy, bearing the sceptre and hand of justice, and clothed with a royal mantle, proceeded, in the midst of a magnificent and solemn procession, from the palace of the cathedral. At the entrance of the church, he was met by the cardinal and the clergy, and the air was perfumed with the incense, which was burnt in the presence of the new sovereign. After an address of courtly adulation from the cardinal, Bonaparte was introduced to the sanctuary, and conducted to a throne decorated with the insignia of the French empire, and of the kingdom of Italy. At the entrance to the sanctuary, in front of the altar, were placed the insignia of Charlemagne. Upon this altar, the royal ornaments were then deposited, and the cardinal pronounced over them his solemn benediction. Napoleon, advancing from his throne, received from the hand of the cardinal the ring and other ensigns of royalty. He then ascended the steps of the altar, and taking in his hand the ancient iron crown of the kings of Lombardy, he placed it with a determined air upon his head, pronouncing, at the same time, with a firm voice, these emphatical words—"Dieu me la donne, gare a qui la touche."* He then returned to the altar; and taking the crown of Italy, placed it in like manner upon his head, amidst the acclamation of the spectators. Bonaparte having pronounced the oath, a herald immediately proclaimed in a loud voice—"Napoleon, Emperor of the French and King of Italy, is crowned and enthroned—Long live the Emperor and King." At the same instant, all the attendants repeated—"Long live the Emperor and King!" and the lofty domes of the church resounded with the shouts and applause of the multitude. The ceremony was closed with Te Deum, and the procession returned to the palace.—Soon after the coronation, Prince Eugene (Beauharnois, step-son of the new monarch) was appointed Viceroy of Italy, and a new order of knighthood, under the designation of "the iron crown," was instituted.

While Bonaparte was employed at Milan, in settling the constitution and civil code of his newly acquired kingdom, his agents were actively engaged in another

* God has conferred it on me—let those who shall touch it beware.

quarter, in preparing the way for a fresh act of aggrandizement. The republic of Genoa, notwithstanding the narrow limits of its territory, had occupied a distinguished place in the history of modern Europe. But the period at length arrived, when even the forms of national independence were to terminate; and the republic was destined to be absorbed in the immense and overwhelming mass of the French empire. The disastrous consequences which resulted from this revolution, the war of which it appears to have been the immediate occasion, and the fatal issue of that contest, will render it an event for ever memorable in the history of mankind.

The line of policy to be pursued upon this occasion, was extremely simple. It was expedient that some decent attention should be paid to the form of the proceedings, and that at least some appearance of moderation should be assumed. It was accordingly determined that the proposal for the union should originate with the senate and people of Genoa. The requisite precautions having been adopted, and the minds of the people sufficiently prepared for the event, the senate, after due deliberation, resolved that an address should be presented to Bonaparte, praying that he would allow the republic of Genoa to be permanently united to the French empire. This address was signed, not merely by the members of the senate, but by a vast number of the principal inhabitants of Genoa; and it was ordered that an embassy, consisting of the doge, and the deputies of the senate and people, should proceed to Milan, for the purpose of laying this document at the feet of the emperor. Upon their arrival in that city, they publicly unfolded the object of their mission. Bonaparte was not inexorable. He listened with attention and with favour; and afterwards addressed the doge and the deputies, in a speech, in which he enlarged with becoming gravity upon the importance and the necessity of this union, and assured them that he would realize their expectations, and unite them to his great people.

This extraordinary transaction was immediately communicated to the different courts of Europe, and excited in every quarter the most lively feelings of indignation. The Emperor Alexander, in particular, who had previously despatched M. Novoitsoff on his way to Paris, to try the effect of negotiation, hastened to recall that ambassador, and issued a memorial, explanatory of his mission, and of the circumstances which had led to its abrupt termination. In this document, it is stated that the emperor had, in compliance with

the wishes of his Britannic majesty, sent his ambassador to Bonaparte, to meet the pacific overtures which he had made to the court of London; but that by a fresh transgression of the most solemn treaties, the union of the Ligurian republic with France had been effected, and all hope of restoring tranquillity to Europe by negotiation thereby destroyed. But the most important effect resulting from the annexation of Genoa to France, was the impression which this event appears to have made upon the cabinet of Vienna. Notwithstanding the urgent solicitations of Russia, and the immense pecuniary offers made by Great Britain, Austria had hitherto refused to accede to a treaty of concert. She had acquiesced in the assumption of the crown of Italy; she had even directed her ambassador to congratulate Bonaparte upon that acquisition of his titles; but this last act of usurpation, combined with the formidable military attitude which France had assumed in the north of Italy, fixed her wavering purpose. Urged, therefore, by the remonstrances of the allies, and impelled by the strongest feelings of resentment, she abandoned her former cautious system of policy, and by a treaty signed at St. Petersburg, on the 9th of August, consented to become a party to the league; the objects of which, as defined in a treaty of concert between Great Britain and Russia, signed at St. Petersburg on the 11th of April, were, First, The expulsion of the French troops from Hanover and the north of Germany: Secondly, The establishment of the independence of the republics of Holland and Switzerland: Thirdly, The re-establishment of the King of Sardinia in Piedmont, with as large an augmentation of his territory as circumstances might admit: Fourthly, The future security of the kingdom of Naples, and the complete evacuation of Italy, the Isle of Elba included, by the French forces: and, Fifthly, The establishment of an order of things in Europe, which might effectually guarantee the security and independence of the different states, and present a solid barrier against future usurpation.

The cabinet of Vienna was deeply impressed with the importance of the impending contest, and with the necessity of making exertions correspondent to this emergency. Her armies were accordingly diligently recruited, and large reinforcements were sent to Italy and the Tyrol: while military works were constructed upon the territory of Venice; and the details of the march and co-operation of the Austrian and Russian troops concerted with the Baron de Wintzingerode, who

had been deputed to Vienna by the court of St. Petersburg.

While these transactions were passing in Germany, Bonaparte did not allow himself to remain inactive. The hostile dispositions and intentions of Austria were sufficiently manifest, and he had already declared to the emperor, that he would not delay his operations till the arrival of the Russians. Accordingly, towards the close of the month of August, while he was at Boulogne, he issued orders to dismantle the flotilla in that harbour, and directed the troops to march from the coast to the banks of the Rhine. Similar orders were at the same time transmitted to General Marmont, who commanded the army in Holland; and Marshal Bernadotte was also directed to proceed with his force from Hanover towards Franconia. The necessary arrangements having been made to hasten the march of the troops, Bonaparte immediately quitted Boulogne, and repaired to Paris.

A rupture had now become inevitable, and the several powers of the continent placed themselves in a state to meet the approaching storm. Bavaria, of whom strong suspicions were entertained by the allied powers, was summoned to incorporate her troops with the Austrian army, and the latter in full force passed the Inn early in the month of September, and endeavoured to enforce this command. It must be admitted that the Austrians on this occasion acted with little moderation towards Bavaria, which was treated like a conquered country: heavy exactions were made upon the people for the support of the Austrian troops; the paper money of Vienna was forced into circulation at its nominal value, while it had suffered a great depreciation at home; the elector of Bavaria was obliged to seek refuge in Wurtzburg, and all these rigorous proceedings towards a neutral state were justified by "the tyrant's plea"—necessity.

As soon as intelligence was received at Paris that the Austrian army had entered the dominions of the Elector of Bavaria, the senate was convened, and in a speech from the throne, Bonaparte informed his senators that he was about to place himself at the head of his army, in order to afford immediate assistance to his allies, and to defend the dearest interests of his people. The war had, he informed them, already commenced by the invasion of Bavaria, the elector of which state had actually been driven from his territories. He next exhorted the French people to support their emperor in the present unprovoked contest; and concluded by say-

ing:—"Frenchmen, your emperor will do his duty; my soldiers will perform theirs; you will fulfil yours." On this occasion two important decrees were proposed; one for the immediate levy of eighty thousand conscripts; the other, for re-organizing and embodying the national guard. Having formed these arrangements, his next step was to appoint his brother Joseph to superintend the government in his absence, and on the following day he left Paris for Strasburgh.

A plan of military operations had already been concerted between the court of Vienna and St. Petersburg. It was apparent from the distance of the Russian armies, that Austria must rely solely upon her own strength in the commencement of the campaign, and the plan of operations was accordingly formed upon this evident principle. The resources of France were estimated at six hundred and fifty-one thousand men; and of this number it was supposed that she might employ five hundred thousand in Italy, Germany, and Switzerland. In opposition to this force, Austria could bring into the field two hundred and fifty thousand rank and file, exclusive of the Russian armies which were destined to co-operate with her in the war, and was expected to swell her numbers to an equality with the force of the enemy. The first blow was to be struck in Italy, by forcing the passage of the Adige, dislodging the enemy from the Mincio, investing Mantua and Peshara, and detaching a body of troops to the Po, to observe the south of Italy, and to open its way to the Adda, in order to cover the blockade or sieges of these places. It was foreseen that in Germany, Austria must sustain the first shock of the French impetuosity, without the aid of her imperial ally; it was therefore determined that the Austrian corps should enter Bavaria, and, taking a strong position on the Lech, await the arrival of the Russians, while the forces in the Tyrol were to be regulated in their motions by those of the armies of Italy and Germany.*

In pursuance of this plan of operations, the Austrian army upon the Adige was increased to one hundred and twenty thousand men; and about the middle of September the Archduke Charles quitted Vienna, for the purpose of assuming the command; at which period, the French troops in Italy, under the command of General Massena, did not exceed seventy thousand men. The Austrian army in Germany was intrusted to the command of Field-marshal Baron Mack, an officer who

* Sir Arthur Paget's Correspondence.

had for a considerable time enjoyed a very powerful influence over the military councils of the court of Vienna. The Austrian army, having traversed the electorate of Bavaria, arrived towards the end of September on the banks of the Lech. Abandoning that position immediately afterwards, they advanced to the Iller, and detachments were pushed towards Doneschingen and Stockach, and into the duchy of Wirtemberg. Besides the two armies stationed on the Adige and in Suabia, a considerable force was also assembled under the command of the Archduke John in the Tyrol, which was destined to act as the events of the campaign might require. Such was the distribution of the Austrian troops about the commencement of the month of October.

On the 26th of September, Bonaparte arrived at Strasburg: on the same day, the greater part of the French army, which had proceeded by rapid marches from the east, passed the Rhine at Mannheim, Spires, and Durlach, under the command of Marshals Davoust, Soult, and Ney. Marshal Lannes, with his division, and the reserve of cavalry under Prince Murat, had crossed the river on the preceding day, at Kehl. The French army of Hanover, consisting of about twenty thousand men, and commanded by Marshal Bernadotte, having marched by Göttingen and Frankfurt, had arrived at the head-quarters of the Elector of Bavaria at Wurtzburg. In this position, Bernadotte was soon afterwards joined by General Marmont and the Gallo-Batavian army, which had crossed the Rhine at Mentz; and by this union the force collected at Wurtzburg amounted to more than sixty thousand men. The plan of operations which Bonaparte had adopted for the opening of the campaign, was of a most masterly character. In order to avoid the difficulties and inconveniences of penetrating through the passes of the Black Forest, he had resolved to advance along the northern bank of the Danube, and, passing the river below the position of the Austrians, to interpose his army between them and the Russian force. It was with a view to this movement, that Marshal Bernadotte and General Marmont had been ordered to proceed to Wurtzburg. As the Austrian commander might by an immediate retreat have frustrated the success of this plan, it became necessary that the project should not only be disguised from the imperialists, but should be executed with the utmost possible rapidity. Prince Murat therefore was ordered to manoeuvre near the passes of the Black Forest, in order to deceive the Austrians, and to induce them to suppose that the

French army intended to force its way in that direction. General Mack fell into the snare, and advanced with the greater part of his army to oppose the execution of this design. He had already fortified the banks of the Iller, and had issued orders to strengthen with the utmost expedition the positions of Memmingen and Ulm. At length, however, he discovered his error, and was compelled suddenly to change all his plans. In the mean time, the French army had traversed with almost incredible rapidity the electorate of Wirtemberg, and the plains of Nordlingen; and on the 16th of October, Marshal Soult arrived, at the head of his division on the Danube, at Donawerth, and obtained possession of the bridge at Munster. On the 8th, General Marmont reached Neuberg, having penetrated through the Prussian neutral territory of Anspach, and shortly afterwards Marshal Bernadotte, at the head of his division, arrived at Ingolstadt. From this moment, the issue of the campaign was decided. The army under General Mack did not exceed eighty thousand men: a hostile force, nearly double that number, was now posted in his rear; while his communication with the Austrian states, and with the Russian auxiliaries, the first division of which had not yet arrived on the Inn, was upon the point of being completely intercepted.

On the 7th, a part of the French army passed the Danube at Donawerth, and the division commanded by Marshal Soult extended itself along the Lech to the city of Augsburg, and afterwards to Landsburg and Fuessen. In the mean time, a strong detachment from the Austrian army was ordered to advance to Wertingen, for the purpose of observing the motions, and checking the progress of the enemy. This corps was attacked by the cavalry under Prince Murat, and the division commanded by General Lannes. The Austrians, after a short contest, in which they sustained considerable loss, were compelled to retire. On the following day, a second action took place in the vicinity of Guntzburg; the division commanded by Marshal Ney attacked the Austrians, who were advantageously posted on the banks of the Danube, and, after a sharp conflict, forced the passage of the river, and remained masters of the bridges and strong position of Guntzburg.

General Mack, alarmed by the accounts which he received of the strength of the enemy, was obliged to send for reinforcements to the Italian army. Prince Charles thus saw himself deprived of the means of pursuing those objects which he hoped to accomplish. The necessity however

was urgent, and he ordered, though with much ill humour and reluctance, thirty battalions to march to the support of the Austrian army in Germany. Of this force, a part only arrived on the banks of the Iller; some detachments were taken by the enemy, and the rest fell back upon the Tyrol. The Austrian army was stationed on the banks of the Iller, from Memmingen to the Danube; but its principal strength was collected on the left of this line, in the neighbourhood of Ulm; and the French were rapidly advancing with their whole force to that quarter. The situation of the Austrians became every hour more critical; they found themselves circumscribed and enclosed on every side; and the commander saw the necessity of endeavouring to dislodge the enemy from some of their positions. Accordingly, on the 11th of October, a vigorous attack was made upon a French division posted, under the command of General Ney, at Albeck. The enemy was driven to a considerable distance along the banks of the Danube; and the event of the day was highly honourable to the Austrians. But no important advantage resulted from the victory.

After the battles of Guntzburg and Wertingen, Bonaparte repaired to the city of Augsburg, from which place he again returned on the 13th to the camp before Ulm; when he issued immediate orders to force the bridge and position of Echlingen. This post, of great importance in the present situation of the armies, was defended by a body of sixteen thousand Austrians. In this contest, which was long and obstinate, the French charged with their usual impetuosity; while the Austrians fought with all the fury of despair. Great numbers fell on both sides: but at length the Austrians were broken and driven from the field. The same day, after a series of sharp and stubborn conflicts, the French troops under General Lannes possessed themselves of the heights of Michel Malgen and Kuhe, in the vicinity of Ulm; while, on the other side, General Marmont occupied the bridges at the confluence of the Iller and the Danube. The situation of the Austrian army was now desperate; it was nearly encircled by the enemy, and compelled to take refuge within the walls of Ulm. Two divisions, under General Hohenzollern and Werneck, had already been detached from the main army; and Prince Ferdinand, desirous to rescue a part of the troops from the disgrace of a capitulation, placed himself at the head of four squadrons of well-mounted cavalry, and proceeded with the utmost expedition towards Aalen.

The two following days, the French were employed in making preparations for a general assault. The city was surrounded by a broad ditch filled with water; and though the fortifications were weak and unfinished, yet a brave and veteran army, consisting of more than thirty thousand men, might have made a fierce and dreadful resistance. Bonaparte, eager to avail himself of his present advantages to their full extent, issued an address to his soldiers on the 15th, in which he says "Merely to conquer the enemy, would be to do nothing worthy of yourselves or of your emperor. Not a man should escape, and that government which has violated all its engagements, should first learn its catastrophe by your arrival under the walls of Vienna." This proclamation was immediately followed by a summons to General Mack, requiring him to capitulate, and threatening in case of refusal to storm the town. On the night of the 16th, there arose a furious tempest; the waters of the Danube overflowed their banks; and many of the bridges upon that river, and among the rest, the bridge of Echlingen, were swept away by the rapidity of the torrent. A favourable opportunity was thus afforded to the Austrian army to endeavour to force their way through the posts of the enemy; but the commander was deficient in enterprise and activity, and this unforeseen and fortuitous occurrence was suffered to pass unimproved.

On the 17th, the terms of the capitulation were finally settled. The garrison was allowed to march out with the honours of war, and after filing off, to lay down their arms. The field-officers were permitted to return home upon their parole, but the subalterns and soldiers were sent prisoners to France. During the campaign which preceded and accompanied the surrender of Ulm, the rain fell almost without intermission. The rivers overflowed their banks, and the roads became almost impassable. Bonaparte, however, was continually in the midst of his troops; he encouraged and animated them to exertion; he shared all their hardships and privations, and distributed upon the field of battle rewards and honours to those who had distinguished themselves. By these popular acts, he excited a spirit of enthusiasm in his troops, which led them not merely to encounter danger with alacrity, but to sustain with cheerfulness the severest toils. On the 20th, the Austrians, according to the terms of a convention concluded the second day after the capitulation of Ulm, marched out of that city. Bonaparte, surrounded by his guards, occupied the heights near the town, and

was a witness of this humiliating scene. Thirty thousand men, three thousand of whom were cavalry, with sixty pieces of cannon, and forty stands of colours, were paraded before the victor. Having sent for the Austrian generals, and kept them near his person while the troops defiled, he complained of the injustice and aggression of the emperor: "I desire nothing," said he, "on the continent. France wants only ships, colonies, and commerce; and it is as much your interest as mine, that I should have them." To this effusion, General Mack is reported to have replied, that "the Emperor of Germany did not wish for war, but was compelled to entertain hostile views by Russia."—"If that be the case, then," said Napoleon, "you are no longer a power."

Thus within little more than ten days, a well-appointed army, consisting of more than eighty thousand men, commanded by gallant and experienced officers, and composed of the best troops in the Austrian service, was, in consequence of the inexplicable errors of its chief, completely dissipated. In addition to those who perished in the field, more than fifty thousand were made prisoners of war; and a very small portion succeeded, with great difficulty and the utmost exertion, in effecting their escape into the Austrian territories.

Information of the disasters in Germany, and of the capitulation of Ulm, was conveyed to Vienna by a messenger from the Archduke Ferdinand. No sooner was the intelligence spread through the city, than the houses were deserted, and the inhabitants crowded into the streets, anxiously inquiring into the particulars of this disastrous event. When the full extent of the calamity was known, the people gave vent to their feelings in the bitterest expressions of indignation and rage. They saw in their apprehensions the French already at their gates. They loudly exclaimed against General Mack as the author of their misfortunes, and openly charged him with having betrayed and sold his country to the enemy. The emperor made every exertion to re-establish the public confidence, and to restore the tranquillity of his capital. It was ordered that all persons capable of bearing arms should be trained and embodied, and that every effort should be made to supply the deficiencies in the army. Instructions were at the same time issued to hasten the general levy in Hungary; and the emperor published a proclamation, in which he appealed to the patriotism and loyalty of his subjects, and called upon them in the most earnest terms to unite with vigour

for the protection of their country and his throne.

Immediately after the capitulation of Ulm, the most active exertions were made by the enemy for the further prosecution of the campaign. The first division of the Russians, under the command of General Kutusoff, had already arrived upon the banks of the Inn, and uniting itself to the Austrians in that quarter, formed an army of nearly seventy thousand men. It was of importance, if possible, to attack this force before the arrival of the second division, and with this view the French army having been joined by the contingents of Bavaria, Baden, and Wurttemberg, crossed the Iser at three different points, and advanced by rapid marches towards the Inn. The arrangements for the further prosecution of the campaign, on the immense theatre of war, were all completed. Marshal Ney's division, and the Bavarian army, were ordered to drive the Austrians from the Tyrol. The operations in the Voralberg were intrusted to Marshal Augereau, who from the interior of France had arrived with a considerable force at Stockach; and General Baraguay de Hilliers was ordered to penetrate into Bohemia, and to observe the motion of the Austrians to the east.

The French army, which was advancing towards the Inn, consisted of about one hundred and ten thousand men; while the allied troops, stationed upon that river, scarcely amounted to seventy thousand. Judging it impolitic to hazard an action with such a disparity of strength, the allies determined to retire, in order to effect a junction with the second Russian division, which was advancing under General Buxhoven. From the Inn, the combined army retired behind the Ems, their rear occasionally skirmishing with the advanced guard of the enemy.

In this situation of affairs, the Emperor of Austria endeavoured to avert the evils with which he was menaced by negotiation. He saw the allied army compelled to retire before a superior force; the second division of the Russians was still at a distance; and it was evident that in a few days the French would become masters of his capital. The Count de Guilay accordingly repaired to the head-quarters of the enemy at Lintz, to propose an armistice, in order that negotiations might be commenced for a general peace. The answer of Bonaparte was concise, but comprehensive: He demanded, as the price of an armistice, that the Russian forces should return home, that the Hungarian levies should be disbanded, and that the Austrian troops should withdraw from the duchy of

Venice and the Tyrol. It was evident that to accede to these terms would be to place the imperial crown at the mercy of Bonaparte; the emperor therefore resolved still to struggle with his difficulties; and to trust to the support of his allies, to the fortune of his house, and to the zeal and affection of his people.

In the mean time, the principal force of the enemy advanced by Ems and Amstten, while the Russians, still continuing their retreat, retired to St. Polten. At Krems, not far from that place, there is a bridge over the Danube, which is the last bridge above the city of Vienna. The enemy had detached a considerable force over the river, under the command of Marshal Mortier, who was ordered to march with the utmost expedition for the purpose of seizing and destroying the bridge. By this manœuvre, the communication between the first and the second divisions of the Russian army would have been completely intercepted; but the Russians, aware of the design of the enemy, frustrated its execution, and after a rapid march from St. Polten to Krems, crossed the river at that place, and laid the bridge in ruins. It was now evening, and the situation of the allies, who were closely pressed upon the side of the Stein, became extremely critical. It was necessary to force the enemy from his position. Accordingly, at daybreak on the following morning, the Russian army, having formed itself into three columns, advanced against the French lines with the utmost impetuosity; and after a smart contest, put the enemy to the rout in every direction. In this engagement, great numbers of the French were slain; many escaped in the vessels that had been collected on the river; and about two thousand men, with a large proportion of officers, were taken prisoners. This victory, so important in the present situation of the army, was obtained without any considerable loss on the part of the Russians. There fell, however, in the heat of the engagement, the Austrian Field-marshal Schmidt, a veteran officer of great bravery and merit, whose death filled the army with regret.

Bonaparte now removed his headquarters to the beautiful abbey of Molk, built by the Emperor Commodus, and celebrated for having been one of the posts of the Romans. In the vaults of this magnificent building, he found prodigious stores of excellent Hungarian wine, which proved of great service to his army. From this moment, the fate of the Austrian capital was decided.* The great road to Vi-

enna lay open; and it was impossible to attempt the defence of the city without the walls. Some attempts were made to place Vienna in a state of defence, and the inhabitants were called upon to rise in mass for that purpose: but, as the fortifications were ancient and out of repair, an effort at resistance could only have occasioned its destruction. The court, the nobility, and all those who could provide the means of flight, had abandoned the city. The utmost agitation and confusion prevailed, and the public anxiety became intense, from the accounts which were daily and hourly received, of the rapid advance of the enemy. But when the people were informed, that the Russian army, on which they reposed their last and only reliance, had passed the Danube, and left the capital to its fate, they abandoned themselves to despair.

On the 9th, a deputation of the inhabitants of Vienna, with Prince Sinzendorf at its head, repaired to the French camp, to declare the emperor's intention to deliver up the metropolis, in order to preserve the people from impending distress, and that in so doing, he fully relied on the justice and generosity of Bonaparte, to carry his benevolent wishes into execution. The deputies were received by Prince Murat with attention and respect; and after a short conference, in which they obtained the strongest assurances of protection, they returned to Vienna. Murat, in consequence of the arrangements which had been previously made, immediately entered the city, and his troops were conducted to the quarters which had been assigned for their accommodation.

The Austrian force, which had retired from Vienna upon the approach of the enemy, amounted to about ten thousand men; and, having crossed the Danube, they proceeded towards Moravia, for the purpose of forming a junction with the Russians. The French arrived at Vienna in successive divisions, and passed through that city with the utmost expedition in pursuit of the Russians. On the 14th, Bonaparte himself arrived at Vienna, and took up his residence in the castle of Schoenbrunn, a small palace built by the Empress Maria Theresa. So rapid had been the progress of the French, and so great was the consternation which prevailed, that no effectual measures had been adopted for the removal of the artillery and military stores from the city, in consequence of which neglect, two thousand pieces of cannon, two hundred thousand muskets, and ammunition of every description, besides other articles of immense value, fell into the hands of the enemy

* Memoirs of Count Starhemberg.

The French were now in complete possession of Upper and Lower Austria, and it became necessary to establish a provincial administration for the government of these extensive conquests. For this purpose, a code of regulations was soon prepared, and General Clarke was appointed governor-general of the districts. These important arrangements having been completed, Bonaparte left Vienna, and repaired to the army in Moravia. The French patrols of cavalry were already at the gates of Presburg; and a party of these troops intercepted a courier from Vienna, by whose despatches they learned that the Archduke Charles, on hearing of the disasters at Ulm, had quitted the Italian territory, and was hastening with his army to the relief of Vienna.

On the 18th of October, the Italian campaign was opened upon the Adige. The Austrian army was strongly posted at Veronetta, a suburb of the city of Verona, situated upon the left bank of the river; while the French troops, under the command of Marshal Massena, occupied the city upon the opposite bank of the Adige. The communication between Verona and its suburb, was by means of two bridges, the new bridge and the bridge of the old castle; and both parties had guarded against the passage of these bridges by strong works raised at the opposite extremities. The Archduke Charles found himself so far weakened, in consequence of the reinforcements which he had despatched for the support of General Mack, that he was no longer in a condition to undertake offensive operations against the position of the enemy; the attack was therefore begun by the French, and Massena determined to force a passage over the bridge of the old castle. After a fierce and obstinate struggle, the French general forced the passage of the bridge, and made himself master of the Austrian intrenchments upon the opposite bank of the river. The Austrian army, however, still maintained its position in Veronetta, and several days elapsed without any further attack; but the Archduke Charles having, in the mean time, obtained information of the disaster at Ulm, prepared to fall back with his force towards Vienna. It was impossible that these preparations should escape the observation of the enemy, and it was not till after an arduous contest that the archduke made good his retreat, and took up a position under cover of the redoubts of Caldiero. During these operations, General Hillinger, to whom was confided the command of an Austrian column, consisting of about five thousand men, was separated from the main army,

and, after exhausting every effort to extricate himself from his difficulties, was obliged to capitulate with his whole corps. The enemy, still continuing the pursuit of the army of the archduke, arrived upon the Isonzo, having made himself master of the Austrian magazines at Palma and Udine, and from this position General Massena ordered a detachment to proceed to the left, towards Villach, for the purpose of opening a communication with the grand army.

While the Archduke Charles continued his retreat, the contending armies in the Tyrol and the Voralberg were pursuing their operations. General Ney, with his corps, amounting to seventeen thousand men, after having quitted the neighbourhood of Memmingen, took a course towards Upper Bavaria. On the 4th of November, this general arrived in the environs of Partenkirch, and on the 5th, commenced an attack on the strongly fortified position of Scharnitz, situated two leagues to the south of Mittenwald. To these movements, the militia and sharp-shooters, as well as the *levy-en-masse* of the Tyrol, favoured by the nature of the country, opposed a long and obstinate resistance; but, after a gallant struggle, this brave band of patriots was at length obliged to give way; and the fortress of Scharnitz, with eighteen hundred prisoners, one standard, and fifteen field-pieces, fell into the hands of the enemy. On the 16th, General Ney marched through Lecfield and Zierl, and, after forcing the Archduke John to abandon his position on the stupendous mountains of Brenner, took possession of Inspruck, the capital of Upper Austria. In the last war, the 76th regiment of the French line had lost two standards in the Grisons, and on their arrival in Inspruck, on the present occasion, a scene occurred which deeply affected the feelings of every soldier. On entering the city, an officer of the 76th recognised in the arsenal the proofs of the tarnished honour of his regiment; as soon as this discovery was made known, all the soldiers of his corps ran with eagerness to the places where the standards were deposited, and exhibited for some time the most extravagant indications of joy; some of the soldiery danced round the colours, and rent the air with their acclamations, while others, with tears in their eyes, embraced these lost companions of their glory, and renewed their oaths never again to suffer them to be torn from their ranks. During the short but vigorous campaign of the Tyrol, an Austrian column, under the command of Prince de Rohan, had been totally separated from the main army

by the manœuvres of the French in that country. Unwilling to surrender without an effort, the prince determined, if possible, to effect a junction with the Archduke Charles by traversing the mountains which separate the Tyrol from Italy; but finding himself surrounded by the troops of General Partoneaux and General Regnier, and discovering that his position was turned by General St. Cyr, in the neighbourhood of Caster-Franco, he was forced to capitulate, and six thousand infantry, one hundred cavalry, six standards, and twelve pieces of cannon, with a considerable quantity of baggage and ammunition, fell into the possession of the enemy.

The defence of the Voralberg had been intrusted to the Austrian General Jellachich, who was despatched for that purpose from the main army in Suabia, previously to the fall of Ulm. In this service, he was opposed by Marshal Augereau, at the head of a very superior force. A series of sharp encounters immediately took place, and the Austrians were driven in succession from position to position, till at length the concert of their movements being broken, their columns were separated, and the commander-in-chief, with a force of from eight to ten thousand men, found himself compelled to capitulate in the neighbourhood of Feinkirk. The whole of the Voralberg, Pludentz, and the entire district of Arlemburg, together with the Austrian arsenals and magazines in those territories, were thus surrendered to the enemy, and it was agreed that the troops should not serve either against France or Italy for one year from the date of the capitulation.

The violation of the neutrality of Anspach by the French troops under the command of General Marmont, had excited a deep sensation at Berlin; and the people of Prussia were still more exasperated than their government. The immediate result of Bonaparte's contempt for the representative of the great Frederick, was a permission given by that sovereign to a large body of Russians to march through his dominions. The insult which the French ruler had given to the Prussian power, effected what the allies had endeavoured in vain to accomplish, and an instant determination was taken to enter into the war. In order to encourage this resolution, the British ministry sent Lord Harrowby to Berlin, with the most liberal offers of pecuniary assistance; and, on the 26th of October, the Emperor Alexander, full of zeal for the cause in which he was engaged, visited the Prussian monarch, by whom he was welcomed with great cordiality, and received with princely

distinction. The design of the emperor was to induce the king to enter with spirit into the views of the confederates. The two sovereigns from this moment acquired a mutual esteem for each other; and swore on the tomb of the great hero of Brandenburg to maintain an unalterable friendship. Apathy seemed for a moment to melt away in the fierce beams of resentment against the common foe, and from one extremity of the Prussian dominions to the other, preparations for vigorous action began to prevail. The armies of the Prussian monarchy were, without delay, put on the war establishment; and several large bodies of troops actually marched to the south, and approached the scene of action. This force consisted of not less than seven corps in excellent condition; and amounted together to two hundred and twenty squadrons of horse, one hundred and thirty-three battalions of infantry, twelve companies of chasseurs, forty batteries of heavy ordnance, and twelve divisions of flying artillery. But the cabinet of Berlin soon relapsed into its former system. Before any decisive steps could be taken, General Mack had capitulated; and the Austrian army completely dispersed. These events disposed Prussia to listen to terms of accommodation; and Count Haugwitz was ordered to proceed to the head-quarters of the French army. The moment of action had been suffered to pass: when the count arrived at Vienna, Bonaparte was master of Upper and Lower Austria, in possession of the greater part of the imperial resources; and in a state to reject the intervention of Prussia, as well as to deride her vengeance.

It was a part of the plan of operations concerted by the allies, to create a powerful diversion in the north of Germany; and if an army of thirty or forty thousand men had entered the Hanoverian territory towards the close of the month of September, General Bernadotte would have been kept in check, and prevented from marching to the Danube. The King of Sweden, notwithstanding his professed eagerness to take the field, and his antipathy to the French emperor, did not effect a landing with his army at Stralsund until the 2d of November; and extraordinary as it may appear, the English force meant to co-operate with the Swedes, did not arrive at the place of rendezvous until the critical situation of the allied army pointed out the urgent expediency of an immediate separation and return.

In every stage of this unfortunate campaign, there appears to have been a deplorable deficiency of energy and foresight. Soon after the breaking out of the war, an

army, amounting to upwards of fifteen thousand English and Russian troops, was assembled in the Mediterranean, with the professed design of co-operating with the Austrian army in Italy, or of effecting a powerful diversion in their favour. Instead of landing in the Venetian territory at an early period of the campaign, and supplying the place of those battalions which the Archduke Charles had found it necessary to despatch to the aid of General Mack, a landing was not effected till the middle of November, in the neutral territory of Naples, and at a distance of several hundred miles from the nearest position of the enemy. Here, as might have been foreseen, this powerful auxiliary force remained entirely inactive, and its only effect was to irritate the Neapolitan government by the violation of a neutral territory.

Marshal Davoust, leaving the principal part of the French army at Vienna, proceeded with his division towards Presburg. On his arrival in the vicinity of that city, he received overtures from Count Palfy, the governor, in the name of the Archduke Palation, proposing that the military preparations in Hungary should be discontinued, on condition that the French general would guarantee the neutrality of that kingdom. To this proposal, Marshal Davoust yielded a ready acquiescence; and the principal resources of the house of Austria were thus reduced to the army which the Archduke Charles had with so much skill and bravery conducted in the face of superior numbers from the Adige to the Danube, and to the small force of Prince John of Lichtenstein, which had united itself to the first division of the Russian army.

Prince Murat, with the French cavalry under his command, having crossed the Danube at Vienna, came up with the allied army of the Austrians and Russians at Hollabrun. By these movements, the situation of General Kutusoff's army became extremely perilous. Perceiving the difficulties of his situation, he sent the Baron de Wintzingerode to Prince Murat, to propose terms of capitulation; and a convention, subject to the ratification of Bonaparte, was concluded, by which it was stipulated that the Russian army should retire by a prescribed route out of the Austrian dominions into their own territory; but Bonaparte, conceiving the Russians to be in his power, and desirous to signalize himself by a complete victory over their army, refused to ratify the convention. In the mean time, General Kutusoff had retired with the utmost expedition to Znaim, leaving the division, under Prince Bagra-

tion, opposed to the enemy. The determination of Bonaparte, not to ratify the convention, was communicated to the prince without delay; and, upon the expiration of the time limited for the suspension of hostilities, his division, consisting of six thousand men, was surrounded and attacked by a French force, thirty thousand strong. The prince, who had embraced the magnanimous resolution to cut his way through the enemy, succeeded, after displaying prodigies of valour, and arrived with comparatively little loss at the headquarters of Wischau.

On the 18th of November, Bonaparte entered Znaim, where the Russians, in their hurry and retreat to Brunn, had been compelled to leave their sick, besides a large supply of flour and other provisions. General Sebastiani, to whose brigade of dragoons the pursuit of the retreating Russian force was confided, favoured by the extensive plains of Moravia, cut off several corps of their rear-guard, and made two thousand prisoners. In the mean time, the cavalry force, under Prince Murat, advanced to Brunn, which was evacuated on their approach; by the possession of which, they became masters of sixty pieces of cannon, immense stores of powder, and a very seasonable supply of corn, meal, and clothing. On the 20th, Bonaparte arrived at Brunn, and received a deputation from the Moravian states, with a bishop at their head. The French pursued their advantages in every direction. Ney was already master of Brixen, and General Bernadotte occupied Iglau, on the confines of Bohemia. Many prisoners and much baggage fell into their hands in several petty affairs between the 20th and the 23d; on the latter of which days, they had pushed their reconnoitering parties to the gates of Olmutz.

The combined forces at that place amounted to about one hundred thousand men; the Russians formed the greater part of this number; for the remnant of the Austrian army, which was placed under the command of Prince John of Lichtenstein, did not exceed twenty-five thousand effective soldiers, and of this number a considerable proportion were raw levies, harassed by constant exertions, dispirited by defeat, and enfeebled by continual privations.* The condition of the Russian troops was still more unfavourable. Exhausted by forced marches, and reduced by hunger and fatigue, death, misery, and desolation encircled the armies of the coalesced sovereigns. The provinces to a great distance around them were wasted. The total failure of provisions and forage

* Russian Memoir.

was alone sufficient to prevent them from maintaining the position before Olmutz, or to take another station further in the rear; and no alternative remained, but to commit the fortunes of the campaign to the last desperate valour of their troops. A general battle had therefore become indispensable, but it was necessary to gain time, for the purpose of concentrating their forces, and to enable the Russians to present a numerous and imposing front to the enemy. Delay, indeed, was the object of both parties; Bernadotte had not yet joined Bonaparte; and, whatever opinion may be formed of French tactics, they have always been peculiarly studious to obtain the advantage of physical strength and the power of numbers. Much diplomatic artifice seems to have been resorted to on both sides. As soon as Bonaparte was apprized of the arrival of the Emperor of Russia in his camp, he sent his aide-de-camp, General Savary, to compliment that prince in terms of the most courteous civility, and to propose to him an interview. The imperial sovereign declined a personal conference, but he suffered the French general to remain within his lines for three successive days, where that officer did not fail to avail himself of the advantages presented by his singular situation. Although the Emperor Alexander did not choose to meet Bonaparte in person, he sent his aide-de-camp, Prince Dobgoruski, to explain his sentiments to the French chief. In the mean time, Savary had returned to the French camp, and reported to his master the observations which he had been so indiscreetly allowed to make. Napoleon was informed that the Russian generals, in spite of the deplorable state of their troops, relied fully on themselves, and that presumption, imprudence, and indiscretion, reigned in their military councils. Availing himself of this intelligence, he issued orders for his army to retire, as if apprehensive of an engagement with so formidable an enemy. In order to strengthen this impression, the retreat was made under cover of the night, and the French army took up a strong position about ten miles in the rear of its former station. Here, the troops began to throw up intrenchments, and to form batteries, as if for the purpose of defending themselves against the attacks of a hostile army. Every thing wore the appearance of alarm and confusion. When Prince Dobgoruski made his appearance, Bonaparte, as if anxious to conceal from the observation of the prince, both the temper of his army, and the measures which he had adopted, received him, contrary to his general practice, at his outposts. Preparations had

been artfully made for this interview. Wherever the Russian directed his eye, he discovered the symptoms of anxiety and dismay. The troops were labouring with the utmost activity at the intrenchments; all the posts were doubled; every precaution seemed to be taken to guard against surprise: and so completely was the aide-de-camp of the Emperor Alexander impressed with the belief that the French army was on the eve of ruin, that, as a preliminary arrangement to pacification, he proposed to Bonaparte to place Belgium at the disposal of the allies, and to resign the throne of Italy to the King of Sardinia. These dispositions appear to have been attended with the desired effect. The confidence of the Russians increased; they considered the victory as secure, and were anxious only to prevent the escape of the enemy. The headquarters of the Emperor of Russia, and the Emperor of Germany, were removed to Austerlitz; and M. de Kutusoff, the commander-in-chief, ordered a powerful division to march to the left, for the purpose of turning the right flank of the French army. The confederates executed the orders of their generalissimo in five columns. The first, under Lieutenant-general Dochterow, took possession of the eminences of Klein-hostieradeck; and a regiment of chasseurs occupied Aujest, situated at the foot of the mountain near the lake of Menitz. The second, led by Lieutenant-general Langeron, posted itself on the heights of Pratzen, to the right of the first column. The third, commanded by Lieutenant-general Prizibischewski, took its position on the same mountain, to the right of the village of Pratzen. The fourth, under the orders of Lieutenant-general Kollowrath, partly intersected the heights of Austerlitz to Brunn, and partly stationed itself in the rear of the third column. The fifth consisted of cavalry, and was under the direction of Prince John of Lichtenstein. It followed the course of the third column, behind which it was formed under the mountains. The Grand duke Constantine drew up the reserve on the hills near Austerlitz, a little to the rear of the whole army; while Prince Bagration threw forward the advanced corps by Holubitz and Blasowitz; in order to give facility to the third and fourth columns in marching on their points of destination; and Lieutenant-general Kinmayr proceeded by Pratzen to the front of Aujest. The head-quarters were established at Krzenowitz. No attempt was made to interrupt these motions; and the enemy even withdrew his videttes as far as Tellnitz and Sokolnitz.

Bonaparte saw from the heights of Schlapanitz, with inexpressible joy, the whole of the movements of the allied army, and, turning to his attendants, repeatedly exclaimed, "Before to-morrow night, that army will be in my power." This prediction proved but too true. The Russians continued their march at a short distance along the front of the French lines. The enemy still preserved the same cautious and timid appearance; his troops remained inactive in their respective stations; and Murat, having advanced at the head of a small body of cavalry into the plain between the two armies, instantly retired with the utmost speed, as if astonished at the force, and confounded by the movements of the allies.

When the day had closed, Bonaparte determined to proceed on foot, and *incognito*, through the several quarters of his camp, for the purpose of discovering the temper, dispositions, and opinions of his army. His person, however, was soon recognised, and in an instant lighted straw was raised upon a thousand poles. It was the eve of the anniversary of his coronation; and eighty thousand men, presenting themselves before their emperor, rent the skies with acclamations. Upon his return to his tent, he made the dispositions, and issued the necessary orders for battle. Marshal Davoust was directed to march with the utmost expedition to Raygern, for the purpose of keeping the Russians in check upon the right; and General Gudin was ordered to advance, at break of day, with his corps from Nicolsburg, to oppose that part of the Russian division which should extend itself beyond the position of Davoust. The command of the right wing of the army, which was stationed next to Davoust's corps, was intrusted to Marshal Soult. Marshal Bernadotte commanded the centre, and Marshal Lannes the left, the flank of the latter being protected by the position of Santon, strongly fortified and defended by eighteen pieces of cannon. The whole of the cavalry, under the command of Prince Murat, was posted between the left wing and the centre. Bonaparte himself, attended by "his faithful companion in war, Marshal Berthier,"* his aide-de-camp, General Junot, and all his *etat-major*, commanded the reserve, which was composed of ten battalions of the imperial guard, and the ten battalions of the grenadiers of Oudinot, with forty pieces of cannon.

The scene of this tremendous battle, which took place on the 2d of December,

was the heights of Pratzén, a range of mountains, with a small semi-circular inclination in the middle, to the east, running from the lake of Menitz, nearly north and south, to the distance of ten or eleven miles. At the foot of these mountains, on the western side, and about a mile from their base, is a little stream, which on the north divides the defile between the parallel heights of Schlapanitz and Pratzén, and towards the south washes the plain of Turas. Between this stream and the foot of Pratzén, and in the vicinity of the plain of Turas on the west of the rivulet, are situated the various villages in which the French were posted, while the allied armies occupied the heights and the hamlets in the ravines to the east.

At one o'clock in the morning of the 2d of December, Bonaparte mounted his horse, again to inspect the posts, reconnoitre the pickets of his opponents, and to obtain an account of what the guards had been able to learn of the movements of the confederates. He was informed that they had passed the night in drunkenness, noise, and revelry; and that a corps of Russian infantry had appeared in the village of Sokolnitz, occupied by a regiment of the division under General Le-grand.

The day at length dawned. Surrounded by his marshals, Bonaparte, who remained with the reserve, waited only for the horizon to clear up, to issue his last orders. The sun appeared to be rising with extraordinary splendour, and held out the promise of a clear autumnal day. As soon as his first beams shot above the heights of Pratzén, the orders were issued, and each marshal hastened to join his corps. Bonaparte, in passing along the front of several regiments, exclaimed: "Soldiers! we must finish this campaign by a thunder-bolt, which shall confound the pride of our enemies." This appeal was received with ecstasy by the forces, who placing their hats on the points of their bayonets, exclaimed, "*Vive l'Empereur!*" The sound of a furious cannonade drowned their acclamations. The engagement had begun on the right.

The allies conceived that by passing the defiles in the neighbourhood of Sokolnitz, and the other villages, the right of the enemy would be effectually turned; and that by avoiding the formidable ravines, which would obstruct their manœuvres, they might have an opportunity of executing their further intentions with advantage in the plain between Schlapanitz and the wood of Turas. They then proposed to press sharply on the enemy's right flank, by attacking it vigorously with an

* *Precis de la Campagne de Napoleon le grand, en Allemagne et en Italie.*

merous and compact bodies of troops, in rapid succession. This movement was to be covered by the right of the allies, with the cavalry of Prince John of Lichtenstein, and the advanced corps under Prince Bagration. The five columns were then put in march for the heights, and the fortune of the day was made to depend on the success of this attempt to drive back the enemy's right wing. Lieutenant-general Kilnmayer, who was to force the hollow valley of Tellnitz, and open the route for the first column, lost both time and advantage by commencing the attack with an insufficient force. The Austrians had already been engaged about an hour, and had suffered greatly from the French sharpshooters, who took advantage of the ground, covered as it was with vineyards, and intersected by wet ditches, before M. de Buxhovden, with the first column of the Russians, made his appearance. At length, however, he arrived, and detached a battalion to support the Austrians.

At nine o'clock, the enemy was strengthened by four thousand men, from the corps under Davoust, and took advantage of a thick fog, which suddenly obscured the valley, to regain the ground which they had lost. When the mist cleared up, the French were driven back, and forced to abandon the plain between Tellnitz and Turas; but the communication between the first and second columns of the allied armies, was not yet established; in consequence of which, it was found impossible to follow up this advantage. By this time, the second and third columns of Russians had quitted the heights of Pratzen, and approached to Sokolnitz. A blind rage seemed to actuate their movements. Without concerning themselves about the fourth column, and without attending to the offensive movements of the enemy, they thought of nothing but the first disposition, and continued their progress upon Sokolnitz; of which they took possession, with little resistance, after a long and useless cannonade.

General Kutusoff, who never conceived the possibility of being attacked on the heights, although it is difficult to conjecture on what grounds his ill-fated security was constructed, was surprised in the midst of his combinations by an unexpected and vigorous assault on his centre, made by the massy columns which Bonaparte ordered to advance for that purpose. The faults committed by the Russian general had not failed to strike his eagle-eyed adversary, who perceived the advantage to be drawn from the circuitous route which the left wing of the allies was obliged to take. This wing, which be-

came every moment more distant from the centre, still marched forward with the most surprising want of attention to military combination. Bernadotte, having crossed the rivulet by a narrow and ruinous bridge, attained the eminence of Blasowitz, supported by the cavalry of Murat, and by Lannes with his grand division. From this time, the centre and right of the allies became engaged in all quarters. The confederates evinced no want of impetuous gallantry; several brilliant charges of cavalry were made on their part, which, owing to the precipitate courage of the Hulus, whose fiery temperament could not wait for the formation of the rest of the line, were very destructive to themselves, as well as to their opponents. The centre of the allies, unsupported by the third column, had to sustain the fury of the French troops. Twelve thousand men were attacked by twice that number, and, though the whole of the French army was inferior to that of the allies in strength, yet, by a more happy arrangement of its force, its numbers were doubled on the point where the fate of the battle was to be decided.

Field-marshal Kutusoff, conceiving himself to be the assailant, was confounded by these offensive operations; yet he felt all the importance of maintaining the heights of Pratzen.—When he was informed that the adverse forces were so near, he gave orders to his troops to draw up in front; and at the same time, sent for a reinforcement of four regiments of dragoons, from the cavalry of Prince John of Lichtenstein. The French directed the march of their two compacted bodies of infantry, with great coolness, and at a slow pace. A third corps, commanded by Marshal Soult, now made its appearance on the right of Pratzen, and threatened to pierce through the intervals of the allies. To oppose this movement, the infantry of the fourth Russian column came up to support the advanced-guard, which, being overpowered by numbers, abandoned its post. In the mean time, the enemy continued to advance, and by the immense superiority of his force, succeeded in making himself master of the heights. The Russian division, which had marched to the left, was thus completely separated from the main army; and it was evident that the battle was lost, unless the communication could be restored. In this emergency, the imperial guard, commanded by the Archduke Constantine, was ordered to advance, and by its impetuous charge, for a moment arrested the progress of the enemy. Marshal Bessieres was ordered to hasten at the head of the French

guards, to repair this disaster. The two corps were soon engaged; the fate of the day depended upon the issue of this contest; and the struggle was fierce and desperate. "The allies returned to the charge with increased fury, and were received by the French with a steady and well-directed fire, which made dreadful carnage in the closely united ranks of the Russians. The ardour of this assault quickly evaporated. The superior numbers of the French, and their steadiness, soon changed it to a slow and uncertain pace, accompanied by ill-directed volleys from firelocks. The fourth Russian column now lost the heights of Pratzen, beyond the possibility of recovery, together with the greater part of its artillery, which was buried in the deep clay, which pervades that part of the country."* The only expedient which remained, was retreat; and every possible exertion was made by the subordinate generals to conduct it without confusion. The actions on the heights of Pratzen continued nearly two hours. The fourth column marched upon Waschau, where it collected its battalions unmolested by the enemy. The Grand-duke Constantine and General Ulanus highly distinguished themselves with their cavalry; the latter, in protecting and disengaging the right, the former, in covering both wings of the allies; but their corps suffered severely from the dexterity and rapid manœuvres of the sharp-shooters, and from a battery of eighteen pieces of cannon, which discharged an incessant and well-directed shower of grape-shot, overwhelmed both men and horses in one common ruin, and occasioned a slaughter that neither courage nor numbers could withstand. The second and third columns had become entangled at Sokolnitz during the fog, and mutually embarrassed each other. Part of the centre of the allies had already penetrated this village, where they were turned and cut off by General Franceschi, and compelled to surrender; while Lieutenant-general Prizibischewski, who had the command of the third column, shared the fate of Prince Repnin, and was made prisoner in the valley, together with six thousand men.

Informed when it was too late, of the attack on the centre, Lieutenant-general Dochterow intended to return to its support, but took a wrong direction; and perceiving the irretrievable posture of affairs, he retired upon Augest, followed by the remains of the second column, which fell back on the first. No sooner had this part of the defeated army gained the village,

than the enemy rushed like a mountain cataract upon the place, which he carried, and possessed himself of four thousand prisoners. Driven to desperation, many of the flying troops betook themselves to the lake, which was too slightly frozen to bear their weight; and the waters ingulphed these lacerated and unhappy men, victims at the same moment to two opposite elements; for the French had by this time brought up their batteries of flying artillery, which at once swept the lake and plain with a continual fire.*

Before two o'clock in the afternoon, the action was decided along the rest of the line; when the division of Vandamme rapidly approached, to confirm the general rout. Behind Tellnitz, is a hill of considerable altitude, the right of which extends to the lake. Thither, the Russian infantry retired, still under the protection of the Austrian cavalry; which a perpetual cross-fire of grape-shot cut down in all directions. Worn out with fatigue, the infantry continued to retire with tardy steps, and the cavalry had to maintain their ground for a long time. At length, the enemy took possession of the hill, when the Austrian cavalry quitted it, and the former persevered in plying the fugitives with cannon-shot, until they were out of the range of the guns. About eight thousand men of the first and second columns were thus brought off, and marched the whole night by Boschowitz, under incessant and drenching rain, which rendered the roads nearly impassable. The artillery, except that appertaining to the brave regiment of O'Reilly, was of course all lost in the retreat.

Bonaparte possessed himself of the ground on which the allies had been drawn up on the preceding night. The two emperors having exerted themselves to the utmost of their power to repair the disasters of the battle, retired in the evening to Hódiesitz, behind Austerlitz, with the wretched remains of their army. The Austrian cavalry posted some detachments before Austerlitz, and acted as the rear-guard of the allies. The loss in this engagement fell principally upon the Russians, and is said, by the enemy, to have amounted to twenty-two thousand in killed and wounded, and twenty thousand prisoners. In opposition, however, to this statement, it was asserted, in the official account afterwards published at St. Petersburg, that the entire loss in the campaign did not exceed, on the part of the Russians, seventeen thousand men. The two commanders, Kutusoff and Buxhovden, with several

* General Stutenheim's Narrative.

* Austrian official account.

other generals, and a great number of officers of rank, were wounded: numbers were among the slain, and many were taken prisoners. One hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, and forty standards, fell into the hands of the enemy. The day after the battle, the French emperor addressed to his army the following:—

PROCLAMATION.

"Austerlitz, 12 Frimaire, Year 14.

"Soldiers, I am satisfied with you: you have, on the day of Austerlitz, justified every thing that I expected from your intrepidity. You have decorated your eagles with immortal glory. An army of a hundred thousand men, commanded by the Emperors of Russia and Austria, has been, in less than four hours, either cut down or dispersed; the part which escaped your sword, has been drowned in the lakes.

"Forty colours, the standards of the imperial Russian guard, one hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, twenty generals, more than thirty thousand prisoners, are the result of this ever memorable day.

"That infantry so highly boasted of, and superior in numbers, could not resist your attack, and henceforward you have no more rivals to dread.

"Thus, in two months, this third coalition has been conquered and dissolved. Peace can no longer be distant; but, as I promised my people before crossing the Rhine, I will make such a peace only as shall afford us guarantees, and secure rewards to our allies.

"Soldiers, when the French people placed upon my head the imperial crown, I relied upon you to maintain it always in that splendour of glory, which alone could give it value in my estimation. But in the same moment, our enemies sought to destroy and degrade it; and this iron crown, conquered by the blood of so many Frenchmen, they would compel me to place upon the head of our most implacable enemies; rash and foolish projects, which, on the very day of your emperor's coronation, you have frustrated and confounded. You have taught them that it is easier to defy and threaten, than to conquer us.

"Soldiers, when all that is necessary to secure the happiness and prosperity of your country shall be accomplished, I will lead you back to France: there, you shall be the object of my most tender solitudes; my people will behold you again with joy, and it will be sufficient for you to say: 'I was at the battle of Austerlitz,' to authorize the reply, 'Behold a brave man.'

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

This battle, which was styled by the French soldiers, "the battle of the three emperors," and by Napoleon, "the battle of Austerlitz," terminated the campaign and the war. On the 4th, two days after the engagement, an interview took place, at the French advanced posts, between Napoleon and the Emperor of Austria, and an armistice was agreed upon, in which it was stipulated that the Russian army should within a limited time withdraw from the territories of Austria.*

*The following is the French account of the particulars of this interview, extracted from "Pre-VOL. I. 3 X 45

General Savary, accompanied by an Austrian general officer, was sent to the head-quarters of the Russians. These generals reached Hollitsch at twelve o'clock at night, and had instant access to the Emperor Alexander, by whom they were received with his usual affability. General Savary states, that the emperor expressed no objection to retire from the Austrian dominions. "But," said he, "can I fall back with safety?"—"Yes, sire," replied the Frenchman, "if your majesty be resolved to accede to the capitulation, agreed upon between the Emperors of France and Germany."—"And what are its contents?"—"That your majesty's army should withdraw by the routes prescribed by the Emperor Napoleon: that you shall evacuate Germany and Austrian Poland. Upon these conditions, I have authority from the emperor, to repair to my nearest advanced posts, which have already turned you, and to give them orders to cover your retreat, the emperor being willing to respect the friend of the first consul."—"What guarantee do you require?"—"Sire, your word."—"I give it you." Hereupon, the aid-de-camp retired, and repaired to Marshal Davoust, to whom he communicated orders to halt, and put a

cis de la campagne de Napoleon le grand, en Allemagne et en Italie:."

"The Emperor Napoleon received the Emperor Francis in his bivouac, at Saruschitz, on the 4th of December. The interview lasted two hours.—The Emperor of the French invited the Emperor of Austria to draw near the fire. "I receive you," said he to him, "in the palace which I have for some time inhabited."† The Emperor of Germany answered smiling: "You have obtained so many advantages from this residence, that it must be very agreeable to you." After some conversation on the causes and policy of the war, the two emperors agreed upon an armistice, and upon the principal conditions of peace. Francis then intimated to Napoleon, that Alexander wished to make a separate peace, and that his imperial majesty would abandon entirely his connexion with England, and requested a truce on behalf of the Russian army. Napoleon here observed, that the Russian army was completely surrounded, and that not a man could escape; "but," added he, "I wish to confer a favour upon the Emperor Alexander: I will let the Russian army pass: I will stop the march of my columns. But your majesty must promise me that the Russian army shall return to their own country, and shall evacuate Germany and Austrian Poland."—"That," replied the Emperor of Germany, "is the intention of the Emperor Alexander, I can assure you; and this night you may be convinced of it by your own officers."

The interview being ended, Napoleon accompanied Francis to his carriage, and returned to sleep at Austerlitz.

†This bivouac, or tent, consisted of a bad cabin of turf, without roof, made by the grenadiers for Bonaparte.

stop to all the movements of the French army.

Count Haugwitz, the Prussian ambassador, had arrived at Vienna on the 30th of November; and shortly afterwards set out for the head-quarters of the French army, at Brunn. Bonaparte, in his conferences with this minister, expressed the warmest esteem and attachment for Prussia, and his earnest desire to preserve peace with that country. The fate of the war with the allied powers, was already decided. The rapidity of these events had confounded the speculations of the cabinet of Berlin; Count Haugwitz saw the necessity of relaxing from his demands; and this dispute, which had promised such important consequences to Europe, was speedily adjusted. One of the principal stipulations of the treaty concluded upon this occasion (such was the thirst for territorial acquisition felt by the court of Berlin) secured the eventual cession of Hanover to Prussia, in exchange for some of her detached and more remote dependencies.

The armistice, which was concluded in Moravia on the 6th, was followed by negotiations for peace between Austria and France. Prince John of Lichtenstein, the Count de Guilay, and M. Talleyrand, the plenipotentiaries of the two powers, assembled for this purpose at Nicolsburg. The conferences, after a short time, were adjourned to the city of Presburg; Bonaparte was in a situation to dictate terms to the emperor, and the latter had no alternative but to acquiesce. The provisions of this memorable treaty were, of course, sufficiently humiliating to Austria. It was agreed that the Venetian territory should be united in perpetuity to the kingdom of Italy; that the royal title, which had been assumed by the Electors of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, should be acknowledged by the emperor;—that the margraviate of Burgau, the principality of Eichstadt, the part of the territory of Passau belonging to the Elector of Salzburg; the county of the Tyrol, comprehending the principalities of Brixen and Botzen, and the seven lordships of the Voralberg, the county of Hohenems, the county of Konigsegg-Rothenfels, the lordships of Tettnang and Argen, and the town and territory of Lindau, should be ceded to the King of Bavaria:—that the five cities of the Danube, to wit, Ehingen, Munderkingen, Reidlingen, Mengen, and Sulgaw, with their dependencies, the city of Constance excepted, and a part of the Brisgaw, should be ceded to the King of Wurtemberg; and the remainder of the Brisgaw, the Ortensaw, the city of Con-

stance, and the commandery of Meinau, to the Elector of Baden; that the King of Bavaria should be allowed to occupy the city of Augsburg with its territory, and unite it to his other dominions; and that the King of Wurtemberg should be permitted to do the same with respect to the county of Bondoff. It was, on the other hand, stipulated in favour of the emperor, that the county of Salzburg and that of Berchtesgaden, belonging to the Archduke Ferdinand, should be incorporated with the Austrian empire; and Napoleon engaged to procure, as an equivalent for that prince, the cession by the King of Bavaria of the principality of Wurzburg. It was also agreed, in conformity with the declaration made by Napoleon, at the moment when he assumed the crown of Italy, that, as soon as the parties named in that declaration should have fulfilled the conditions which it expressed, the crowns of France and Italy should be separated for ever, and should not in any case be united on the same head. It was further stipulated, that the prisoners of war taken on both sides, should be restored within forty days from the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty; that in ten days from the same date, the armies of France and her allies, should evacuate Moravia, Bohemia, the Viertel Unter Viennner Wald, the Viertel Unter Manhartsburg, Hungary, and the whole of Styria; in the ten following days, they should evacuate the Viertel Viennner Wald, and the Viertel Ober Manhartsburg; and that finally, in the space of two months from the exchange of the ratifications, they should withdraw from the whole of the hereditary states, with the exception of Braunau, which should remain for one month at the disposal of the French, as a place of depôt for the sick and for the artillery. This treaty was signed at Presburg, on the 26th of December, and ratified by Bonaparte on the following day: after which, he immediately proceeded to Munich, on his return to France.

The Russian army began its march on the 8th of December, in three columns, to return within their own frontier; the first column, headed by the Emperor Alexander and his brother, the Grand-duke Constantine, took the route of Cracovia, and of Therespole; the second, that of Caschau, Lemberg, and Woody; and the third marched by Ciznan, Varel, and Hussiatin.

The events of the campaign terminated on the plains of Moravia, had too plainly evinced that the councils and the measures of the Emperor of Austria had been alike unwise and precipitate. Whether he was goaded to action by the advice of the

courts of London and St. Petersburg, or whether his resolves originated in his own cabinet, it is difficult to decide; but certain it is that the course of conduct pursued was calculated rather to ensure the triumph of the adversary than to advance the cause of the allies. It is unnecessary to illustrate the truth of this observation

by recapitulating the details of a war, commenced and terminated in the period of three months. In this short period, the Emperor Francis saw himself despoiled of by far the greater part of his hereditary states, and obliged to accept of conditions of peace, which for a time laid continental Europe at the feet of the conqueror.

CHAPTER VII.

NAVAL CAMPAIGN OF 1805: Effects of the Declaration of War against Spain—Rochefort and Toulon Fleets put to Sea—Attack on the Island of Dominica—Contributions raised on the Islands of St. Nevis and St. Kitt's by the French Squadron—The Toulon Fleet again at Sea—Sails to the West Indies—Pursued by Lord Nelson—Naval Engagement off Cape Finisterre—Battle of Trafalgar—Death of Lord Nelson—Memoir—Capture of four Sail of the Line by Admiral Sir Richard Strachan—Political State of the Country at the close of the year 1805.

THE events of the year 1805 conferred upon the two great rival nations of Europe in almost uncontrolled dominion over their respective elements. By the memorable campaign of Ulm and Austerlitz, the continent of Europe was laid at the feet of France; and the battle of Trafalgar, fought in the same year, and nearly at the same period of the year, ratified and confirmed to Great Britain the dominion of the seas.

The declaration of war against Spain, which opened a new scene of adventure to the officers and seamen of the British navy, became a very popular measure in that department of the public service; and the increase of the French fleets, by the union of her new ally, afforded to the gallant defenders of their country an opportunity of asserting their superiority in a nobler field than that presented by the catamaran warfare. But if great advantages were anticipated by the British navy from the declaration of war against Spain, the effects of the co-operation of the Spanish fleet with the fleets of their Gallic neighbours, seemed still more to animate the French nation. As early as the month of January, after having remained in port two years, a French squadron, consisting of six sail of the line, and two frigates, quitted the port of Rochefort, and ventured out to sea, with a view to unite itself with a more formidable force at Brest. At this period, the tone of France was loud and menacing. Their official paper took every opportunity to boast of their accumulated strength, and to exaggerate their "irresistible power." "Years had indeed elapsed, but they had not been passed in inactivity. Arms, ships, and men had been secretly in preparation, and fleets would now be poured forth from all the harbours of France. England was no longer to assume the dominion of the ocean; but rather

to tremble in every quarter of the globe, for in every quarter of the globe would her possessions be assailed."

On the 15th of January, the Toulon fleet, consisting of eleven sail of the line, and two frigates, with nine thousand troops on board, following the example of the Rochefort fleet, pushed out to sea, without being perceived by the blockading squadron under Lord Nelson. When it was known that two such formidable fleets were at sea, with a view to some grand combined exertion, they were speedily to be joined by detachments from Brest, the alarm and consternation in this country became general, and Sicily, Malta, Egypt, the West Indies, the Brazils, the East Indies, and even Ireland, were all in rapid succession assigned as the places of their destination.

After a short cruise, the Toulon fleet was compelled again to put into port through stress of weather. But in the West Indies an attack was made on the island of Dominica, by a French force, consisting of one three-decker, four seventy-fours, and some frigates. On the 22d of February, a landing was attempted between the town of Roseau and the post of Cachecrow, by the enemy's force, consisting of four thousand men, under General Le Grange, embarked in nineteen large barges, attended and protected by an armed schooner full of men, and seven other boats carrying caronades. Brigadier-general Prevost, the governor, made the most judicious dispositions for the defence of the island; and, with the small force under his command, resisted the landing of the enemy, inch by inch. The town of Roseau, after withstanding a vigorous cannonade from the enemy's ships, accidentally took fire, and was obliged to capitulate. But the British general, by a

forced march, made good his retreat to St. Rupert's. In this situation, he was in vain summoned to surrender; and the French commander-in-chief, finding the conquest so much more difficult than he had anticipated, abandoned the island, but not till he had levied a heavy contribution on the inhabitants of Roseau.

Pursuing this predatory system of warfare, the French fleet visited the island of St. Nevis and St. Kitt's, both of which were laid under contributions. The arrival of Admiral Cochrane in the West Indies, soon determined the conduct of this marauding squadron, which precipitately sailed for France, where it arrived in safety, after having narrowly escaped the different English fleets then at sea, some detachments of which had been expressly cruising for its detention.

With the immense nautical means, and multiplied facilities, under the control of the admiralty, the naval department of the state was unpardonable in not possessing the necessary intelligence relative to the combined fleet and the other maritime efforts of the enemy. With frigates, sloops of war, and gun-brigs, which might and ought to have been traversing the main in every direction, and watching the extended line of coast under the power of France, the admiralty board laboured under a deplorable want of information. Frigates, detached vessels, and even squadrons, made their escape from the different ports without molestation, while large and potent fleets put to sea with impunity, and prosecuted their voyages without discovery. The alarm created in the public mind, respecting the proceedings of the Rocheford squadron, in the West Indies, had scarcely subsided, when that feeling was again awakened in a still more powerful degree, by the arrival of certain information, that Admiral Villeneuve had again put to sea. On the 30th of March, this officer sailed to Cartagena, with the intention of strengthening himself by the Spanish ships of the line in that port, but not finding them in a state of sufficient readiness, he continued his course unmolested to Cadiz. Having been joined at that place by one French and six Spanish sail of the line, he directly steered to the West Indies, with an accumulated force of eighteen sail of the line; carrying, besides their full complement of seamen, and in a perfect state of equipment, ten thousand veteran troops. On the approach of Villeneuve to Cadiz, Admiral Sir John Orde, charged with the blockade of that port, with five British ships of the line, thought it prudent to retire, and succeeded

in joining the English fleet off Brest, under Lord Gardener.

While the country was exposed to the most alarming apprehensions, the welcome account arrived, that Lord Nelson had left the Mediterranean, and was in pursuit of the enemy to the West Indies. The knowledge of this event had the most tranquillizing influence on the drooping spirits of the people; for the idea of victory and Nelson were inseparably connected in every British mind. Lord Nelson, it is true, had with him only ten ships of the line, to oppose the force of the hostile squadrons; but his name was a tower of strength, on which the community placed the firmest reliance. The expedition of Lord Nelson had been such, that on the 15th of May, he was twenty leagues to the eastward of Madeira, and on the 4th of June, he came to anchor in Carlisle Bay, off Barbadoes. Here, his lordship learned, that the combined fleet, under Admiral Villeneuve, had arrived at Martinique on the 14th of May, but that the Diamond Rock was the only conquest hitherto achieved by this powerful armament. Notice was soon afterwards received, that the combined fleets, after remaining some time at Martinique, appalled at the name of their pursuer, had actually set sail for Europe, and that Lord Nelson, with his characteristic energy, was in pursuit of them.

Sanguine hopes were now entertained that the enemy would be intercepted by Sir Robert Calder, or Admiral Collingwood, before he could reach any friendly port: this hope was realized; but the event did not answer the national expectations. On the 22d of July, the hostile fleet, consisting of twenty sail of the line, three fifty gun ships, five frigates, and two brigs, fell in with Sir Robert Calder's squadrons, amounting to not more than fifteen sail of the line, two frigates, a cutter, and a lugger, six leagues west of Cape Finisterre.(55) Sir Robert, notwithstanding

(55) The reader will not fail to observe the inconsistency between the account here given of the force of the combined fleet, at the time of action, and at the time of sailing. In a preceding paragraph, we are told that Admiral Villeneuve left Cadiz with "an accumulated force of eighteen sail of the line." With this fleet, he sailed for the West Indies, where no accession to his numbers appears to have been received; and on his return he is stated to have encountered Admiral Calder, with twenty sail of the line, three fifty gun ships, five frigates, and two brigs. Which of these statements is correct, can easily be determined, when the propensity of English writers to magnify the force opposed to them is remembered. The French historians claim the victory on this occasion, for their countrymen, with equal

ing the inferiority of his force, immediately attacked the enemy, and, after an engagement of four hours, in which he displayed the greatest gallantry and skill, succeeded in taking two ships of the line, the *St. Raphael*, of eighty-four guns, and the *El Firme*, of seventy-four. He then judged it expedient to put a stop to the action, in order that his squadron might recover his captures. During the whole day, the enemy had the advantage of wind and weather. The night was spent by both fleets in the necessary repairs, and the following morning the enemy seemed disposed to renew the action, but he never approached nearer the British lines than about six leagues asunder; and when the day broke on the 24th, the enemy was seen steering away to the south-east, which course he kept till he disappeared at about six o'clock in the evening. In England, the conduct of Sir Robert Calder became the subject of the most unreserved disapprobation; and the court-martial which sat in judgment upon Sir Robert, sentenced him to be severely reprimanded 'for not having done his utmost to take and to destroy every ship of the enemy, which it was his duty to engage.'*

The designs of the enemy had now become sufficiently manifest, and the combined fleets collected at Cadiz, under the command of Admiral Villeneuve, were known to be in the most active state of re-
 timent. Scarcely had Lord Nelson arrived in London, after his long and persevering cruise, when he was offered the command of an armament, to be prepared immediately, of sufficient force to cope with the united naval force of France and her allies. His lordship, without a moment's hesitation, embraced the opportunity of again bearing his country's flag. To this station, the public suffrage universally called him; and to him all eyes were directed with hope, in a moment when every other circumstance around appeared gloomy and unpromising.

Invested with this high and distinguished command, his lordship quitted England on the 16th of September, in his flag-ship

the *Victory*, accompanied by the *Ajax* and *Defiance*, of seventy-four guns each, the *Agamemnon*, of sixty-four, and a frigate, and on the 29th of the same month arrived off Cadiz. Here, his lordship was received by the officers and crew of the fleet with the most gratifying enthusiasm; and the first object of his wishes appears to have been to induce the enemy to quit the port, and to come out to sea. In consequence of this design, he never kept more than seven or eight sail of the line before Cadiz, remaining himself with the rest of his forces near Cape St. Mary, while a line of frigates was formed to communicate with the several divisions of the armament. The admirals of the blockaded squadron had been ordered to put to sea, in case their opponents should be weakened by detachments, or compelled by the weather to quit the station. It was supposed to be their intention to collect in their cruise the squadron at Carthage, and to make for Toulon; where their number of ships would have been increased to between forty and fifty sail of the line, with which it was conjectured to be the enemy's intention to prevent the British and Russian troops in Malta and Corfu from co-operating with the allied forces in Italy and Germany.

On the 19th of October, Lord Nelson despatched Admiral Louis with six sail of the line to Tetuan, for stores and water. Informed of this event, and supposing the English to be much reduced in strength, Admiral Villeneuve availed himself of the favourable juncture to obey the positive commands which had been issued by his government. On the next day, the fleet under his command got under way, and at daybreak on the 21st, was distinctly seen from the *Victory's* deck, formed in a close line of battle off Cape Trafalgar, about twelve miles to leeward of the British fleet, and standing to the south. Our fleet consisted of twenty-seven sail of the line, and four frigates; theirs, of thirty-three sail of the line, and seven frigates, and their superiority was greater in size and weight of metal, than in numbers. Admiral Villeneuve was a skilful seaman, and his plan of defence was as well conceived and as original as the plan of attack. The Spaniards were commanded by Admiral Gravina; and four thousand troops were embarked on board the fleet, under the command of General Contamin; among whom, were several of the most skilful sharpshooters that could be selected, and many Tyrolese riflemen. Lord Nelson, certain of a triumphant issue to the day, asked Captain Blackwood on the morning of the 21st, what he should consider a

plausibility. The weather is represented to have been uncommonly boisterous, and the fog so thick, during the engagement, as to conceal the greater part of the two fleets from each other. Four of the English vessels are said to have been dismasted, and the two Spaniards captured had been previously separated from the rest of the fleet by the storm, and fell an easy prey to the English.

* Sentence of the court martial for the trial of Sir Robert Calder, passed on the 26th of December, 1805, on board his majesty's ship, the *Prince of Wales*, in Portsmouth harbour.

victory! and being answered that from the situation of the land he should think it would be a glorious result if fourteen of the enemy's ships were captured, he replied, "I shall not be satisfied with less than twenty." Soon afterwards, he asked the captain if he did not think there was a signal wanting. Captain Blackwood said, he thought that the whole fleet seemed very clearly to understand what they were about. These words were scarcely spoken, before the signal was made, which will be as imperishable as the achievements of the British navy itself; it was Lord Nelson's last signal—*"England expects every man to do his duty."* The shout with which this inspiring sentiment was received, was truly sublime. "Now," said Lord Nelson, "I can do no more. We must trust to the great Disposer of all events, and the justice of our cause. I thank God for this great opportunity of doing my duty."*

The commander-in-chief immediately made the signal for the British fleet to bear up in two columns, as they formed in the order of sailing; a mode of attack which his lordship had previously directed, to avoid the inconvenience and delay in forming a line of battle in the usual manner. The enemy formed their line of battle with great closeness and correctness; and as the mode of attack was unusual, so the structure of their line was new: it formed a crescent convexing to leeward; so that in leading down to their centre, Lord Collingwood had both their van and rear abast the beam. Before the fire opened, every alternate ship was about a cable's length to windward of her second ahead and astern, forming a kind of double line; and appeared, when on their beam, to leave a very small interval between them, and this without crowding their ships. Admiral Villeneuve was in the Bucentaure in the centre, and the Prince of Asturias bore Gravina's flag in the rear; but the French and Spanish ships were mixed, without any apparent regard to order or national squadron. As the mode of our attack had been previously determined on, and communicated to the flag-officers and

captains, few signals were necessary, and none were made, except to direct close order as the lines bore down. The commander-in-chief, in the Victory, led the weather column, and the Royal Sovereign, which bore Lord Collingwood's flag, the lee.* Lord Collingwood, the second in command, having the entire direction of his line, was to break through the enemy about the twelfth ship from their rear: Lord Nelson was to lead through the centre, and the advanced squadron was to cut off three or four ahead from the centre. This plan was adapted to the strength of the enemy, so that they should always be one-fourth superior to those whom they cut off. The two columns of the British fleet, led on by their gallant chiefs, continued to advance, with light airs, and all sails set, toward the van and centre of the enemy, whose line extended about N. N. E. and S. S. W. In order to cut off any possibility of the enemy's escaping to Cadiz, Lord Nelson steered about two points more to the north than Admiral Collingwood, owing to which the leading ships of the lee line were the first engaged. The Royal Sovereign and her line of battle steered for the centre. At half-past eleven A. M. the enemy began to fire on the Royal Sovereign. "See," exclaimed Nelson, "how that noble fellow, Collingwood, carries his ship into action!" In ten minutes afterwards, the Royal Sovereign opened her fire, and cut through the enemy's line, astern of the Spanish Santa Anna, of 112 guns, engaging her at the muzzle of her guns on the starboard side; when, being delighted at having got into action, Collingwood, turning to his captain, said, "Rotherham, what would Nelson give to be here!" The weather column, led on by Lord Nelson, had, in the mean while, advanced towards the enemy's van; flags had been hoisted on different parts of the Victory's rigging, by his orders, lest a shot should carry away her ensign. The Santissima Trinidad, and Bucentaure, are described as having been the ninth and tenth ships; but, as the enemy's admirals did not show their flags, the former ship was distinguished from the rest only by having four decks; and to the bow of this formidable opponent, Lord Nelson ordered the Victory to be steered.

The enemy at first displayed considerable coolness; and as the Victory approached, such of the ships as were ahead of her, began frequently to fire single guns, in order to ascertain whether she was within range, when a shot having passed

* Having seen that all was ready, Lord Nelson retired to his cabin, and wrote the following prayer:—"May the great God whom I worship, grant to my country, and for the benefit of Europe in general, a great and glorious victory: and may no misconduct in any one tarnish it; and may humanity after victory be the predominant feature in the British fleet! For myself individually, I commit my life to Him that made me; and may His blessing alight on my endeavours for serving my country faithfully! To Him, I resign myself, and the just cause which is intrusted to me to defend.—Amen, Amen, Amen."

* Lord Collingwood's Despatches, dated off Trafalgar, October 23d.

through the main-gallant sail of the Victory, a tremendous fire was opened upon her. The coolness that was preserved by his crew, was noticed with much satisfaction by Lord Nelson, and he declared, that in all his battles he had seen nothing that could surpass it. The Victory had lost about twenty men killed, and thirty wounded, before she returned a shot; her mizen-top-mast, and all her studding sails, and her booms on both sides had been shot away, when, at four minutes past twelve, he opened her larboard guns on the enemy's van; Captain Hardy soon afterwards informed the admiral that it would be impossible to break through the enemy's line, without running on board one of their ships, and begged to know which he would prefer. "Take your choice, Hardy," replied he, "it does not much signify which." The tiller ropes of the Victory being afterwards shot away, she ran on board the Redoubtable, which, coming alongside, fired a broadside into the Victory, and immediately let down her lower-deck ports: which was done to prevent her being boarded through them by the Victory's crew; nor were they again opened. A few minutes after this, the Temeraire fell likewise on board of the Redoubtable, on the side opposite to the Victory, having also an enemy's ship on board of her on her other side; so that the extraordinary and unprecedented circumstance occurred here, of four ships of the line being on board each other in the heat of battle, forming as compact a tier as if they had been moored together, their heads all lying the same way. The Victory, then passing astern of the Bucentaure, hauled upon her starboard side, and pouring in a dreadful broadside, stood for the admiral's old opponent, the Santissima Trinidad, playing her larboard guns on both ships, whilst the starboard guns of the middle and lower decks were depressed, and fired with a diminished charge of powder and three shot each into the Redoubtable. This mode of firing was adopted by Lieutenants Williams, King, Yule, and Browne, to obviate the danger of the Temeraire's suffering from the Victory's shot passing through the Redoubtable, which must have been the case, if the usual quantity of powder and the common elevation had been given to the guns. A circumstance occurred in this situation, which showed in a most striking manner the cool intrepidity of the officers and men stationed on the lower deck of the Victory. When the guns on that deck were run out, their muzzles came in contact with the Redoubtable's side, and at every discharge there was reason to fear that the enemy's ship would

take fire, and both the Victory and the Temeraire be involved in her flames. The fireman of each gun stood ready with a bucket full of water, which, as soon as the gun was discharged, he dashed into the French ship through the holes made in her side by the shot. Owing to the judicious mode which Lord Nelson had adopted, his fast sailing ships, like sharpshooters in an army, had half gained the battle before the slow sailing vessels came up to their support, which, as a corps of reserve, soon determined the day. What the genius of Nelson so ably planned, the British fleet fully executed. The superiority of their seamen was very manifest throughout the action; for the enemy's fleet, by keeping with the wind nearly on their beam, lay in a trough in the sea, and rolled considerably, so that one broadside passed over, and the next fell short of their opponents.

In the first heat of the action, Mr. Scott, the admiral's secretary, was killed by a cannon-ball, while in conversation with Captain Hardy, and near to Lord Nelson. Captain Adair, of the marines, who soon afterwards fell, endeavoured to remove the mangled body, but not till it had attracted the notice of the admiral, who very feelingly said, "Is that poor Scott who is gone?" In a few minutes, a shot struck the forebrace lists on the quarter deck, and, passing between Lord Nelson and Captain Hardy, drove off some splinters, which bruised the captain's foot. They mutually looked at each other, when Nelson, whom no danger could affect, smiled, and said, "This is too warm work, Hardy, to last." The Redoubtable had for some time commenced a heavy fire of musketry from her tops, which, like those of the enemy's other ships, were filled with riflemen.

At fifteen minutes past one, and a quarter of an hour before the Redoubtable struck, Lord Nelson and Captain Hardy were observed to be walking near the middle of the quarter-deck, the admiral had just commended the manner in which one of his ships near him was fought, Captain Hardy advanced from him to give some necessary directions, and was in the act of turning, near the hatchway, with his face towards the stern, when a musket-ball struck him on the left shoulder, and entering through the epaulette, passed through the spine, and lodged in the muscles of the back, towards the right side. Nelson instantly fell with his face on the deck, in the very place that was covered with the blood of his secretary. Captain Hardy, turning round, saw the sergeant of marines, Secker, with two

seamen, raising him from the deck; "Hardy," said his lordship, "I believe they have done it at last: my back-bone is shot through."*

Some of the crew immediately bore the admiral to the cockpit, and several wounded officers and about forty men were carried below at the same time. He was met at the foot of the cockpit ladder by Mr Burke, the purser, who, with the assistance of a marine, conveyed him with some difficulty over the bodies of the wounded and dying men, and placed him on a pallet, in the midshipman's birth, on the larboard side. Mr. Beatty was then called, and soon afterwards the Rev. Mr. Scott attended; and his lordship's clothes were taken off, that the direction of the ball might be the better ascertained. "You can be of no use to me, Beatty," said Lord Nelson, "go and attend those whose lives can be preserved." As the blood flowed internally from the wound, the lower cavity of the body gradually filled; Lord Nelson therefore constantly desired Mr. Burke to raise him, and complaining of an excessive thirst, was supplied by the clergyman with lemonade. In this state of suffering, with nothing but havoc, death, and misery around him, the spirit of Nelson remained unsubdued. His mind continued intent on the great object that was always before him—his duty to his country. Under the influence of this feeling, he anxiously inquired for Captain Hardy, to know whether the annihilation of the enemy might be depended on; but it was more than an hour before that officer could at this momentous crisis leave the deck; and Lord Nelson became apprehensive that his brave associate was dead. The crew of the Victory were now heard to cheer, and he anxiously demanded the cause, when Lieutenant Pasco, who lay wounded near him, said, that one of the enemy's ships had struck: a gleam of joy lighted up the countenance of the dying hero, and as the crew repeated their cheers, and marked the progress of the victory, his satisfaction visibly increased. When Captain Hardy came down from the deck, Lord Nelson anxiously said, "How goes the day with us, Hardy?"—"Ten ships, my lord, have struck."—"But none of ours, I hope."—"There is no fear, my dear lord, of that. Five of their van have tacked, and shown an intention of bearing down upon us; but I have called some of our fresh ships round the Victory, and have no doubt of your complete success."

* Life of Admiral Lord Nelson, by Clarke and M'Arthur, from which publication this account of the battle of Trafalgar is principally extracted.

Having said this, Captain Hardy found himself unable any longer to support the yearnings of a brave and affectionate heart, and withdrew from the cabin. Some time afterwards, Lord Nelson was again visited by the surgeon. "I find," said he, "something rising in my breast, which tells me I shall soon be gone. God be praised that I have done my duty. My pain is so severe that I devoutly wish to be released." When the firing from the Victory had in some measure ceased, and the glorious result of the day was accomplished, Captain Hardy immediately visited the dying chief, and reported that fourteen or fifteen of the enemy's vessels had struck. "God be praised, Hardy," said he, "bring the fleet to an anchor." Captain Hardy was again returning to the deck, when the admiral called him back to deliver his last injunctions, and desired that his body might be carried home, to be buried with the remains of his father and mother. He then took Captain Hardy by the hand, and observing that he would most probably not see him again alive, he took a last and affectionate farewell of his bosom friend. His voice, then, gradually became inarticulate, with an evident increase of pain, when, after a feeble struggle, these last words were distinctly heard—"I have done my duty, I praise God for it." Having said this, he turned his face to Mr. Burke, on whose arm he had been supported, and expired without a groan. Such was the end of this great man, whose career had been eminently useful and brilliant, and whose fate was glorious and triumphant. He lived a hero, and died a patriot.*

* ADMIRAL LORD NELSON was the fourth son of the Rev. Edward Nelson, and was born the 29th of September, 1758, at Burnham Thorpe, Norfolk, of which place his father was rector. He began his education at Norwich school, was afterwards removed to North Waltham, and at the age of twelve, when the nation was threatened with war, in consequence of the disputes about the Falkland islands, he entered on board the Reasonable, of sixty-four guns, under his maternal uncle, Captain Maurice Suckling.

He rose to the rank of lieutenant in April, 1777, and was immediately employed as second of the Lowestoffe, of thirty-two guns, on the Jamaica station. In June, 1779, young Horatio Nelson obtained, under Admiral Peter Parker, the appointment of post captain, and the command of the Hinchinbroke; and when an attack was expected in Jamaica from the French forces under d'Estaing, the youthful hero was intrusted with the care of the batteries of Port Royal, and the defence of Kingston and Spanish town. In the attack made in 1780, upon Fort Juan, in the gulf of Mexico, his perseverance was of infinite benefit to the public service. Here the unfortunate Colonel, then Captain Despard, gallantly supported him in the attack, and after storming the

When his lordship was seen to fall, the crew of the Santissima Trinidad testified their joy by a vehement shout of triumph.

battery, they fought and defeated the Spaniards with their own guns. The next ship that he commanded was the Janus, of forty-four guns, and soon afterwards he was removed to the Albatross, and continued on the American station with Sir Samuel Hood till the peace.

In 1783, he visited France, and the next year he was appointed to the Boreas, of twenty-eight guns, at the Leeward islands, and during his continuance in this station he married, March, 1787, Frances Herbert Nesbit, widow of Dr. Nesbit, of Nevis, and daughter of W. Herbert, Esq. senior judge of that island; then only in her eighteenth year. He returned to England, Nov. 1787, and retired to Burnham Thorpe, in the bosom of domestic happiness, till 1793, when the war with France called upon him for the exertion of his great talents. He obtained the command of the Agamemnon, of sixty-four guns, and joined Lord Hood in the Mediterranean, where he assisted at the taking of Toulon, and at the siege of Bastia, in which he superintended the disembarkation of the troops, and ably commanded the batteries. He afterwards had a gallant encounter with five French ships of war, and then supported the siege of Calvi, where he lost the sight of his right eye, in consequence of some particles of sand being violently driven against it by one of the shots of the enemy's batteries. Under the next commander, Lord Hotham, he continued to distinguish himself, particularly in the engagement with the French fleet, on the 15th of March, in July, 1795, and in the blockade of Genoa. When Admiral Jervis succeeded in the Mediterranean command, the brave hero removed from the Agamemnon to the Captain, of seventy-four guns, and soon afterwards obtained a commodore's pendant, and was employed in the blockade of Leghorn, and the taking of Porto Ferrajo. On his passage to Gibraltar in the Minerva frigate, he fell in with two Spanish frigates, one of which, the Sabine, of forty guns, he took, and sailing immediately to join Admiral Jervis, he was pursued by two ships of the Spanish fleet, a circumstance which was quickly communicated to the commander-in-chief, and in a few hours produced a general action. In this memorable fight, on the 14th of February, 1797, in which fifteen English ships defeated a Spanish fleet of twenty-seven ships, and took four three-deckers, the commodore behaved with his usual gallantry. In the Captain, to which he had shifted his flag, he attacked the Santissima Trinidad, of one hundred and forty guns, and passing to the St. Nicholas, of eighty guns, and then to the San Joseph, of one hundred and twelve guns, he had the happiness to see both these ships strike to his superior valour.*

For his gallant conduct on this occasion, he was created knight of the Bath; and in April, 1797, he was made rear-admiral of the blue, and appointed to the command of the inner squadron of the blockade of Cadiz.—After making some vigorous but unsuccessful attacks on the town, he was sent by Lord St. Vincent to take the town of Santa Cruz, in the Island of Tenerife, but though he obtained possession of the place for seven hours, he was unable to reduce the citadel, and was permitted to retire unmolested to his fleet. During this desperate attack, he lost his right arm, which was shattered by a shot, but his life was preserved by the attention of his son-in-law, Captain Nesbit, who

Their exultation was short; for they were compelled to strike to British valour. The Victory finished her honour-

during the darkness of the night, missed him from his side, and returning, found him exhausted on the ground, and carried him safe on his back to the shore, where a boat conveyed him to his ship. In consequence of his wound, the gallant admiral received a pension of 1000*l.* and in the memorial which, according to custom, he presented to his majesty on the occasion, he declared in the simple language of truth, that in the glorious services in which he had been employed, he had been engaged with the enemy upwards of one hundred and twenty times.*

Among other marks of public favour, he received the freedom of the city of London in a gold box, worth one hundred guineas; these honours excited him to greater exertions, and he soon afterwards joined, in the Vanguard, Lord St. Vincent, and was sent up the Mediterranean to watch the motions of the French ships, which were ready to convey Bonaparte to the invasion of Egypt. Notwithstanding his vigilance, the fleet escaped, but he sailed in its pursuit, and after returning from the Egyptian shores to Sicily, almost in despair, he again hastened to the mouth of the Nile, and to the general joy of his fleet, perceived the enemy moored in an advantageous situation in the bay of Aboukir, flanked by strong batteries, and supported by gun-boats. Here he obtained one of the most splendid and important naval victories recorded in history,† and as a reward for his services was created a baron, by the title of Nelson of the Nile.

On his return to Naples, the naval hero removed the royal family from the violent popular commotions which seemed to threaten their safety, and even their life; and in July, 1799, in consequence of the success of the Russian arms in Italy, he had the satisfaction to convey them back from Palermo to their capital, and to replace the monarch on his throne. On his return home, he was received with enthusiastic joy by every rank of society. He had, indeed, every earthly blessing, except domestic happiness; that he had forfeited

* MEMORIAL.—“To the King's most excellent majesty, the memorial of Sir Horatio Nelson, K. B. and a rear-admiral in your majesty's fleet, sheweth, That during the present war, your memorialist has been in four actions with the fleets of the enemy, namely, on the 13th and 14th of March, 1795, on the 13th of July, 1795, and the 14th of Feb. 1797; in three actions with frigates; in six engagements against batteries; in ten actions in boats employed in cutting out of harbours, in destroying vessels, and in taking three towns. Your memorialist has also served on shore with the army four months, and commanded the batteries at the siege of Bastia and Calvi: That during the war, he has assisted at the capture of seven sail of the line, six frigates, four corvettes, and eleven privateers of different sizes, and taken and destroyed near fifty sail of merchant vessels, and your memorialist has actually been engaged against the enemy upwards of one hundred and twenty times. In which service your memorialist has lost his right eye and arm, and been severely wounded and bruised in his body. All of which services and wounds your memorialist most humbly submits to your majesty's most gracious consideration. (Signed)

October, 1797.

“NELSON.”

† See Book II. chap. V.

* See Book II. chap. I.

able course with the capture of a third ship.

In the mean time, Admiral Collingwood had closely engaged the rear of the enemy; and contributed in no slight degree to the renown of the British flag. Success was no longer doubtful; by three

for ever. Before he had been three months in England, he separated from Lady Nelson. This was the consequence of his infatuated attachment to Lady Hamilton, the widow of Sir William Hamilton, who, next to his country, occupied his thoughts, and absorbed his affections even in the hour of death.* Lord Nelson was soon afterwards called away to break that confederacy which the capricious politics of the Emperor of Russia had formed with Denmark and Sweden against this country. In consequence of this the gallant admiral embarked as second in command, under Sir Hyde Parker, and, after passing through the Sound in defiance of the batteries, he volunteered to make an attack on Copenhagen, 2d of April, 1801. After a most vigorous defence, the Danes saw their strong batteries silenced, and seventeen of their men-of-war either sunk, burned, or taken.† For these services, which were attributed chiefly to him, and not to the commander-in-chief, Lord Nelson was created a viscount, and his honours made hereditary in his family, even in the female line. On the recommencement of hostilities, in 1803, he was summoned from his beloved retreat at Merton, to take the command of the fleet in the Mediterranean. Notwithstanding his active vigilance, the French fleet escaped from Toulon, and from the Mediterranean, and, after being joined by the Cadiz squadron, they sailed to the West Indies, but he pursued them with rapidity, and nearly came up to them off Antigua. Such, however, was the terror of his name, that they returned in consternation to Europe, and before their entrance into Cadiz, had a partial action, near Ferrol, with Sir Robert Calder.

Thus baffled in his attempts to overtake his terrified enemy, Lord Nelson returned to England for the re-establishment of his health, but in a few weeks he was again prevailed upon to take the command of the fleet with very unlimited powers. On the 19th of October, 1805, Ville-neuve with the French fleet, and Gravina with the Spanish, sailed from Cadiz, and on the 21st, about noon, the English squadron had the satisfaction to close with them off Cape Trafalgar. The carnage on both sides was dreadful, and the heroic chief, unfortunately not covering the star, and other insignia, which he wore on his person, became a marked object to the musketeers who were placed in the tops of the enemy's ships. A musket-ball, from one of the riflemen of the Bucentaure, struck him in the left breast, and in about two hours afterwards, he expired in the arms of victory, retaining to the last his firmness and heroism, and rejoicing in the glorious triumphs which his death ensured to his country.

The remains of the illustrious hero of Trafalgar were brought in his own ship, the Victory, to the mouth of the Thames, and conveyed to Greenwich, and on the 9th of the following January, they were deposited in St. Paul's cathedral, with all the pomp and solemnity, the tributes of regret and of affection, which a grateful and independent nation could pay to a departed conqueror. His brother, the heir of his honours, was raised to

* Southey's Life of Nelson.

† See Book II. chap. XVIII.

in the afternoon, the line of the combined forces had given way, and many of their ships were either destroyed or taken.* It is but justice to add, that both the French and the Spaniards fought gallantly. Several of the English ships were assailed by two antagonists at a time. Among these,

the dignity of an earldom, with a grant of 6000*l.* a year. 10,000*l.* each was voted to his two sisters, and 100,000*l.* for the purchase of an estate to perpetuate the memory of the conqueror, and the gratitude of England. As a professional character, Lord Nelson possessed a mighty genius, an ardent spirit, and a resolute mind; cool, prompt, and discerning in the midst of dangers, he roused all his powerful energies into action, and the strong faculties of his soul were vigilantly exerted in the midst of the fury of the battle, to make every accident contribute to the triumph of his crew, and to the glory of his country. So highly established was his reputation, that his presence was a talisman to the courage of his sailors, who fought under him as sure of victory, and regarded his approbation as the best solace for their fatigues and their sufferings.

* BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR, October 21, 1805.

BRITISH FLEET.

VAN.

Guns.	Commanders.
Victory, . . . 100	{ Admiral Lord Nelson.
Temeraire, . . 98	{ Captain Hardy.
Neptune, . . . 98	{ Captain E. Harvey.
	{ Captain T. F. Freemantle.
Britannia, . . 120	{ Earl of Northesk.
	{ Captain Charles Bullen.
Conqueror, . . 74	{ Captain Israel Pellew.
Leviathan, . . 74	{ Captain H. W. Bayntun.
Ajax, . . . 74	{ Lieut. J. Pilford (acting).
Orion, . . . 74	{ Captain Edward Codrington.
Agamemnon, . 64	{ Sir Edward Berry.
Minotaur, . . 74	{ Captain C. J. M. Mansfield.
Spartiate, . . 74	{ Sir F. Lefroy.
Africa, . . . 64	{ Captain Henry Digby.

REAR.

Royal Sovereign, . . 110	{ Vice-Ad. Lord Collingwood
Mars, . . . 74	{ Captain Rotherham.
Belleisle, . . 74	{ Captain George Duff.
Tonnant, . . 80	{ Captain William Hargood.
Bellerophon, . 74	{ Captain Charles Tyler.
Colossus, . . 74	{ Captain John Cooke.
Achille, . . . 74	{ Captain J. N. Morris.
Polyphenus, . 64	{ Captain Richard King.
Revenge, . . 74	{ Captain Robert Rednail.
Swiftsure, . . 74	{ Captain Richard Moorsom.
Defence, . . . 74	{ Captain W. G. Rutherford.
Thunderer, . . 74	{ Captain George Hope.
Defiance, . . 74	{ Lieut. J. Stockham (acting).
Prince, . . . 98	{ Captain P. C. Durham.
Dreadnought, . 98	{ Captain Richard Grindall.
	{ Captain John Conn.

2,178 guns, exclusive of four frigates, a schooner, and a cutter.

Captain Duff, of the Mars, and Captain Cooke, of the Bellerophon, both fell in the service of their country on this memorable occasion.

COMBINED FLEET.

Captured.	{ *San Ildefonso, . 74	{ Brig. Don J. de Vargas.
	{ *San Juan Nepomuceno, . 74	{ Brig. Don C. Churruar.
	{ *Bahama, . . 74	{ Brig. Don A. E. Galiano
	{ Swiftsure, . . 74	{ M. Villemadrin.

the *Temeraire* was boarded on one side by the Spaniards, and on the other by the French. The double swarm poured in multitudes on the quarter-deck, rushed to the flag-staff, tore down the colours, and hoisted their own. The spirit of Britons was roused by this daring exploit. The crew of the *Temeraire*, after an animated struggle, cleared the decks of the enemy, dashed away the hostile ensigns, and again elevated the proud standard of naval sovereignty with loud huzzas. Captains Freemantle, Conn, Harwood, and the Earl of Northesk, particularly distinguished themselves in this celebrated battle; and indeed every officer and seaman of the fleet in his performance exceeded the orders of the commander-in-chief, conveyed in the ever-memorable signal—*England expects every man to do his duty.**

Destroyed.	*Monarca, . . . 74	Don Argumosa.
	Fougueux, . . . 74	M. Beaudouin.
	Indomptable . . 84	M. Hubert.
	Bucentaure, . . 80	Admiral Villeneuve.
	*San Francisco, 74	Don L. de Flores.
	*El Rayo, . . . 100	Brig. Don H. Macdonnel.
	*Neptuno, . . . 84	Brig. Don O. Valdes.
	Berwick, . . . 74	M. Camas.
	Aigle, . . . 74	M. Courge.
	Achille, . . . 74	M. de Nienport.
	Intrepide, . . . 74	M. Informet.
	*San Augustine, 74	Brig. Don F.X. Cagigal.
	*Santissima	Rear-adm. Caneros.
	Trinidad . . . 140	Brig. Don F. Uriarte.
Escaped into Cadiz.	Redoutable, . . 74	M. Lucas.
	*Argonauta, . . 80	Don A. Parejo.
	*Santa Anna, . 112	Vice-Ad. Don J. d'Aliva.
	Algeciras	Capt. Don J.D. Gardoqui.
	(wreck.) . . . 74	Rear-admiral Magon.
	Pluton (wreck.) 74	Captain Bruraro.
	San Juste	M. Cosmao.
	(wreck.) . . . 74	Don M. Gasten.
	*San Leandro	Don J. D. Quevedo.
	wreck . . . 64	Adm. Don. F. Gravina.
	Principe d'As-	Don Escano.
	turias (wreck) 112	
	Argonauta	M. Epron.
	(wreck.) . . . 74	
Escaped southward.	*Neptune (ser-	M. Maistral.
	viceable.) . . . 84	
	Heros (service-	M. Poulain.
	able.) . . . 74	
	*Montanez	Don F. Alcedo.
	(serviceable.) 74	
	Formidable, . . 80	Rear-adm. Dumanoire.
	Mont Blanc, . . 74	M. Le Villegries.
	Scipion, . . . 74	M. Berenger.
	Duguay Trou-	M. Trouffet.
	uin . . . 74	

2,648 guns.

The 15 ships marked thus* were Spanish, the other 18 French; in addition to which the combined fleet had seven frigates.

* Before the battle began, Lord Nelson entertained a presentiment that this would be the last day of his life, and seemed to look for death with

Gravina with ten sail, joined by the frigates to leeward, made for Cadiz. The five leading ships of the enemy's van tacked, and standing to the south, to the windward of the British, were engaged, and the sternmost taken. The others escaped, leaving to his majesty's fleet nineteen ships of the line, of which two were first-rates, the *Santissima Trinidad*, and the *Santa Anna*, with the three flag officers. These were Admiral Villeneuve; Don Ignatio Maria d'Aliva, vice-admiral; and the Spanish Rear-admiral Don Baltazor Hidalgo Cisneros. General Contamin, the commander of the troops embarked, was also taken in the *Bucentaure*. By some mismanagement of the crew, the *Achille*, a French seventy-four, after her surrender, took fire and blew up; but two hundred of her men were saved by the tenders. The Spanish Vice-admiral d'Aliva died of his wounds; but Admiral Villeneuve was sent to England, and afterwards permitted to return to France, where, as the French government assert, he destroyed himself, dreading the consequences of a court-martial.*

In this splendid triumph, the total British loss amounted to 423 killed and 1,064 wounded. Twenty of the enemy's vessels struck; but a gale of wind coming on from the south-west, fifteen of the prizes went down, one effected its escape into Cadiz, and four only were saved. The wounded Spaniards were sent on shore, on an assurance that they would not serve again till regularly exchanged; and the Spaniards, with a generous feeling, which would not, perhaps, have been found in any other people, offered the use of their hospitals for the wounded British seamen, pledging the honour of Spain, that they should there receive all possible care and attention. It is such conduct, that distinguishes the warfare which may unfortunately rise between civilized na-

almost as sure an expectation as for victory. But although this gloomy foreboding occupied his mind, and though he had more than once observed, that the enemy would endeavour to mark him out as one of their victims; yet his lordship, on the morning of the 21st, put on the stars of the different orders with which he had been invested. His secretary and chaplain, apprehensive that these insignia might expose his person to unnecessary danger, endeavoured, but in vain, to prevail upon him to take them off. To all their entreaties he replied—"In honour, I gained them, and in honour I will die with them."

* Or rather, dreading the rage of Napoleon; for Villeneuve had done his duty, having fought with both bravery and skill. "He ought," said Napoleon "to have been victorious, and he was defeated."—W. G.

tions, from the savage and relentless hostility of barbarians.

"After such a victory, it is unnecessary to enter into encomiums on the particular parts taken by the several commanders; the conclusion says more on the subject than language can express; the spirit which animated all was the same; when all exert themselves zealously in their country's service, all deserve that their high merits should stand recorded; and never was high merit more conspicuous than in the battle of Trafalgar."* On this occasion, the country poured forth its tribute of approbation with no parsimonious hand. The thanks of both houses of parliament were conferred upon the officers, seamen, and marines, of the fleet; gold medals were awarded to those who had particularly distinguished themselves on this memorable day; and in addition to the honours and rewards showered down upon the family of the fallen hero, the dignity of Baron of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with an annuity of two thousand pounds a year, to himself and his two next heirs, was conferred upon Vice-admiral Collingwood, by the style and title of Baron Collingwood of Calburne and Hethpoole, in the county of Northumberland.

The four ships under Rear-admiral Dumanoir, which escaped to the southward towards the close of the action of Trafalgar, after a short respite shared the fate of their companions. On the night of the second of November, Rear-admiral Sir Richard Strachan, cruising off Ferrol, with four ships of the line and three frigates, fell in with what he thought the Rocheford squadron, but which proved to be the fugitives from the combined fleet, to which he immediately gave chase. A little before noon on the 4th, the French admiral, finding an engagement unavoidable, came to close action; and, after a well supported contest, continued for nearly three hours and a half, all the four ships struck to the English, but not till they had become quite unmanageable. These ships proved to be the *Formidable*, of eighty guns, and the *Mont Blanc*, *Scipion*, and *Duguay Trouin*, of seventy-four guns each, on board of all of which, the slaughter had been very great, but the loss on board the English ships amounted only to twenty-four killed, and one hundred and eleven wounded.

* Admiral Collingwood's Despatches, dated October 22.

Thus, was the naval power of France and her ally reduced to insignificance. The phantoms of "ships, colonies, and commerce," which had floated before the imagination of the Emperor Napoleon, were chased from the regions of probability, and Great Britain was confirmed in her paramount dominion of the seas. The pleasure of the country, derived from the victory of the fallen hero, was so deeply tinged with regret for one of the bravest of her sons, that the voice of gratulation was mute. The memory of Nelson was consecrated by every individual in the state; and his best monument was found in the bosoms of his fellow-subjects.

The battles of Trafalgar and Ferrol, in some degree, consoled the country for the disasters on the continent: but they failed to cheer the drooping spirits of the premier, which were rapidly sinking under the accumulated pressure and difficulties of his situation. Afflicted at those miscarriages which had overwhelmed his endeavours to recover the balance of power in Europe, and degraded, as he thought himself, by his fruitless endeavours to avert the disgrace of his friend and colleague, he was hastening to the tomb under the combined influence of mental anguish and bodily disease. As none of the colleagues of Mr. Pitt had ever aspired to take a lead in the cabinet, they all appeared ready at the prospect of his speedy dissolution to abandon the helm. Much doubt and solicitude, both in and out of parliament, prevailed, as to the future arrangements of office. In the different rolls of political connexions, there were many persons of brilliant faculties, and enlarged understandings; but of these, some were supposed to be particularly objectionable to the crown. The great difficulty, however, likely to arise, consisted in uniting the materials of which the future administration was to be formed, and in assigning to the members their proper departments without exciting jealousy and discontent. The prospects of the country were by no means animating. Scarcely at any period in our history, had the condition of the kingdom called forth more anxiety and silent apprehension, than the close of a year marked by extraordinary events, both foreign and domestic; a year that had afforded many causes for grief and dismay; some occasions for temporary joy, and others of every feeling in which the most exalted patriotism can indulge.

CHAPTER VIII.

BRITISH HISTORY: Importance of the Victory of Trafalgar—Meeting of Parliament—Last Sickness and Death of Mr. Pitt—Memoir—Dissolution of the Ministry—New Ministry—Lord Grenville and Lord Ellenborough's Appointments—New Military Project—Finance—The Last Speech delivered by Mr. Fox in Parliament—Solemn Pledge of Parliament to abolish the Slave-trade—Impeachment of Lord Melville—Negotiation for Peace between Great Britain and France.

THE situation of Europe, at the commencement of 1806, was unexampled in history. Two rival nations had acquired, not merely a decided preponderance, but an absolute and uncontrolled dominion, the one over the seas, the other over the land. If the battle of Austerlitz had confirmed the military superiority of France over other nations, and left her without a rival on the continent, the victory of Trafalgar had not less decisively established the naval superiority of England, and crowned all her former victories on the ocean. The accumulated fruits of the persevering labours of four years, on the part of France and her dependencies, to form and collect a navy, fit to cope with the maritime forces of England, had been swept away and annihilated in a single action. The importance of such a victory to England, cannot easily be exaggerated. It was not merely that the high-formed expectations of France, from her newly-repaired marine, in which she had so weakly indulged and prematurely exulted at the commencement of the campaign, were thus abruptly and completely frustrated: or, that her projects of invading the British islands, under the protection of a powerful fleet, were again defeated: nor was it even that the most splendid victory had on this occasion been won by England, that ever was gained at sea: or, that the greatest number of vessels of first-rate magnitude, had, in this action, been taken and destroyed, that ever rewarded a conqueror in any naval combat; but the great and incalculable advantage to England, was the universal conviction arising from this victory, that in the skill, bravery, and discipline of her naval forces, she was so incomparably superior to her enemies, that all their future efforts to contend with her for the empire of the seas, must be as unavailing as their past endeavours had been fruitless. If the trident of Neptune be really the sceptre of the world, England was now the mistress of the globe. The maritime trade of all nations was at her mercy, and subject in many respects to her control. There was no country which she could not visit with her fleets, to conciliate its friendship, or take vengeance for its hostility: and what was of more importance

to the true interest and permanent welfare of Great Britain, there was no independent state out of the reach of France, which she might not hope, by a wise and enlightened policy, to attach steadily to her party. No country, independent of her enemy, could prosper without England partaking in its prosperity: no country could increase in wealth or population, without finding by experience, that the ties of connexion with England were drawn closer by its own progress and improvement.

But great and splendid as were the present circumstances, fair as were in some respects the future prospects of this country, her situation, on the whole, was full of danger and alarm. It was not the power and pre-eminence, only, but the existence of Great Britain, that was threatened with danger; and this menace proceeded from an enemy, who was actuated by every motive of policy, ambition, and resentment, to pursue her utter ruin and destruction. England was the only power that had ever set bounds to his ambition, or maintained with him a successful contest. She had defeated in a former war his most favourite enterprise, and had rejected, with scorn and contempt, the offers of peace, which, in the overflowings of unlooked for successes, he had addressed to her sovereign. England once subdued, Napoleon might plausibly argue, that he would be the sole and undisputed master of the universe; but, while England retained her independence, her maritime superiority, and her inveteracy against him, he must expect to be thwarted in all his commercial and colonial views, confined to the continent of Europe, and compelled, for safety, to surround his throne with an armed force, instead of emerging, as he desired, from the precarious and uncertain condition of a military chief, to be placed at the head of a regular government, and be the founder of a dynasty of kings.

After the peace of Presburgh, France was at liberty to direct her whole force and energies against England. No longer deterred from an invasion by the fear of a continental confederacy, she had only to decide what was the most expedient and practicable way of conducting it. If Eng.

land had nothing to apprehend from any number of troops which Bonaparte might land upon her shores, there were other parts of the British empire not equally invulnerable to his attacks.—Ireland was exposed by her grievances to the seduction of his emissaries, and easy accessible by her situation to the invasion of his army. Rebellion had been put down in that country, but discontent still existed in the minds of the people. The fire, which had lately blazed with so much fury, was smothered, but not extinguished.

At this moment of danger and dismay, when the surrender of Ulm and the battle of Austerlitz, were still recent events, when the extent of the late calamities was still unknown, and the immediate consequences were apprehended to be more fatal than any that ever flowed from them, there was no efficient government in England. Mr. Pitt, in whose wisdom and patriotism a great majority of the people had for many years reposed their confidence, was sinking under his infirmities, and rendered incapable of attending to public business. His colleagues were men of inferior parts, and at that time had credit for less ability than they really possessed. In this posture of affairs, parliament, after repeated prorogations, was at length suffered to meet on Tuesday, the 21st day of January, 1806; and as the state of his majesty's sight did not permit him to deliver his speech from the throne, that assembly was opened by commission. After the usual formalities, the commission was opened by the clerk at the table, and the lord chancellor read the speech from the throne.

The principal topics of the speech were congratulations on the splendour of our late naval successes, mixed with suitable expressions of regret for the lamented death of the hero by whom they were achieved. His majesty next informed parliament, that he had directed the treaties concluded with foreign powers to be laid before them; and, while he lamented the late disastrous events on the continent, he congratulated the two houses of parliament on the assurances which he continued to receive from the Emperor of Russia, of that monarch's determination to adhere to his alliance with Great Britain. He next signified to the house that he had directed the sum of one million sterling, accruing to the crown from the droits of admiralty, to be applied to the public service of the year; and concluded by recommending vigilance and exertion against the enemy, as by such means alone the present contest could be brought to a happy consummation. The address,

which was, as usual, framed on the model of the speech, was moved in the house of lords by the Earl of Essex, seconded by Lord Carlton; and in the house of commons by Lord Francis Spencer, seconded by Mr. Ainslie. An amendment to the address was read in the house of lords by Earl Cowper, and in the house of commons by Lord Henry Petty, but on account of the dangerous indisposition of Mr. Pitt, who was at that moment on his death-bed, the amendment was not in either house proposed as a motion.

The premier, it appeared, had left Bath on the 10th of January, and on his arrival in the neighbourhood of London, on the day following, had taken up his residence at his own house, on Putney Heath. His health had been for some time in the most alarming state. He was emaciated in the extreme, reduced to the greatest possible debility, and as the functions of his stomach no longer performed their office, little hope was entertained of the re-establishment of his health. In this deplorable situation, he was seized with the symptoms of a fever, of that sort called *Typhus*; his pulse rose to one hundred and thirty; and he was occasionally delirious, but in general drowsy and lethargic. A constitution so exhausted by previous diseases, sunk rapidly under the violence of his present malady, and at a quarter past four o'clock on the morning of the 23d of January, he expired.

Thus died William Pitt, in the 47th year of his age, after having enjoyed greater power and popularity, and held the first place in the government of his country, for a longer course of years, than any former minister of England. That he was a person of the most rare and splendid qualities, a powerful orator, a skilful parliamentary debater, and an expert and enlightened financier, will be universally admitted. That he was disinterested with regard to money, and sincerely and ardently attached to the honour and welfare of his country, can as little be doubted. But whether the appellation of illustrious statesman, has been justly applied to him, is a question on which men may reasonably differ. The French revolution was the great event of this time, and his conduct, with regard to that tremendous political convulsion, is the touch-stone by which posterity will decide his claims. It is in vain to urge, that the French revolution was an event without a precedent. It is the part of a great statesman to steer his way in safety, where there is no track to direct his course. But though it must always be a matter of uncertainty, whether a different policy

from that pursued by Mr. Pitt would have been more fortunate than his, it will not be denied, that a more complete failure of success than attended his efforts to check the progress of the revolution, cannot well be imagined. Had he interfered, as Mr. Fox in his situation would probably have done, at an early period of the revolution, to prevent the great continental powers from intermeddling in the affairs of France, and disturbing the settlement of her government, the direful scenes that followed might possibly have been prevented, and France, if left to herself, could never have obtained a military ascendancy, by which she was enabled to menace the independence of Great Britain, and to overrun the continent of Europe. As a minister, the power of Mr. Pitt was for many years unbounded; but the circumstances attendant on his return to office in 1804, deprived him of the support of the ablest and most respectable of his friends, and in his second administration he was reduced to difficulties and expedients to maintain his authority. The disastrous termination of his last coalition against France, had lessened considerably the public confidence in his administration, but the general opinion of his merits and past services was not materially influenced by these misfortunes. His own views of the portentous aspect of public affairs, at this crisis, may be sufficiently collected from his dying exclamation—"Oh! my country;" and the prime minister of England may be added to the number of victims that fell by the battle of Austerlitz.*

*The Right Hon. WILLIAM PITT, the second son of William, Earl of Chatham, was born at Hayes, the 28th of May, 1759. From his earliest years, he was instructed by his father, who foresaw the future elevation of his son, and taught him to argue with logical precision, and to speak with elegance, correctness, and force. He was afterwards under the tuition of the Rev. Mr. Wilson, and at the proper age he was admitted member of Pembroke hall, Cambridge, where he had for his tutors Dr. Turner, since Dean of Norwich, and Dr. Prettyman, now Dr. Tomline, Bishop of Lincoln. Under the guidance of these able men, he rapidly matured his knowledge of classical literature and of mathematics, and he left the university with the degree of M. A. and a high character for application, for abilities, and for correctness and propriety of deportment. He next entered as student at Lincoln's inn, and was called to the bar, and afterwards went once or twice on the western circuit, where he was occasionally employed as junior counsel. A higher situation, however, awaited him. At the general election, in 1780, he was proposed as member for Cambridge university, but few seconded his pretensions, and on the 23d of January, in the following year, he obtained a seat for Appleby, on the interest of Sir J. Lowther. In the house, he enlisted on the side of opposition against Lord North and

The death of Mr. Pitt, at so critical a juncture, was considered as a virtual dissolution of the existing administration. His colleagues were men of little weight

the American war; and his first speech, which was in support of Mr. Burke's bill for economical reform, displayed that commanding eloquence which many of the members had before so warmly applauded in his illustrious father. In the early part of his political career, he was an able and strenuous advocate for parliamentary reform; and the first motion which he ever submitted to the house of commons, was for a more equal representation of the people in parliament, by the addition of at least one hundred members, consisting of knights of the shire and representatives of the metropolis. This was a subject that deeply interested the young patriot; and at the meetings to promote a reform in the commons house of parliament, held at the Thatched House Tavern, Mr. Pitt sat as a delegate. On the death of the Marquis of Rockingham, he accepted, at the age of 22, the office of the chancellor of the exchequer; and under the administration of which he formed a part, the American war was concluded. Though he ably defended the conduct of his colleagues, the terms of peace were regarded by the majority of the nation as unpopular, and the ministry was dissolved. Restored to privacy, Mr. Pitt passed some months on the continent; and, after visiting Italy, and several of the German courts, he returned to England, and on the dismissal of the coalition of Mr. Fox and Lord North, he was selected for the arduous office of first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer, 18th Dec. 1783. Thus seated at the head of affairs, he bent the great powers of his mind to the framing of a bill for the regulation of Indian affairs, which might be more palatable to the nation, and less objectionable than that of Mr. Fox. His attempts, however, were at first unavailing, as his predecessors, though dismissed from office, still retained their influence in the commons; and in consequence of this struggle between the house and the king's prerogative, an appeal was made to the sense of the nation in a new parliament. The people warmly seconded the measures of the youthful premier; and the new parliament not only approved of his India bill, but adopted his financial system for the reduction of the national debt by a sinking fund, and cemented the commercial treaty which, under his auspices, had been concluded with France, on a basis advantageous to the interests and the prosperity of England. During the unfortunate illness with which the king was afflicted in 1788, Mr. Pitt successfully resisted the right of the Prince of Wales to assume the reins of government, which Mr. Fox as warmly maintained. Hitherto popular and successful as a peace minister, Mr. Pitt had now to contend with a new and formidable adversary in the French revolution. During the continuance of hostilities for eight years, in situations where all precedents were unavailing, and all the political principles of former times disregarded, the premier conducted the affairs of the nation with great vigour and perseverance, but unfortunately without attaining the objects for which the war was commenced and persevered in; and at length he was obliged to retire from the head of affairs, to make room for an administration which might, with more propriety and greater probability of success, negotiate a peace with France. The insidious peace of Amiens, effected under the administration of Mr. Addington, met with the

or consideration in the country; and besides the want of public confidence in these ministers, they were disunited and without a head. As they were connected together by no public principle, no sooner had the death of their patron dissolved the

only tie that united them, than symptoms of disunion and disagreement began to appear in their ranks; and it contributed not a little to the dispersion of the party, that while many competitors presented themselves for the place of leader, there

approbation of Mr. Pitt, as the most advantageous which the situation of the continent and the gigantic power of France could allow, and in 1804 he was again replaced at the head of affairs. Difficulties, however, surrounded him on all sides; many of his old colleagues had joined the ranks of opposition, and not a few condemned the method by which he had regained his ascendancy in the king's councils; and it may be asserted that the complicated machine of government was to be directed, in all its minute parts, by him alone. Unappalled by the dangers which threatened his country, and actively awake to resist all the attacks of parliamentary opposition, he formed that ill-fated confederacy with Russia and Austria, which terminated in the peace of Presburg, and hastened his own dissolution. Three days before the death of Mr. Pitt, the Bishop of Lincoln, who never left him during his illness, after informing him that it was the opinion of his physicians, that his life was in the most imminent danger, and that probably he had not many hours to live, requested to administer to him the consolations of religion. "I fear," said Mr. Pitt, "I have, like too many other men, neglected prayer too much to have any ground for hope, that it can be efficacious on a death-bed; but,"—rising as he spoke, and clasping his hands with the utmost fervency and devotion, "I throw myself *entirely*" (the last word being pronounced with strong emphasis) "upon the mercy of God, through the merits of Christ!" The bishop then read the prayers to him, and he seemed to join in them with calm and humble piety. On the anniversary of that day on which, five-and-twenty years before, he had become a member of the British senate, he breathed his last, without a struggle and without pain. On a motion of the Hon. Henry Lascelles, made in the house of commons, on the 27th of January, and carried by a majority of 258 to 89 voices, his remains were buried at the public expense, in Westminster Abbey, by the side of his father, with becoming funeral pomp, the herald pronouncing after the corpse had descended into the tomb, the emphatical words:—*non sibi sed patriæ vivit*.—He lived not for himself, but for his country.

"As a statesman, the energy and firmness of Mr. Pitt's mind were demonstrated by his measures. Abroad, he had to contend with the most gigantic power that ever raised itself in opposition to the greatness of this country; while at home, he had to support, at the same time, commercial and national credit, to allay the turbulent spirit of mutiny, to extinguish the flame of rebellion, and to provide for the importunate calls of famine.* "However deplorably his schemes of foreign policy might fail, whether from deficiency in political sagacity, or from incapacity or treachery of allies, his advocates will triumphantly maintain that, in a point of primary importance, he succeeded: he saved the English constitution. If this be true, no praise can exceed his deserts. To have preserved a constitution which has raised man to the true level of his nature, which has ripened souls, which secures to every indivi-

dual, under its protection, a degree of practical liberty of writing, of speaking, and of action greater than exists in any other country on the face of the globe, must emblazon his name to all posterity. His opponents, however, will remind us of unhallowed attempts to deprive us of these proud distinctions; and they will contend, that, great as are the honours that should be paid to his memory, if the measures of his administration should appear to have been really the means of preserving the glorious monument of the wisdom of our ancestors; so great must be the indignation that should pursue it, if they should have proved to have impaired its magnificence, to have undermined its foundations, and to have exposed us to the hazard of a contest, in which not common interests only were involved, but on the issue of which was staked every thing that is dear to the heart of a Briton, every thing that can render life itself valuable and desirable."† Notwithstanding the early tincture which the mind of Mr. Pitt may be supposed to have received in favour of freedom, there is not perhaps to be found in all the voluminous additions which he made to our acts of parliament, a single disinterested law introduced by him in favour of the liberty of the subject. It is true, that the spirit of the times may in some degree account for this extraordinary fact, but it is impossible to suppose that all improvements in civil and religious liberty should have ceased during the twenty years of his ministry, if he had, in office, been what he undoubtedly was when he first entered upon public life—an ardent friend to the liberties of his country.

Mr. Pitt possessed no particular advantages of person or physiognomy, the first of which was ungraceful, the second repulsive, rather than attractive. As a speaker, he was thought to be without a rival: such was the happy choice of his words, the judicious arrangement of his subject, and the fascinating effect of a perennial eloquence, that his wonderful powers were acknowledged even by those who happened to be prepossessed against his arguments. When employed in a good cause, he was irresistible; and in a bad one, he could dazzle the judgment, lead the imagination captive, and seduce the heart, even while the mind remained firm and unconvinced. Ambition and the love of power were his ruling passions; his mind was elevated above the meanness of avarice. His personal integrity was unimpeached; and so far was he from making use of his opportunity to acquire wealth, that he died insolvent. "With a manner somewhat reserved and distant, in what might be termed his public deportment, no man was ever better qualified to gain, or more successful in fixing, the attachment of his friends, than Mr. Pitt. In the society of his intimate friends, he was distinguished for a kindness of heart, a gentleness of demeanour, and a playfulness of good humour, which no one ever witnessed without interest, or participated without delight."‡ Modesty was a striking feature in his character; and in his conduct he was rigidly just, and strictly moral.

* Life of Dr. Beddoes, by Dr. Stock.

† Rose's Examination into the Increase of the Revenue, &c. during the administration of Mr. Pitt.

* Gifford's History of the Political Life of Mr. Pitt.

was no person of their number so pre-eminent for his station or abilities, as to be raised by general consent to that distinguished situation. In circumstances so discouraging, it is not wonderful, that the surviving members of Mr. Pitt's administration resigned to their opponents the reins of government without a struggle, and even refused to retain charge of them when urged to that duty by the solicitations of the court. Deterred by the state of his party from accepting the offices and situation vacant by the death of Mr. Pitt, Lord Hawkesbury, to whom the offer had been made, declined to take upon himself the government of his country. His refusal, when made known to the public, communicated universal satisfaction, and men were disposed to give him credit for forbearance and self-denial, as well as for prudence, till they were informed that he had obtained for himself a grant of the wardenship of the Cinque-ports, and had procured the warrant, conferring upon him that lucrative appointment, to be passed with unusual expedition through the public offices, as if he had entertained the apprehension that its progress might be arrested, and the propriety of the grant questioned by his successors.

The wardenship of the Cinque-ports having been in this manner disposed of, and every attempt to form an administration from the wreck of the late ministry having proved unsuccessful, his majesty was at length advised to call in the assistance of Lord Grenville. A message was conveyed to his lordship, on the 16th of January, by Lord Dartmouth, desiring his attendance at Buckingham house.

Lord Grenville, having obeyed the summons, was graciously informed by his majesty, that he wished to consult him on the formation of a new ministry; to which, his lordship is said to have replied, with proper acknowledgments for so distinguished a mark of his majesty's confidence, that his majesty was already in possession of his sentiments on that subject; he was convinced that an administration, to be of any effectual service to the country, must not be formed on an exclusive principle, but must comprehend all the leading men of the country. His majesty replied, that it was his wish to have Lord Grenville's opinion on the formation of such an administration: his lordship is said to have answered, that he felt it his duty, thus early in the business, to apprise his majesty, that the person he should consult was Mr. Fox. "I thought so, and I meant so," is said to have been his majesty's most gracious reply. After this, Lord Grenville was honoured with two other

audiences of the king; and on the 3d of February, the new ministerial arrangements were finally settled, and embraced the leading members of the three parties designated by the appellation of the old and new opposition, and the Sidmouth party.*

After the treaty of Amiens, the great objects for which Mr. Fox had been drawn, with unfeigned reluctance, from his favourite retirement, and induced to embark again in the business and contentions of public life, were, first, the maintenance, and next, the restoration of peace; these objects he had never ceased to recommend, and when unexpectedly invested with power, and at liberty to choose whatever place best suited him in the government, he showed how sincerely he had these objects at heart, by the department of the state which he selected for himself. Though to the leader of a party, the office of first lord of the treasury must have been peculiarly acceptable by the opportunities it would have afforded him of rewarding the zeal and attachment of his adherents, yet, the reflection, that by taking the place of secretary of state for foreign affairs,

* LIST OF THE NEW MINISTRY.

Cabinet Ministers.

Earl Fitzwilliam, President of the Council.
Lord Erskine, Lord High Chancellor.
Viscount Sidmouth, Lord Privy Seal.
Lord Grenville, First Lord of the Treasury (Prime Minister).
Lord Howick (late Mr. Grey), First Lord of the Admiralty.
Earl of Moira, Master General of the Ordnance.
Earl Spencer, Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Right Hon. Charles James Fox, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Right Hon. William Windham, Secretary of State for the Department of War and the Colonies.
Lord Ellenborough, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench.
Lord Henry Petty, Chancellor and Under Treasurer of the Exchequer.

Not of the Cabinet.

Lord Minto, President of the Board of Control for the affairs of India.
Earl of Derby, Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaster.
Rt. Hon. Rd. Fitzpatrick, Secretary at War.
Rt. Hon. R. B. Sheridan, Treasurer of the Navy.
Earl Temple, Lord John Townshend, Joint Paymaster-General.
Earl of Buckinghamshire, Earl of Carysfort, Joint Postmaster-General.
Rt. Hon. Nicholas Vansittart, John King, Esq. Secretaries of the Treasury.
Sir Wm. Grant, Master of the Rolls.
Sir A. Pigott, Attorney-general.
Sir Samuel Romilly, Solicitor-general.

The Duke of Bedford went as Lord-Lieutenant to Ireland, accompanied by the Right Hon. Wm. Elliot as his chief secretary. Mr. George Ponsonby was appointed Chancellor and Keeper of the Seals in Ireland, and Sir John Newport, Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer.

he should be placed in a situation where he could most effectually contribute to the restoration of peace, decided his choice, and determined him to prefer a place with little or no patronage, to one which has infinitely the greatest influence and patronage of any office under government. When Mr. Fox declined to be first lord of the treasury, that place naturally devolved on Lord Grenville. But his lordship held the office of auditor of the exchequer, which is incompatible with that of first lord of the treasury. It was scarcely to be expected that Lord Grenville would resign the auditorship of the exchequer, a place which he held for life, on being made prime minister, from which office he might be removed at the pleasure of the crown. It was therefore deemed necessary to bring a bill into parliament, to enable the auditor of the exchequer to accept the office of first lord of the treasury, without forfeiting his present situation; and in order to palliate the objections that might be made to this equivocal union, Lord Grenville was empowered to name a trustee to hold the office of auditor, so long as his lordship should continue in the situation of first lord of the treasury; which trustee should be responsible to the auditor for the salary, and to the public for the due execution of his office.

The appointment of Lord Ellenborough to a seat in the cabinet, was a measure of still more doubtful policy. This proceeding had become the subject of general discussion and animadversion in the country, and at length it was brought before parliament by the Earl of Bristol, in the house of lords, and Mr. Spencer Stanhope, in the house of commons. On the 3d of March, the noble earl moved a resolution, stating it to be the opinion of that house,

"That it was highly inexpedient, and tended to weaken the administration of justice, to summon to any committee, or assembly of the privy council, any of the judges of his majesty's courts of common law."

This motion was supported by Lords Eldon, Brougham, Mulgrave, and Hawkesbury; and opposed by Lord St. John, the Earls of Carlisle and Caernarvon, Viscount Sidmouth, and Lords Holland and Grenville; and on the question being put, the motion was negatived without a division. On the same day, a resolution of a similar tendency was moved in the house of commons, and supported by Mr. Canning, Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Percival, and Mr. Wilberforce; and opposed by Mr. Bond, Lord Temple, Mr. Fox, Lord Henry Petty, and Mr. Sheridan. The previous question being put on the resolution,

was carried by a majority of two hundred and twenty-two, to sixty-four voices.

On the part of the ministry, it was contended, that "the cabinet, as such, is not responsible for the measures of government; that no individual minister is responsible for more than his own acts, and such advice as he is proved actually to have given; that the lord chief justice is always a privy counsellor, and that a cabinet counsellor performs no duties, and incurs no responsibility, to which a privy counsellor is not liable; that the nomination of Lord Ellenborough to a place in the cabinet, was not only strictly legal, but justifiable on the ground of precedent and constitutional analogy; and that the tendency and effect of his appointment had been misunderstood, or misrepresented by the supporters of the motion before parliament."—But the public could easily perceive the difference between the actual duties of a privy counsellor, and those of a cabinet counsellor; between the occasional and habitual exercise of the same functions; between the right of taking a part in the political discussions of the day, and the necessity of giving an opinion on all state affairs as they arise; and they who reflected on the slow and beneficial progress, by which judges had been detached from state intrigues, and removed out of the pernicious atmosphere of court influence, could not but regret that the stream had now taken a retrograde direction, and threatened to flow back into that gulf in which so many judges had perished in former times. In this view of the subject, the appointment of a lord chief justice to a seat in the cabinet, was to be considered rather as a precedent that might lead to evil consequences, than as a measure from which any mischief was at present to be apprehended; and such was the impression that remained, after the conclusion of this debate, on the minds of many excellent and enlightened persons throughout the kingdom.

No subject had, of late years, so frequently engaged the attention of parliament, as an inquiry into the best mode of increasing and recruiting the army. Project had succeeded project, and experiment after experiment had been tried. Every possible variety of form had been given to our military establishments; and, as if the rulers of the country had been desirous of indulging a speculative curiosity, every species of military force had been resorted to. It was the merit of Mr. Windham, to whom this department of the public service was now confided, to abandon the complex plans and visionary

speculations of his immediate predecessors, and to trust to the simple and obvious expedient of bettering the condition and prospects of the soldiery, for the future increase and supply of the army. On the 10th of April, Mr. Windham introduced the subject of his new military arrangements to the consideration of the house of commons. After some introductory observations, there were, the right honourable gentleman remarked, two ways by which an army might be recruited—force or choice. Force, Mr. Windham contended, was peculiarly unfitted for England, where its operation would be at once less efficacious and more oppressive than in countries subject to arbitrary government. Force, then, being excluded, choice, or voluntary enlistment, was the only means left us for procuring soldiers, and it was the present business of the house to consider how those means might, in the most effectual manner, advance the proposed end. If the inquiry were made, why of late years this instrument had failed in England (for it used not formerly to be efficacious), it would be found that the military profession in this country was not sufficiently rewarded, when compared with the other occupations open to the lower orders, and was, therefore, considered by the body of the people as less eligible than other callings.

To reduce these principles to practice, it behooved us to consider what was the most eligible way of improving the condition of the soldiery. Little was to be done by increasing the pay of the army, though much might be effected by encouragement of a different sort. A better provision might be made for those persons who were disabled from further service by their wounds, infirmities, or age. But the great change which he proposed to introduce into the army, was, in the terms of its engagement. Instead of an engagement to serve for life, he proposed that the soldiers in future should be enlisted to serve only for a term of years. The term of military service should be divided into three periods, of seven years each for the infantry, and for the cavalry and artillery, the first period to be ten years, the second, six years, and the third five years. At the end of every period, the soldier should have a right to claim his discharge. If he left the army at the end of the first period, he should be entitled to exercise his trade and calling in any part of Great Britain or Ireland; if at the end of the second period, he should be entitled, besides, to a pension for life; and at the end of the third period, after a service of twenty-one years, he should be discharged

from the army, with the full allowance of Chelsea, which by judicious regulations might be raised to a shilling a day. If he was wounded or disabled in the service, he should receive the same pension as if he had served out the whole term. During the second period, he should also receive six-pence a week of additional pay, and during the third period, a shilling a week. Desertion might be punished by the loss of so many years service, and though corporeal punishments could not be banished entirely from the army, they might be diminished both in number and severity. By these means, a better description of men would be induced to enter the army; the profession of a soldier would rise in the estimation of the country; desertion would become less frequent; and, though the necessity of bounties could not be expected to cease immediately, they would begin soon, in the language of 'Change Alley, to be "looking down;" and if the system, now recommended, was steadily pursued and faithfully adhered to, the army would be placed in a situation, where its own attractions would be the only bounty required, for recruiting its ranks and procuring for it any number of men, which the exigencies of the state might require. With respect to the volunteers, his opinion was, that there ought to be no corps of that description, except those formed of persons in the better ranks of life, who would serve at their own expense, with no other allowance from government than arms, and no other exemption but from service in other sorts of irregular force, which it might be advisable to constitute. But as he found the volunteer system already established, he meant not rashly to put it down, but should rather content himself with reducing its exorbitant expenses. It was a fact, that in three years and a half, the volunteer system had cost the government five millions sterling, and as much more, at least, had been expended in the support of it by private individuals. The total amount of the reductions which he proposed in this establishment, would produce to government an annual saving of more than eight hundred thousand pounds. He should reduce the number of days for training from eighty-five to twenty-six a year, and should propose that in future no volunteer officer should have a higher rank than that of captain; that is, that no officer of the line of a higher rank than that of captain, nor any captain commanding a corps, should be commanded by an officer of volunteers.

The peasantry, artisans, and other persons of the same class, he wished to see

not locked up in volunteer corps, and vainly employed in adopting the dress, and imitating the evolutions of troops of the line, but loosely trained under officers of the militia or regular army, so that they might be qualified, under their direction, to act as an armed peasantry, and harass and impede the motions of the enemy, if he should ever accomplish a landing in this country, or be prepared at least to take their place in the regular army, and repair whatever losses it might sustain in action. This training he meant to be compulsory, but it should last only for four-and-twenty days in each year. The persons so trained should have no particular dress, nor be carried to a distance from their homes. For the days they were engaged in training, the same allowance should be paid to them as to the volunteers. As it would be impossible to train the whole population of the country at once, the persons liable to that duty might be limited to two hundred thousand men annually; and of these the government should select for actual training the proportion which it judged to be most expedient. But the whole numbers liable to that service, should be enrolled in classes according to their age; and on any emergency a discretionary power might be left with government, to call out and embody whatever classes it should think proper, and in whatever parts of the country it should find necessary.

With respect to the militia, Mr. Windham had at present no alteration to propose. He meant to continue the suspension of the ballot, and he would certainly recommend, in future, recruiting for that service, on the scheme projected in Ireland, and at a limited bounty.

Such is the outline of Mr. Windham's military project, which encountered the most determined opposition in every stage of its progress, but which, in its essential particulars, passed through the respective stages in the two houses of parliament, and received the sanction of law.

The new ministry, in the measures of finance, which they pursued during this session of parliament, were satisfied with following the systems and executing the plans of their predecessors in office: and unless in showing greater vigilance and anxiety for the detection and suppression of abuses, they seemed to be unambitious of any higher distinction in this important branch of their public duty. The period of the year when they came into office, obliged them, indeed, to adopt, in most instances, the estimates prepared by the former government; and in raising the ways and means for the current year,

they adhered scrupulously to the principles laid down and followed by Mr. Pitt. The sinking fund for the redemption of the national debt, which some persons, both in and out of parliament, urged them strongly to encroach upon, they determined religiously to respect. The system of war taxes, on the plan of raising within the year a great part of the supplies necessary for the public service, they embraced with zeal, and carried to an extent before unexampled. In the prosecution of this object, so meritorious in itself, and so beneficial to the country, they had recourse to a measure of taxation, which bore peculiarly hard on the middle rank of life, and on those industrious classes of society, which are removed by one degree only from indigence; and as the popularity of one branch of the administration, lay chiefly among persons of that description, the conduct of ministers, in this particular, excited a degree of odium proportioned to the former affection and regard entertained towards them. It must at the same time in candour be acknowledged, that it was owing to the heavy taxes imposed during this session of parliament, and to the vigorous measures taken to render them effectual, that ministers were enabled at a future period to hold out to the country the consolatory assurance, that on the scale on which they had determined to conduct the war, no additional taxes would be necessary for carrying on the contest, to whatever period it might be prolonged.

On the 28th of March, Lord Henry Petty, the new chancellor of the exchequer, opened the budget, in a speech remarkable for the perspicuity of its statements, and the clearness of its arrangement. After submitting to the house a variety of financial details, his lordship proceeded to state, that the beneficial effects of raising the supplies within the year were strongly exemplified by the fact, that during the late war, the average increase of the national debt had been at the rate of twenty-five millions a year, while the average annual increase in the present war, was at the rate of only twelve millions—a difference to be attributed solely to the system of war taxes, which had not been introduced in the last war till near its close. Last year, the war taxes had been estimated at fourteen millions and a half, and they had actually produced more than thirteen millions. In the current year, it was intended to raise them to nineteen millions and a half, of which five millions were to be raised by making the property tax more productive, and one million additional from the excise and customs. The pro-

position he should submit to the house with respect to the property tax, was to raise that impost from six and a half to ten per cent., and to do away the principal part of the present exemptions. As to the quantum of income to be made liable to the tax, it was proposed that ten per cent. should be paid on all property above fifty pounds a year, but that a scale of abatements should be introduced in favour of small tradesmen, and small annuitants, whose income was less than one hundred a year.

With respect to the war duties on the customs, it was proposed to raise those duties, with certain modifications, from one-fourth to one-third, by which a million a year would be produced. In order to cover the interest of the loan, the duty on wine was to be made permanent, and applied to that purpose; a duty of forty shillings per ton was to be imposed on pig-iron; the duty on tea was to be equalized; and a tax on appraisements imposed; by the whole of which taxes it was estimated that a sum of one million one hundred and thirty-six thousand pounds would be produced annually. The noble lord concluded his speech by expressing his determination, and that of his colleagues, to administer the government with economy, and to reform all abuses, wherever they could be detected.

The property tax bill encountered great opposition on its way through the house, not so much from the late ministers, who now occupied the benches of opposition, as from independent members of parliament, who disliked the harshness and rigour of the proposed enactments, and disapproved of such an enormous addition to the present heavy burthens of the people. Several modifications and alleviations of the tax were accordingly proposed, to some of which the ministers acceded, but the greater part of them were rejected on account of their tendency to diminish the product, and impair the efficacy of the measure. In the course of these debates, Mr. Secretary Fox candidly confessed, that he was not a friend to the tax, nor to any of its principles or operations; he was sensible that the objections against it were just and innumerable; but his majesty's ministers were reluctantly obliged to resort to this source of revenue, under the pressure of existing circumstances, which they had at least the consolation to reflect they had no share in producing.

The proposed tax on iron was abandoned after a strenuous opposition; and in lieu of it a tax was proposed on private brewers; but this obnoxious impost was at length withdrawn from the consideration

of parliament, and the interest of the loan was provided for by an addition of ten per cent. to the assessed taxes. In consideration of the severe pressure of the taxes on persons who had large families, a bill was passed, granting to parents an allowance of four *per centum* out of their assessed taxes for each of their children above two, maintained at their own expense, provided the total amount of their assessment was under forty pounds a year.

The attention of parliament was in the course of the present session directed to the correction of a series of abuses connected with the revenue department of the state. The first of these measures, was an act for regulating the office of treasurer of the ordnance, on the principle of Mr. Burke's bill for regulating the office of paymaster of the forces, and of the bill introduced by Mr. Dundas, now Lord Melville, for regulating the office of treasurer of the navy. In bringing forward this bill, Lord Henry Petty announced his intention of extending the same principle to the post-office, the excise-office, custom-house, and other public offices to which it was applicable, that an end might be put to the practice of public officers deriving profit from the use of the money confided to their care. During this session, acts were accordingly passed through their respective stages for effecting these necessary and salutary reforms, and an act was also passed for abolishing the fees of the custom-house officers of the port of London, and regulating the attendance of the officers of that establishment. In pursuance of this system of reform, the mode of auditing the public accounts was next brought by his majesty's government under the consideration of parliament. It appeared, that in consequence of the imperfection of the provisions established for that purpose, there had been a gradual accumulation of unaudited accounts, amounting, when the present ministers came into office, to the enormous sum of five hundred and thirty-four millions sterling. Not a single account in the army pay-office had been audited since the year 1792. The store accounts had been suffered to lie over without examination, during the same period. The navy accounts were left greatly in arrear. None of the accounts of the late war were audited, and those relating to the expeditions to Holland and Egypt, and to the treaties of subsidy with foreign powers, had never yet come under the inspection of the auditors. To obviate these evils, the number of auditors was increased, and effectual regulations adopted, not merely to submit the accounts

thus in arrear to a prompt and complete examination, but also to prevent the recurrence of such dangerous and reprehensible omissions in future.

No part of the conduct of the present administration, reflected a brighter lustre on their characters, than the measures which they adopted to effect the abolition of the African slave-trade. After the eloquent harangues in which former ministers had indulged against this iniquitous and inhuman traffic, whilst the trade so reprobated continued to flourish and increase, the friends of the abolition had at length the consolation to behold a ministry whose conduct corresponded with their professions, and whose zeal in the cause of humanity enabled them to effect, in a few months, a great public duty, which the labours of eighteen years had hitherto failed to accomplish.

Soon after the formation of the ministry, the attorney-general, with the entire concurrence of the cabinet, brought a bill into parliament, which passed both houses without any formidable opposition, and afterwards received the royal assent. This bill prohibited the exportation of slaves from the British colonies after the 1st of January, 1807, and prohibited all subjects of this country, residing either at home or in our foreign settlements, from being in any way concerned in, or accessory to the supply of foreign countries with slaves after that period. The zeal of the new government did not stop here: another bill was soon afterwards brought into parliament, which passed without opposition, for the purpose of preventing the increase of the British slave-trade in all its branches. By the provisions of this bill, all British vessels were prohibited under severe penalties from engaging in the African slave-trade, which had not been actually employed in that traffic before the 1st of August, 1806, or contracted for, to be employed in it before the 10th of June in that year. This act was limited in its duration to the term of two years after the conclusion of the session of parliament then sitting; but happily for the interests of humanity, long before the expiration of that period, every provision for the limitation or regulation of this traffic, was rendered unnecessary, by the total and formal abolition of the slave-trade. The next measure brought forward by ministers upon this subject, was a resolution moved by Mr. Fox in the house of commons, on the 10th of June, and with which that great statesman closed his parliamentary career. On this occasion,

MR. SECRETARY FOX rose, and after a well-merited compliment to Mr. Wilber-

force, for his strenuous and persevering exertions in the cause of humanity, said—“So fully am I impressed with the vast importance and necessity of attaining the object of the motion of this night, that if, during the almost forty years I have had the honour of a seat in parliament, I had been so fortunate as to accomplish that, and that only, I should think I had done enough, and could retire from public life with comfort, and the conscious satisfaction that I had done my duty. Surely, sir, it does not remain yet to be argued, that to carry men by violence away to slavery, in distant countries, ‘is not a traffic in the labour of man, but of man himself.’ I will not now enter, for it would be unnecessary, into that exploded argument, that we did not make the negroes slaves, but found them already in that state, and condemned to it for crimes. The nature of the crimes themselves (witchcraft in general) is a manifest pretext, and a mockery of all human reason. But supposing them even to be real crimes, and such as men should be condemned for, can there be any thing more degrading to sense, or disgusting to humanity, than to think it honourable or just in Great Britain annually to send out ships, in order to assist in the purposes of African police? It has, I am told, been asserted by an authority in the other house of parliament, that the trade is in itself so good a one, that if it were not found already subsisting, it would be right to create it. I shall certainly not compare the authority just alluded to, with that of my honourable friend (Mr. Wilberforce); nor shall I compare it with the authority of a right honourable gentleman now no more (Mr. Pitt): but on the ground of authority I think all the weight is on the side of humanity.

“I shall now proceed to recall the attention of the house to what has been its uniform, consistent, and unchangeable opinion for the last eighteen years, during which time we should blush to have it stated, that not one step has yet been taken towards the abolition of the trade. If, then, we have never ceased to express our reprobation of this traffic, surely the house must think itself bound, by its character, and the consistency of its proceedings, still to condemn it. The first time this measure was proposed, on the motion of my honourable friend (Mr. Wilberforce), which was in the year 1791, it was, after a long and warm discussion, rejected. In the following year, after the question had been, during the interval, better considered, there appeared to be a very strong disposition to adopt the proposition in its utmost extent; but in the

committee, the question for gradual abolition was carried. On that occasion, Lord Melville, who was the leader and proposer of the gradual abolition, could not venture to push the period longer than eight years, or the year 1800, when the trade was to be totally abolished. Yet we are now in the year 1806, and, while surrounding nations are reproaching us with neglect, not a single step has been taken towards this just, humane, and politic measure. Denmark, much to its honour, has abolished the trade; and England, I trust, is preparing to follow her example. I own, that when I began to consider the subject, early in the present session, I was sanguine enough to hope that the total abolition might be carried this year; but the present advanced period now precludes that expectation, and no alternative remains but to resort to the measure I am now about to propose. The motion which I shall now have the honour to submit to the house, will not mention any limitation, either as to the time or manner of abolishing the trade. There have, indeed, been hints thrown out, that it would be advisable to adopt some plan that must inevitably lead to an abolition; but after eighteen years of close attention to the subject, I cannot think any course so effectual as a direct law for the immediate abolition of the trade.

"In answer to the stale argument of the ruin this measure will bring upon the West India islands, I would refer gentlemen to, perhaps, the most brilliant and convincing speech that ever was, I believe, delivered in this or any other assembly, by a consummate master of eloquence (Mr. Burke), and of which, I believe, there remains in some publications a report that will convey an adequate idea of the substance of that speech; but the voice, the gesture, and the manner, are not to be described: '*O! si illum vidisse, si illum audivisse!*' If all the members of this house could but have heard and seen the great orator in the delivery of that speech, on that day, there would not now be one who could for a moment longer suppose that the abolition of the slave-trade could injuriously affect the interests of the West India colonies. I am aware that a calculation was once made, and pretty generally circulated, by which it would appear, that if the importation of negroes into the islands was put an end to, the stock of slaves could not be kept up; and if I recollect right, the calculation was made with reference to Jamaica. Fortunately, however, for our argument, the experiment has already been tried in North America, in those states where the trade has been

abolished; and the effect of it shows, that the progress of the population of the negroes is nearly equal to that of the whites. As that is the part of the world where population proceeds more rapidly than in any other, and as we know that, within the last twenty years, the population of whites has doubled, and that of negroes very nearly so, without importation, it affords, I will not say a damning, but a blessed proof, that the adoption of a similar course would ultimately produce gradual emancipation, and an increasing population, and that it would enable the negroes to acquire property as the reward of long servitude; and thereby place these islands in a state of safety beyond any thing that could be effected by fleets and armies." Mr. Fox in conclusion moved the following resolution:—

"That this house, conceiving the African slave-trade to be contrary to the principles of justice, humanity, and sound policy, will, with all possible expedition, proceed to take effectual measures for abolishing the said trade, in such manner, and at such period, as they may deem advisable."

The motion was opposed by Gen. Tarleton, Mr. Gascoyne, Lord Castlereagh, Sir William Young, Mr. George Rose, and Mr. Manning; and supported by Sir Ralph Milbanke, Mr. Francis, Sir Samuel Romilly, the Solicitor-General, Mr. Wilberforce, Lord Henry Petty, Mr. Barham, Sir John Newport, Mr. Canning, Mr. William Smith, and Mr. Windham. On a division of the house, there appeared for Mr. Fox's motion, one hundred and fourteen, against it, fifteen; leaving a majority in favour of the abolition, of ninety-one voices.

The resolution was then sent up to the lords, and a conference demanded "upon a matter, in which the reputation of the country, for justice, humanity, and sound policy, was deeply interested:" and after this conference, the lords adopted the same resolution, on the motion of Lord Grenville, by a majority of forty-one to twenty voices.

The last step taken in this work of mercy, during the present session, was a joint address from the two houses of parliament to the king, "beseeching his majesty to take such measures as might appear most effectual, for obtaining, by negotiation, the concurrence and concert of foreign powers in the abolition of the slave-trade, and the execution of the regulations adopted for that purpose."

By the concurrent operation of these measures, a stop was not only put to the future increase of the slave-trade, and a pledge given by both houses of parliament for the total abolition of that iniquitous traffic, with all practicable despatch;

but a trade was abolished, which, up to this time, had carried over yearly about forty thousand Africans from their peaceful homes, through the multiplied horrors of the middle passage, to perpetual bondage and wretchedness in the West India plantations; and an end put to the murders, tortures, and plunder, which were daily and hourly desolating the continent of Africa, for the supply of so enormous a demand for human beings.

The trial of Lord Viscount Melville was the only remaining subject of general importance that engaged the attention of the two houses of parliament during the present session. The house of commons, after a minute inquiry into the expenditure of the public money, had deliberately resolved to engage in the most solemn and important part of its functions—the exercise of its power of impeachment against this nobleman. Managers were accordingly appointed by the house;* Westminster Hall was fitted up in a style worthy of the solemnity; and the house of peers made various arrangements which tended to facilitate the progress of the trial, and to rescue the proceedings by impeachment from that censure and disgrace which they had incurred from the case of Mr. Hastings. On this occasion, Westminster Hall presented a concentration of all that was distinguished by elevated rank or authority, by transcendent genius, high honour, or brilliant services. As a tribunal of justice, it contained one of the sublimest of all possible spectacles, the representatives of a free and mighty people, charging with delinquency one of the most eminent servants of the crown, before judges abounding in all the means of human estimation, with no restraint imposed upon the freedom of accusation or defence, but what was due at once to order and to justice.

On Monday, the 29th of April, the court was opened with the usual forms and solemnities, after which a master in chancery read aloud the articles of impeachment against Lord Melville, of which the following is the substance:—

1st. That Lord Melville, while treasurer of the navy, did, previously to the 10th of January, 1786, take and receive out of the money intrusted to him from his majesty's exchequer, the sum of 10,000*l.* and fraudulently and illegally convert the same to his own use, or to some other corrupt and

illegal purposes; and on the 11th of June, 1805 in the house of commons, did refuse to account for the application of the said sum:

2d. That, after the passing of the act of parliament in the 25th year of his majesty's reign, entitled "an act for better regulating the office of treasurer of his majesty's navy," Lord Melville, contrary to the provisions of that act, did permit Alexander Trotter, his paymaster, illegally to draw from the bank of England, for other purposes than for immediate application to navy services, large sums of money, which had been issued to the bank on account of Lord Melville, as treasurer of the navy, and placed the same in the hands of Thomas Coutts and Co. his private bankers, in his own name, and subject to his sole control and disposition:

3d. That not only did Lord Melville permit Trotter to place, as aforesaid, the public money in the hands of Thomas Coutts and Co. his private bankers, but to apply the same for purposes of private profit and emolument, whereby the same money was exposed to great risk of loss, and withdrawn from the control and disposition of the treasurer of the navy.

4th. That part of the money so taken by Trotter from the bank, was, by permission of Lord Melville, placed in the hands of Mark Sprott and others, and applied for purposes of private profit and emolument:

5th. That Lord Melville himself did, after the 10th of January, 1786, take and receive from the public money, issued to the bank of England, the sum of 10,000*l.* and fraudulently and illegally convert the same to his own use, or some other corrupt and illegal purpose:

6th. That Lord Melville received advances of large sums of money from Trotter, out of the public money so obtained by him and deposited in the hands of his private bankers, which advances were entered in an account current kept between Trotter and Lord Melville, and preserved till February, 1803, when, by mutual agreement, dated the 18th and 23d of February of that year, it was destroyed, with all the vouchers and other memorandums relative thereto, for the purpose of fraudulently concealing these transactions:

7th. That, in particular, Lord Melville received from Trotter, the sum of 22,000*l.* out of the public money, and that the accounts relative thereto have been burnt and destroyed for the above mentioned purpose:

8th. That among other advances of money as aforesaid, Lord Melville received from Trotter the sum of 22,000*l.* for which he paid interest:

9th. That Trotter acted as agent to Lord Melville without any pecuniary compensation, and in that capacity was generally in advance for him to the amount of from 10,000*l.* to 20,000*l.* out of the public money in his hands; that Lord Melville was aware that Trotter had no means of making him such advances, except from the public money of which he had illegally possessed himself; and that Trotter was induced to act gratuitously as Lord Melville's agent, and to make these advances, in consideration of Lord Melville's connivance at his free use and uncontrolled application of the public money to his own private profit and emolument:

10th. That Lord Melville, between August 9th, 1782, and January 1st, 1806, did take and receive from the moneys issued to him out of his majesty's exchequer, as treasurer of the navy, divers large sums of money, amounting to 27,000*l.* or thereabouts, and fraudulently and illegally convert the same to his own use, or some other corrupt and illegal purposes

* The managers were, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Fox, Lord Howick, Mr. Sheridan, Lord Henry Petty, Lord Marsham, Mr. Giles, Lord Folkstone, Mr. Raine, Dr. Lawrence, Mr. Creevy, Mr. Holland, Mr. Calcraft, Lord Forchester, Lord Arch. Hamilton, Mr. Wm. Wynne, Mr. Jekyll, Mr. Morris, Lord Temple, Sergeant Best, and Lord Robert Spences.

In reply to these charges, the aversment of Lord Melville stated, "That he was not guilty of all or any of the articles of impeachment exhibited against him, and that he was prepared to prove the same before a tribunal composed of his peers."

The charges and answers having been concluded, Mr. Whitbread rose and addressed the court in an elaborate speech, which occupied upwards of three hours in the delivery, and which embraced the topics so successfully enforced in the house of commons on the 8th of April, in the preceding year, when the tenth report of the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry was first brought under the consideration of that assembly.*

The charges, though multiplied into ten, were in substance only three in number:—

First—That before the tenth of January, 1786, Lord Melville had, contrary to the obligation imposed upon him by the warrant appointing him to the office of treasurer of the navy, applied to his private use and profit divers sums of public money intrusted to him in that capacity.

Second—That after the passing of the act of parliament, in 1785, for the better regulating the office of treasurer of the navy, he had, in breach and violation of that act, permitted Trotter, his paymaster, illegally to take from the Bank of England, for other than immediate application to naval purposes, large sums of money, from the moneys issued to the bank on account of the treasurer of the navy, and placed the same in the hands of his private banker, in his own name, and subject to his sole control and disposition.

Third—That he had fraudulently and corruptly permitted Trotter to apply the money so abstracted illegally from the Bank of England, to purposes of private use and emolument, and had himself fraudulently and corruptly derived profit therefrom.

On the *first* of these charges, comprehending the first and tenth articles of impeachment, it was proved in evidence by the commons; that on the 19th of June, 1782, the house of commons resolved, "that it is the opinion of this house, that from henceforward, the paymaster of his majesty's forces, and the treasurer of the navy, for the time being, shall not apply any sum or sums of money, intrusted to them, for any purpose of advantage or interest to themselves, either directly or indirectly." That the warrant appointing Lord Melville to the office of treasurer of the navy, in August, 1782, granted to him

an additional salary of 2,324*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* in full satisfaction of all wages, fees, and other profits; and emoluments, heretofore enjoyed by former treasurers of the navy; and that Lord Melville himself declared before the naval commissioners, that he considered the said additional salary to be in full satisfaction of all such profit and emolument; that soon after Lord Melville's acceptance of the office of treasurer of the navy, viz. in August, 1782, there was a considerable difference between the balance of public money charged to the treasurer, and the actual balance to the credit of the treasurer at the bank;* and though it did not appear in evidence, that the whole of this difference was occasioned by the application of public money to the private use and profit of Lord Melville, yet it was satisfactorily shown, that certain payments were made to his private use out of the public money intrusted to him as treasurer of the navy, soon after his acceptance of that office. Thus it was shown, that particular bank-notes, issued from the exchequer in the month of November, 1782, and clearly identified, were paid in discharge of the private debts of Lord Melville. It was also proved that, in May, 1783, there was a difference amounting to the sum of 23,000*l.*; which difference, before the end of July, 1783, was reduced to 7,600*l.* in consequence of various payments made into the bank, on account of the treasurer of the navy, by Messrs. Muir and Atkinson, and other private persons, from which it was apparent, that the money so repaid had been used for some private purpose, and applied to private profit and advantage. It was also shown in evidence, that before the end of March, 1785, during the second treasurership of Lord Melville, certain drafts were drawn under the authority of the treasurer of the navy, the produce of which was not applied to any public purpose, but to the discharge of part of the debt due on the treasurer's own account. All these facts were confirmed by the proof adduced by the commons, by whom it was further shown, that after the death of Mr. Douglas, Lord Melville confessed, in the month of January, 1806, to Mr. Trotter, who succeeded Douglas as paymaster of the navy, that he was indebted to the public in the sum of 10,000*l.*

On the *second* of these charges, contained in the second article of impeachment, it was, in the first place, shown by the commons, that, subsequent to the appointment of Lord Melville, for the second time, to the office of treasurer of the navy,

* See Book III. chap. V. page 505.

* Documentary Evidence.

an act of parliament was passed, entitled, "an act for better regulating the office of treasurer of his majesty's navy;" whereby it is, among other things, enacted, "that from and after the 1st of July, 1785, the moneys to be issued unto the governor and company of the bank of England, on account of the treasurer of his majesty's navy, shall not be paid out of the bank, unless for navy services." It was proved, that, in direct breach and violation of the said statute, Lord Melville gave permission to Trotter, his paymaster, to draw from the bank of England, for other purposes than for immediate application to navy services, sums of money issued to the governor and company of the bank of England on account of the treasurer of the navy, and to place the same in the hands of his private banker;* that Trotter, in consequence of this permission, did draw from the bank of England large sums of public money, and place the same in the hands of his private bankers, in his own name, and at his own disposal, and beyond the control of the treasurer of the navy.

On the *third* of these charges, comprehending the third, fourth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth articles of impeachment, it was proved by the commons, that Trotter applied to his private use and emolument, the public money taken illegally from the bank of England, and placed in the hand of his private banker, and derived great profit therefrom;* and that Lord Melville connived at such illegal proceeding, and did not prohibit him so, to do. It further appeared in evidence, that Trotter, by desire of Lord Melville, opened an account, called the chest account, in which he debited Lord Melville with 10,600*l.* being the sum of money for which Lord Melville, by his own confession, was indebted to the public, when Trotter first became paymaster under him; that various advances were made, at subsequent periods, on the same account, in consequence of requisitions from Lord Melville to Trotter, with which requisitions Trotter invariably complied;* that no interest was ever charged to Lord Melville, or paid by him, on these advances;* that Trotter always considered Lord Melville to be immediately indebted to the public in this chest account; and Lord Melville understood and knew himself to be so indebted; that Trotter having advanced to Lord Melville, in 1797, the sum of 10,000*l.* in order to pay the instalments on his subscription to the loyalty loan; and having, in the first instance, debited Lord Melville for that

sum in another account kept between them, entitled their account current, did afterwards, for his own greater security, transfer the same to the chest account, and did present a copy of the said account bearing on the face of it a statement of the above transaction, to Lord Melville; by whom it was regularly, duly, and formally settled and signed, and to whom the original book, or a duplicate thereof, so settled and signed, was delivered; and that, at subsequent periods, Trotter presented other statements and duplicates of the said account, containing the same charge, which Lord Melville did, in like manner, settle and sign.* It was further proved, that notwithstanding, Lord Melville must have known from this transaction, that the money advanced to him by Trotter, by means of which he was enabled to hold the loyalty loan, was public money, he permitted the dividends accruing on that stock to be carried to his credit in his account current with Trotter, till May, 1800, when, by a paper signed with his own hand, he authorized Mark Sprott to dispose of the same, which was accordingly done, and the produce carried to the credit of Lord Melville, in his account with Messrs. Thomas Coutts and Co. his bankers. It was also shown in evidence that there was an account between Lord Melville and Trotter, called their account current, which was opened within less than three months after the appointment of Trotter to the office of paymaster, in January, 1786, and was not finally closed till May, 1800, when Lord Melville left the navy pay-office: that during the interval it had been frequently balanced and signed by both parties, and duplicates exchanged: that no interest was ever charged on either side in this account, though the balance upon it against Lord Melville was generally from 10,000*l.* to 20,000*l.*; and that large sums of money were advanced by Trotter, and placed to this account, derived from the public money illegally drawn by him from the bank, on the pretence of navy services, and placed, by permission of Lord Melville, in the hands of his private banker. It was further proved, that when Trotter was made paymaster of the navy, in 1798, he was unable to make advances of money to Lord Melville from his private fortune, which did not exceed, at that time, 1,000*l.* or 2,000*l.*; and that, nevertheless, within three months after his nomination to the office of paymaster, he advanced 4,000*l.* to Lord Melville, without interest,* his pecuniary circumstances being perfectly

* Mr. Trotter's Evidence.

* Mr. Trotter's Evidence.

known to Lord Melville, when he accepted of that loan. It was also shown, that while Lord Melville was thus receiving advances of money without interest from Trotter, his attention must have been forcibly drawn to the transactions of that personage, in regard to public money, by a very singular conversation which took place between himself and Trotter, in 1789, wherein Trotter had the audacity to propose to him, Lord Melville, treasurer of his majesty's navy, holding his place by the authority of a warrant, which strictly prohibited him from deriving any emolument from the public money in his possession, to lay out the public money for his, Lord Melville's, private interest and advantage; but though this proposal was indignantly rejected by the noble lord,* it appeared that his lordship did not then, or at any subsequent period, make any inquiry into the amount of public money in the hands of Trotter, nor into the uses to which it was applied, or risks to which it was exposed; instead of which, he continued to accept advances of money from Trotter, without paying interest for them, or even inquiring from what source the money was derived. With respect to the account current between Lord Melville and Trotter, it further appeared, that the first item of that account, consisting of a loan of 4,000*l.* advanced by Trotter to Lord Melville, was supplied from the fund intrusted to Trotter for the payment of exchequer fees, and that, in the bond given by Lord Melville for that sum, there was an engagement to pay interest for the same. It was also proved, that on September 4th, 1792, the sum of 8,000*l.* was drawn by Trotter from the bank, on pretence of navy services; out of which the sum of 4,057*l.* 10*s.* was employed the same day in the purchase of 2,000*l.* East India stock, for the use and benefit of Lord Melville, according to his express desire and request; and that no interest was charged to Lord Melville for the purchase money of the said East India stock, though the dividends were carried to his credit, and the stock itself ultimately disposed of for his benefit, in May, 1800. Lastly, it was proved, that in May, 1800, when Lord Melville quitted the navy pay-office, he was under the necessity of raising the sum of 50,000*l.* or thereabouts, to make good that part of the deficiency in his account at the bank, which arose from public money, applied to his own profit and advantage: and it further appeared in evidence, that the sum total of public money advanced by Trotter

to Lord Melville, and enjoyed without interest by Lord Melville, amounted, on the 31st of December,

1791	to	£19,988
1792	—	26,476
1793	—	37,025
1794	—	28,758
1795	—	30,316
1796	—	75,413
1797	—	58,640
1798	—	54,140
1799	—	54,140

On the part of the defendant, several witnesses were called to establish the fact that Lord Melville refrained from receiving the salaries, fees, and profits of his office of third secretary of state, up to the time of his resignation, and that a saving had hereby accrued to the public to the amount of twenty-six thousand pounds.

In answer to the *first* of the charges against Lord Melville, it was contended by Mr. Plomer, counsel for his lordship, that, independent of the act of the 25th of George III. which was posterior to the commission of the supposed offences charged in these articles, and independent of the warrant, the treasurer of the navy was not restrained, either by common or statute law, or by the nature of his official duty or trust, from making a temporary use of the public money intrusted to him, before it was wanted for the public service; provided it was at all times ready, when called for, to answer the purpose for which it was destined. With respect to the warrant, the learned counsellor admitted, that it precluded the treasurer of the navy from making profit of the public money in his hands; but he argued, that the breach of this engagement, had it been committed by Lord Melville (which he denied), did not amount to a public crime or offence, and though it might subject him to civil consequences, could not be the foundation of a criminal charge against him.

This doctrine was impugned, in a very able reply on the part of the managers, by the attorney-general, who contended that a breach of duty, which, between individuals, created nothing but a civil remedy, was, in a public accountant, an indictable offence.* The duty of every officer appointed by the king was a public duty, which the law would vindicate by criminal proceedings. The office held by the defendant prescribed a course of public duty, which, if he infringed, he was liable to have an indictment or information filed against him by the law officers of the crown.

In answer to the *second* charge and arti-

* Mr. Trotter's Evidence.

* Lord Mansfield, in the case *The King versus Bainbridge*.

cle of impeachment, Mr. Plomer and Mr. Adam contended, that it was no violation of the act of the 25th George III. for the treasurer of the navy to draw from the bank of England money intrusted to him for navy services, and to place the same in the hands of his private banker, or any other place of deposit, which he thought safe and eligible, till it should be wanted for the purposes for which it was drawn, provided always it was drawn from the bank by drafts, specifying the heads of service to which it was to be applied, as prescribed by the act. In the course of this argument, the learned counsel entered into a minute examination of the act, from which, after making a distinction between "the original and primary place of deposit, and the sole, ultimate, and continuing deposit," they concluded, that the act regulated in what manner the money wanted for navy services should be issued from the exchequer, and paid into the bank, and prescribed the form to be used by the treasurer of the navy in drawing it from the bank; but that, with respect to its subsequent custody, the act was totally silent, and contained no restriction whatever, which could prevent the treasurer from placing it, till wanted, wherever he pleased. They also contended, that from the number and minuteness of the payments made at the navy pay-office, the business of that department could not go on unless there were some other places of deposit for the public money intrusted to the treasurer of the navy, besides the bank of England.

This construction of the act of parliament was treated with ridicule by the attorney-general. The act was a remedial law, intended to take from the treasurer of the navy the custody of the public money, and to deprive him of the opportunity of having that custody, except only where it was inevitable. But, admitting the exposition given of the act by the learned counsel, so absurdly was it contrived, that though it employed the utmost care and precaution, and providing for the safe conveyance of the public money from the exchequer to the bank, the moment the money arrived at the bank, it was as much at the disposal of the treasurer, as if the act had never existed. He might draw it out without restraint or limitation, provided only he put into the form of his draft, "for navy services." The attorney-general contended, on the other hand, that the act was violated, unless the money drawn from the bank was *bona fide* drawn for immediate application to navy services, and that the treasurer was not justified for defeating the principal and main object of

the act, by his adherence in his drafts to the literal form of words it prescribed. He did not deny, on the part of the commons, that the treasurer might draw small sums from the bank, to supply the daily wants of his sub-accountants, and carry on the daily business of the navy pay-office, but he was not to withdraw large sums on that pretence, in order to lodge them in a place of custody, different from that provided by the wisdom of the legislature.

In answer to the *third* charge, comprehending the remaining articles of impeachment, the counsel for the defendant began by stating, that the charge against Lord Melville was not a charge for neglect of duty, for omitting to keep a vigilant and superintending eye over the conduct of his paymaster, whereby the latter was enabled to commit the offences proved in evidence; but that he wilfully, knowingly, illegally, and fraudulently connived at, and permitted, and authorized all that was done. This charge, the learned counsel contended, was directly, positively, clearly, and satisfactorily disproved by the evidence brought in support of it. Trotter, though he had every possible motive to extenuate his own offences, by dividing the guilt of them with his patron, had declared upon oath, that all the acts charged against Lord Melville were his own unauthorized acts, and committed without the knowledge or suspicion of that noble lord. But if the evidence of Trotter were rejected as unworthy of credit, the whole evidence for the prosecution fell to the ground; for it could scarcely be argued that his evidence was to be believed when it made against Lord Melville, and disregarded when it made in his favour.

It was contended by the managers in reply, that the whole question resolved itself into this—Did Mr. Trotter remove and use the public money with the permission of Lord Melville? If so, his lordship was guilty of *connivance*. Mr. Trotter, indeed, had in his evidence made the act exclusively his own,* but their lordships would decide whether, under the circumstances of the case, it was possible that Lord Melville should not have participated in that act.

As to the argument found on the circumstance of Lord Melville giving up the salary and profits of his office as third secretary of state, it was entitled to no consideration. He could not do otherwise. An act of parliament existed, in virtue of which no servant of the crown could receive more than six thousand pounds a

* Trotter's Evidence.

year; and as Lord Melville's places amounted to considerably more than that sum, he could not take credit to himself for not receiving what he had not the power to receive. But he might have relinquished one of his offices, had he not known, from experience, that four thousand a year, as treasurer of the navy, was better than four thousand a year as secretary of state.

After the managers had closed their reply, and the lords had adjourned to the chamber of parliament, some conversation took place in the house of peers upon the day to be fixed for discussing the charges; and as the evidence, which was very voluminous, was not printed, it was agreed to postpone the further consideration of this business for ten days, and accordingly the further proceedings on the trial were deferred till Wednesday, the 28th of May, on which day the lords were ordered to be summoned.

In the commons, a motion of thanks to the managers was made, on the 23d of May, by General Fitzpatrick. This motion, which was seconded by Sir John Newport, was agreed to with only one dissentient voice. The speaker then, calling on the managers, who stood up in their several places, thus addressed them:—

"Gentlemen, This house, upon the result of grave and important inquiries into the administration of the public expenditure, came to the resolution of entering upon the most solemn of all its functions; and of resorting to that transcendent power, by which it can bring to judgment all misdeeds done by the highest servants of the crown, and most effectually avenge all inroads made, or attempted to be made, upon the liberties of the people.—The conduct and management of that power it delegated to you; to prepare and arrange the proofs of complex and intricate facts; and to make good the charge of high crimes and misdemeanors against a noble person, whose elevated and splendid situation in the state rendered his actions of signal example, for good or for evil, to all persons intrusted with the public treasure. Throughout the progress of the trial so undertaken, we have seen, with peculiar satisfaction, its proceedings conducted with an exemplary diligence and despatch, which have rescued impeachments from the disgrace into which they had nearly fallen, and have restored them to their ancient strength and honour. Upon your part, we have also witnessed that unwearied industry, and singular sagacity, with which you have pursued and established the proofs; that boldness so properly belonging to the commons, with which you have maintained the charge; and that powerful display of argument and earned eloquence, which have spread the light of day over dark, secret, and criminal transactions. The issue of the whole is now with the ords; and whether that be of condemnation or acquittal, it rests with a tribunal, which, so far as depends upon human institutions, promises the surest hope of ultimate justice. But, be that issue what it may, your part is accomplished. In the discharge of your duty, you have satisfied the

expectations of the commons; you have obtained the high reward of their approbation and thanks, and, in obedience with their commands, I am now to acquaint you with their resolution: 'That the thanks of this house be given to the members who were appointed the managers of the impeachment of Lord Melville, for their faithful management in their discharge of the trust reposed in them.'"

At the appointed period, the members of the house of peers assembled in their chamber of parliament, and much time was occupied in the discussions relative to the trial, during which the doors were closed to all except the members of that house. The assistance of the judges, on certain points of law, was resorted to, and after a variety of animated and protracted debates, their lordships proceeded, on the 12th of June, to deliver their verdict. The lord chancellor, interrogating each peer by name, put the question, "Is Henry Viscount Melville guilty or not guilty?" to which the answer of "guilty," or "not guilty," "upon my honour," was given by each member, placing at the same time his right hand upon his breast. The lord chancellor, after casting up the votes, addressed the defendant and said:—

"HENRY VISCOUNT MELVILLE: I am to acquaint your lordship that you are acquitted of the articles of impeachment exhibited against you by the commons, for high crimes and misdemeanors and of all things contained therein."

The lords then adjourned to their chamber, when a correct copy of the verdict, as delivered by each peer, was inscribed on their journals, and exhibited the following result:

Charge	1st	2d	3d	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th
Not Guilty	120	81	83	136	131	88	85	121	121	124
Guilty	15	54	52	0	8	47	50	14	14	11
Majority	105	27	31	136	123	41	35	107	107	113

The result of this trial, in which the public had taken so deep an interest, disappointed the general expectations of the people. It must, however, be admitted, that the charge of fraudulent and corrupt participation in the profit made of the public money by Mr. Trotter, was not established against Lord Melville by any very clear and satisfactory evidence. But while this fact is conceded, the most zealous advocates of his lordship were obliged to confess,* that he had been guilty of "culpable negligence" in the discharge of his duty; that he had given to his paymaster a degree of "criminal indulgence;" and that, had these been the charges exhibited against him by the commons, the noble lord must have been pronounced guilty by the august tribunal to whom the decision on his case was confided.

* Lord Eldon's Speech on the Impeachment of Lord Melville.

The new ministry, after taking a clear and comprehensive view of the state of the country, appear to have formed the resolution of directing their views to the accomplishment of a peace with France. About ten days after Mr. Fox came into office, a project for assassinating the French emperor was communicated by a foreigner to the English foreign secretary, who immediately transmitted a statement of the circumstances to M. Talleyrand.* The French minister, in a respect-

ful reply to this letter, took occasion to introduce, unofficially, an extract from the emperor's speech to the legislative body, expressive of his wish for peace with England, and his readiness to negotiate, without a moment's delay, agreeably to the treaty of Amiens.

Mr. Fox considered this communication as a distinct overture, and proceeded to answer it in that frank and direct style, which is the characteristic of all his public despatches. He objected to the uncertainty of the basis of Amiens; the variety of modes in which it had been interpreted; and the delay which the explanations on the meaning of it would unavoidably occasion, even if no other objection should exist. "The true basis of such a negotiation," he observed, "between two great powers, equally despising every idea of chicane, would be the reciprocal recognition of the following principle; viz. that the object of both parties should be a peace, honourable for both, and for their respective allies; and at the same time, of a nature to secure, as far as in their power, the future tranquillity of Europe."† He then proceeded to state the impossibility of treating, much less of concluding any treaty, unless in concert with Russia; but suggested the practicability of some previous discussion of the principal points, and some provisional arrangements, while they were waiting for the actual intervention of that power.

A correspondence of some length ensued, in which, as M. Talleyrand observed, there is a character of openness and precision, that had not hitherto been seen in the communications between the two courts. The great difficulty consisted in the admission of Russia into the negotiation. M. Talleyrand endeavoured with much ingenuity to represent that power as interposing its authority between two nations fully competent to adjust their own differences, but Mr. Fox insisted on her being a party in the question as an ally of Great Britain, whose interests were inse-

* LETTER FROM MR. SECRETARY FOX TO M. TALLEYRAND.
(Translation.)

"Downing-street, 20th February, 1806.

"SIR,

"I think it my duty as an honest man to communicate to you, as soon as possible, a very extraordinary circumstance which is come to my knowledge. The shortest way will be to relate to you the fact simply as it happened.

"A few days ago, a person informed me, that he was just arrived at Gravesend without a passport, requesting me at the same time to send him one, as he had very lately left Paris, and had something to communicate to me which would give me satisfaction. I sent for him—he came to my house the following day—I received him alone in my closet; when, after some unimportant conversation, this villain had the audacity to tell me, that it was necessary for the tranquillity of all crowned heads to put to death the ruler of France; and that, for this purpose, a house had been hired at Pasey, from which this detestable project could be carried into effect with certainty, and without risk. I did not perfectly understand if it was to be done by a common musket, or by fire-arms upon a new principle.

"I am not ashamed to confess to you, sir, who know me, that my confusion was extreme, in thus finding myself led into a conversation with an avowed assassin; I instantly ordered him to leave me, giving, at the same time, orders to the police officer who accompanied him, to send him out of the kingdom as soon as possible. After having more attentively reflected upon what I had done, I saw my error in having suffered him to depart without previously having informed you of the circumstances, and I ordered him to be detained.

"It is probable that all this is unfounded, and that the wretch had nothing more in view than to make himself of consequence, by promising, what, according to his ideas, would afford me satisfaction. At all events, I thought it right to acquaint you with what had happened, before I sent him away. Our laws do not permit us to detain him long; but he shall not be sent away till after you shall have had full time to take precautions against his attempts, supposing him still to entertain bad designs; and when he goes, I shall take care to have him landed at a seaport as remote as possible from France. He calls himself here Guillet de la Gevriilliere, but I think it is a false name which he has assumed. At his first entrance, I did him the honour to believe him to be a spy.

I have the honour to be,

"With the most perfect attachment, sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

(Signed)

"C. J. Fox."

LETTER FROM M. TALLEYRAND TO MR. SECRETARY FOX.

(Translation.)

"Paris, 5th March, 1806.

"SIR,

"I have laid your excellency's letter before his majesty. His first words, after having read it, were, 'I recognise here the principles of honour and virtue, by which Mr. Fox has ever been actuated. Thank him on my part.' I will not allow myself, sir, to add any thing to the expressions of his imperial and royal majesty. I only request you to accept the assurances of my distinguished consideration.

(Signed) "CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND."

* Mr. Fox's Despatch, dated March 26, 1806.

parably connected with her own. To bring the discussion to a point, Mr. Fox stated explicitly, that his majesty was willing to negotiate conjointly with Russia, but would not consent to negotiate separately. To this proposal, M. Talleyrand re-urged the former objections, and the first overture may be said to have failed in consequence of the determination of England not to negotiate separately, and the unwillingness of France to admit the intervention of Russia.

Early in the month of June, Lord Yarmouth, son of the Marquis of Hertford, who had been among the detained in France, arrived in London, and communicated the substance of a conversation with M. Talleyrand, which had passed at the desire of that minister, for the purpose of conveying, through a secret and confidential channel, the sentiments and views of France, and the outlines of the terms on which peace might be restored between the two countries. The terms sketched out in the conversation seemed so favourable, that the English cabinet lost no time in conveying to M. Talleyrand their disposition to commence a negotiation on the basis contained in them.

As the unwillingness of France to adhere to her original offers, not only occasioned the first departure from that spirit of conciliation in which the former correspondence had been conducted, but was the real cause of the ultimate failure of the negotiation, the substance of those overtures necessarily forms the most important part of the whole transaction.

It appears that three specific offers were held out as inducements to Great Britain to treat; viz. the restoration of Hanover, the possession of Sicily, as a consequence of the principle of the *uti possidetis*—the state of actual possession—and a facility in the arrangement of the form of treating, which without establishing a congress, or recognising the claim of a joint negotiation, would not impair the advantages which Great Britain and Russia might derive from their close connexion and alliance.

M. Talleyrand, in the first interview with Lord Yarmouth, after his return to Paris, not only departed entirely from his clear and explicit offer of Sicily, but indulged himself in vain allusions to further demands, and in peremptory representations of the necessity of negotiating with some persons duly authorized and empowered to treat. The first deviation from the original overtures, was received by the British ministry as the omen of the failure of negotiation; and from that period Mr. Fox is said to have despaired of its successful issue.

The English cabinet considered this intimation as a departure from the principles and basis of the negotiation, which had been held out to them as inducements to treat, and as an indication of the little reliance that could be placed in the language or sincerity of the French negotiators. The instructions, therefore, to Lord Yarmouth, were distinct and peremptory. He was directed to insist generally on the recurrence to the original overtures, and to make the readmission of Sicily as the *sine qua non* of the production of his full powers, which, "to avoid all pretence of cavil," were conveyed to him without delay. In the mean while, the Russian plenipotentiary, M. D'Oubril, who had arrived in Paris on the 10th of July, had signed a separate peace with the French government. In this posture of affairs, Lord Lauderdale, a nobleman whose discernment and talents eminently qualified him for the task, and whose uniform disposition to a pacific system of policy was a strong earnest of the sincerity of the British cabinet in their endeavours to obtain peace, was despatched to Paris. Nor were these the only recommendations of his lordship. The health of Mr. Fox began at this period to decline, and the nomination of his personal friend, and tried political adherent, was a pledge that the cabinet continued to promote his views, and to consult the spirit of his policy.—The first endeavour of Lord Lauderdale, on his arrival at Paris, was to bring back the French government to the basis of the *uti possidetis*, and to the application of that principle to the island of Sicily. Lord Yarmouth, after having for that purpose concurred with his colleague, in representing formally and officially the substance and tendency of M. Talleyrand's original overtures, left the subsequent part of the negotiation exclusively in his hands. The French negotiators (for M. Champagny, minister of the interior, was soon appointed joint plenipotentiary with General Clark) never actually admitted the basis of the *uti possidetis*, after the arrival of Lord Lauderdale, and constantly evaded the acknowledgment of having in the first instance made that proposal.—They contrived however, under various pretences, and in one instance by a delay in the passports, for a messenger, to detain Lord Lauderdale at Paris, till it became the policy of Great Britain, as well as France, to await the decision of the court of St. Petersburg, on the treaty which M. D'Oubril had carried thither for ratification.

On the 3d of September, a courier brought the intelligence to Paris, that the emperor

of Russia had refused to ratify M. D'Oubril's treaty, and M. Talleyrand, with great apparent frankness, informed the British negotiator of this piece of intelligence, the day after its arrival in Paris, and assured him that France was now prepared to make peace with England on more favourable terms than she otherwise would have been disposed to admit; but, as it was soon obvious, that the abandonment of Russia was to be the price of more favourable terms, so ostentatiously announced to Great Britain, the honourable determination of our court not to listen to any such projects, prevented any precise detail of the concessions France was willing to make for the attainment of her object. Mr. Fox was now unable to discharge the duties of his office, and the expectations of bringing the negotiations to a favourable issue were daily diminished.

In the mean while, Bonaparte had left Paris for the army on the Rhine, and one of the plenipotentiaries (General Clarke) as well as M. Talleyrand, accompanied him on his journey. M. Champagny, who remained to conduct the negotiation, was authorized neither to relinquish the claims of Joseph upon Sicily, nor to acquiesce in such an arrangement as would have satisfied the court of St. Petersburg. The negotiation was therefore at an end, and Lord Lauderdale peremptorily insisted on his passports.

The obvious policy of France, when she despaired of any separate peace with Great Britain, was to induce her to admit in the project of a treaty, such terms as she foresaw would alienate the affections, and shake the confidence, of her ally the Emperor of Russia. The honourable determination of our cabinet, and the firm but temperate conduct of our negotiator, defeated the design; and his earnest and peremptory demand of passports was at length granted, though they were accompanied with a note, evidently composed under the immediate direction of Bona-

parte. This paper insinuates that the principles of Mr. Fox had been abandoned by his colleagues and successors; that a departure from the basis laid down by him had thrown the first obstacle in the way of pacification; and that to the loss of that great man alone was to be ascribed the further continuance of the calamities of war. To these charges, Lord Lauderdale delivered a spirited, manly, and convincing reply. Indeed, no impartial person can peruse the early part of the negotiation, without being persuaded, that if the French had conducted themselves towards Mr. Fox, as they did towards his successors, the result must have been precisely the same. Whether, if the life of Mr. Fox had been fortunately preserved, confidence in that great character, reliance on the stability and permanence of his power at home, and apprehension of the authority of his name throughout Europe, and in France in particular, might not have induced Bonaparte to relax in his pretensions, and to revert to the counsels of moderation which seem to have dictated M. Talleyrand's first correspondence, is mere matter of speculation.

The animosity, so studiously excited at the commencement of the war, was by no means extinguished in this country; and an incident soon occurred, which served to show that motives still more inexcusable contributed to the general sentiment in favour of a rupture of the negotiation. Though the grounds upon which the discussion had broken off were unknown, the intelligence of Lord Lauderdale's departure from Paris was received at the great commercial resort, in the city of London,* with bursts of approbation; and shouts of applause, at the prospect of the continuance of the war, served to show how much indifference the calamities of the world can be contemplated, when they serve to administer to the gratification of a spirit of commercial cupidity.

* Lloyd's Coffee-house.

CHAPTER IX.

BRITISH HISTORY.—Last Sickness and Death of Mr. Fox—Memoir—New Ministerial Arrangements—Dissolution of Parliament—NAVAL CAMPAIGN OF 1806: Annihilation of the French Squadron under Admiral Le Seigle, by the Fleet under the command of Admiral Sir John Thomas Duckworth—Dispersion and Destruction of Admiral Villameux's Squadron by a tempest—Capture of the *Marengo* and *Belle Poule*, by the Squadron under Sir J. B. Warren—Gallant Achievements by the West India Fleet—Capture of four French Frigates by Sir Samuel Hood—Surrender of the Cape of Good Hope to the English Troops, under Sir David Baird—Unauthorized Expedition against South America—Surrender of Buenos Ayres to the English—Reconquest of that Capital—Insurrection against the Emperor of Hayti, violent Death of Dessalines, and Appointment of Christophe as his Successor—Differences between Great Britain and the United States of America—The Points stated and discussed.

THE accession of Mr. Fox to power, whatever hopes it might excite in a political party, or in the great body of the nation, was a circumstance pregnant to himself with inconvenience and danger. In a life of retirement, which, comparatively speaking at least, he might be said to enjoy, before his summons to power by the death of his political rival, the consequences of his youthful eccentricities were capable of being palliated by cautious attention and remedial applications. But on his advance to office, the perplexities of intrigue, the collision of claims, the chagrin of submitting to arrangements which he most desired to preclude, but which it seemed requisite to adopt, the prolonged contest in parliament, the frequent summonses to council, and even the very convivialities with which it was thought expedient to celebrate and cement a new administration, were but ill calculated for the preservation of that health, which was now, more than ever, desirable; but seemed also more than ever in danger. In a few months, symptoms appeared of an alarming nature, and it was strongly apprehended that Mr. Fox laboured under an incipient dropsy. The business of the house of commons, he was, in consequence of his impaired health, obliged to abandon; but with this deduction from his harassing employments, the remainder pressed too heavily upon him; and whatever chance might have been afforded by a total abstinence from public business, and a recurrence to his rural retirement and regularity, this chance was not afforded. It was not long before the most decided indications of dropsy appeared, in consequence of which all hope of continued life was founded upon a long succession of operations, which, in comparatively vigorous subjects, have sometimes preserved the springs of life for a series of years, but which a broken constitution has seldom, if ever, been capable of sustaining. The operation of tapping was several times performed on Mr. Fox, pro-

ducing that temporary relief which it seldom fails to effect: but the disease was too formidable for effectual resistance, and, in a short time, even for mitigation. After a series of increasing languors, amidst which the fondness of affection would seem to perceive foundations for hope, which medical skill could never really admit; this great man closed his connexion with all mortal scenes, at Chiswick, the seat of the Duke of Devonshire, on the 13th of September, in the 59th year of his age. The regret occasioned by this event was evinced by the general feeling at the receipt of the intelligence, notwithstanding it had been so long expected, and by that procession which some time afterwards took place on the solemn interment. The funeral was solemnized at private expense, but it was attended by the most distinguished nobility, by vast numbers of the house of commons, many dignitaries of the church, men of genius and talents from all quarters, a numerous body of the electors of Westminster, and gentlemen deputed from distant parts of the country, in testimony of their respect for the character of the deceased, and an immense assemblage of the general population of the metropolis. One general sentiment of grief appeared to overwhelm all the distinctions of party politics, and the day that consigned Fox to the grave, was consecrated from all profane and factious asperity, to deplore the loss of a man, whose genius, acquirements, and virtues, did honour to the nation and to the age. The private character of this great man appears to have abounded in all those qualities which can conciliate affection and esteem. The independence of his mind was totally unmixed with any portion of that surly asperity with which it is too frequently connected; and, while it excited respect, it did not impair attachment. The frankness of his manners, the generosity of his feelings, which, agreeably to the testimony of one who knew him well, were unalloyed by the smallest particle of gall;

the elevation of his principles; and that self-oblivion, which he displayed in circumstances in which personal interest, in common minds, appears to absorb every other sentiment; procured for him, in return, a degree of regard, which, perhaps, was scarcely ever extended to any other human individual, as he appears to have been excelled by no one in the tenderness of his affections, the sublimity of his views, and the comprehension and sagacity of his understanding.*

*The Right Hon. CHARLES JAMES FOX, born the 13th of January, 1749, was the second son of Henry Lord Holland, by the sister of the Duke of Richmond, and to the accidental favours of high rank and of titled relatives, he added the more solid advantages of extraordinary natural genius, and strong powers of mind. After a short initiation at Westminster school, he was removed to Eton, and from Eton he removed to Oxford, where he is said to have studied more than ten hours a day during the whole time. The uniformity of a college life did not long agree with the ardour of his mind, and after some time spent at the university, he set out on the usual tour of Europe. Though he indulged freely in the dissipations over which his rank and fortune gave him the command, yet he did not fail to acquire that intimate knowledge of the world, and of human nature, which fitted him for the most exalted rank in the state. An unfortunate attachment to the gaming table, which can never be passed over in silence, nor spoken of without becoming censure, was the principal error of Mr. Fox's youth; and before he was eighteen years of age he had lavished away large sums of money, and contracted very heavy debts. His father, being apprized of these excesses, recalled his favourite son. At nineteen years of age, he was elected a member of parliament for Midhurst, and his first speech was in favour of ministers, and against Mr. Wilkes and the Middlesex election. After sharing the favours of the minister as a lord of the admiralty, and afterwards as a lord of the treasury, he was dismissed from office by the following laconic epistle from the premier:—

"SIR—His majesty has thought proper to order a new commission of treasury to be made out, in which I do not see your name.

(Signed)

"NORTH."

At the general election in 1780, the family borough of Midhurst having fallen into different hands, Mr. Fox, conscious of his own powers, became a candidate for the city of Westminster, in which, after a violent contest, he succeeded, though opposed by the formidable interest of the Newcastle family, and by the whole influence of the crown. Being now the representative of a great city, he appeared in parliament in a more dignified capacity, and acquired a considerable increase of importance to his political character. During the American war, he was a regular, consistent, and active antagonist of the ministry, and the powerful and frequent application of his superior talents to popular purposes, obtained him the title of "The man of the people." On the removal of Lord North, he was raised to a seat in the cabinet, as secretary of state. The death of the Marquis of Rockingham soon afterwards dissolved the new ministry, and Mr. Fox, after some time opposing the measures of Lord Shelburne, re-

turned to power by his well known coalition with Lord North. This event is regarded as a stigma in the political life of Fox, who, in the ardour of his zeal, had often declared, that he would not trust himself in the same room with Lord North, but would employ all his powers to bring him to the scaffold for the flagitiousness of his public crimes. A union bottomed in ambition, and deprecatd by every class of his majesty's subjects, could not long be sustained. The memorable India bill proved fatal to the coalition ministry, and produced their downfall. Mr. Fox had ever shown himself a friend of peace, and on two occasions his powerful eloquence proved of the last importance to the nation; first, by preventing an unprofitable war with Russia, relative to the possession of Oczakow; and secondly, by arresting an armament against Spain, which had no higher object than a participation in the fur-trade of Nootka Sound. On the regency question, during the king's illness, in 1788, Mr. Fox insisted upon the right of the prince to the regency, while his great political rival took the constitutional ground; but the restoration of the sovereign's health settled the violent and protracted discussions of this momentous question.

No sooner had the French nation evinced a sincere desire to shake off the yoke of absolute power, than Mr. Fox hailed the auspicious dawn of rising liberty. At first, the two great rival chiefs, who agreed in nothing else, united cordially in this cause, and while one presaged a long and uninterrupted peace, the extinction of the national debt, and the prosperity of the British empire; the other gloried in beholding a mighty people rescued from the most oppressive servitude, and augured the happiest results in favour of the human race. Soon, they became opposed to each other, and the most serious conflicts were the result of their discussions. Mr. Fox experienced the dereliction of many of his associates, and among others of Mr. Burke, the man from whose lips he had imbibed the principles of freedom. War was commenced; a war, to which Mr. Fox, in every stage of its progress, gave his decided negative; but Mr. Pitt, who was supposed to engage in the contest with reluctance, left no means untried to secure the support of parliament. Titles, offices, and honours, were distributed with no sparing hand; the opposition benches were nearly deserted, and Mr. Fox was left, almost alone, to contend with a host of foes. Finding his efforts without effect, he determined to secede from parliament, and evinced a wish to retire altogether from public life; but the entreaties of his friends, and the occurrence of a new train of events, prevented the execution of that design. In 1803, he returned to his parliamentary duty, and the death of his great political rival, in the beginning of 1806, brought him, after an interval of two and-twenty years, into his former office of secretary of state for foreign affairs. Aware that he had but a short space before him, he declared that he should die contented, if he could but previously obtain a peace—an honourable peace, for Britain; remove all legal disabilities arising out of religion, in order to unite more closely the interests of Ireland with those of England; and lastly, obtain a complete abolition of the slave trade. Scarcely had he commenced his career of public and official business, before the power

appointment of Lord Howick to the foreign office, in the situation of his departed friend; Mr. Grenville to be first lord of the admiralty, in the place of lord Howick; Mr. Tierney to be president of the board of control, in the place of Mr. Grenville, who had succeeded to that office, with a seat in the cabinet, on the appoint-

of his body sunk exhausted by the too vigorous exertion of his mind; and the immense pressure of public concerns, broke down a constitution which had previously indicated symptoms of decay, before the mighty purposes revolving in his breast could be matured, and almost before any of his wise and salutary plans could be realized.

"To an extraordinary natural capacity, improved and embellished by liberal education; and to a quickness of apprehension, which instantly seized every object that was presented to it, this great man added a memory richly stored with science and literature, and well fraught with historical and political knowledge. He was profoundly versed in the history and constitution of his country. He was well acquainted with the history, the strength, the policy, the separate and relative interests and views of those states which once constituted what has not been improperly called the great republic of Europe. In a word, he was ignorant of nothing which was necessary to constitute the consummate statesman." As a public speaker, his manner was not graceful, but it was peculiarly animated and impressive. "His merit, as a parliamentary debater, did not consist in the length, variety, or roundness of his periods: but in the truth and vigour of his conceptions; in the depth and extent of his information; in the retentive powers of his memory; in the faculty of spreading out his matter so clearly to the grasp of his own mind, as to render it impossible that he should ever fail in the utmost clearness and distinctness to others; and in the exuberant fertility of his invention, which spontaneously brought forth his ideas at the moment, in every possible shape by which the understanding might sit in the most accurate judgment upon them." His eloquence was plain, nervous, energetic, and vehement; it simplified what was complicated, it unravelled what was entangled; it cast light on what was obscure, and through the understanding it forced its way to the heart. And to crown all, this powerful eloquence was uniformly exerted in the cause of liberty and justice; in defence of the oppressed and persecuted; and in vindicating the rights, the freedom, and the happiness of mankind. If, since the commencement of the Christian era, peace ever had a steady, a disinterested advocate, it was in CHARLES JAMES FOX. Peace was his constant aim, his ardent hope, his living counsel, and his dying prayer. Resignation to Providence was a marked feature in the character of Mr. Fox. His departure out of this life was unruffled by remorse; he had sacrificed every thing that was personal to his country's good; and his dying moments were blessed with the reflection, that his last effort had been conformable to the divine religion he professed—to give peace to the world. Cheered by the approving smiles of heaven, he sunk into the arms of death, and "I die happy,"† was one of the last sentences that fell from the lips of the expiring patriot.

* Lord Erskine's Letter to the Editor of the *Speeches of Mr. Fox*.

† *Memoirs of the latter years of Mr. Fox*, by J. B. Trotter, his private secretary.

ment of Lord Minto to the government of Bengal; Lord Sidmouth to succeed to the presidency of the council, from which Earl Fitzwilliam, on account of bad health, was desirous to withdraw; and Lord Holland to succeed Lord Sidmouth, as lord privy seal. In all these arrangements, his majesty was graciously pleased to acquiesce; and it is worthy of observation, that the only new member brought into the cabinet was Lord Holland, the nephew of Mr. Fox.

No sooner were these changes completed, than his majesty, conceiving that an increased portion of energy might be procured to the public councils and measures, by resorting to the elective power of the people, determined to dissolve the existing parliament. The returns to the new parliament were such as to add greatly to the weight and influence of the friends of administration in the house of commons. The whig party, which had been driven out of the representation in Yorkshire, in 1784, recovered one of the seats for that great and independent county, by the return of Walter Fawkes, Esq. In Norfolk, after a hard fought contest, both the members returned were of that party. Mr. Roscoe, distinguished as an author for his elegant literature, and as a man for his knowledge of business and respectability of character, came in for Liverpool, notwithstanding his direct avowal against the slave-trade; or rather in consequence of that avowal, "No slavery," being the inscription on his banners. But, on the other hand, Mr. Tierney, one of the king's ministers, was rejected by the electors of Southwark, and a member in the ranks of opposition was returned for the city of Norwich.

During the greater part of the present year, Ireland enjoyed uninterrupted tranquillity, under the mild and conciliatory government of the Duke of Bedford; but, towards its close, disturbances broke out in the north, occasioned by a banditti, who, assuming the name of "Thrashers," committed every species of crime and outrage, under the cover of night. Strong applications were made to the castle, to quell these riotous proceedings by the insurrection law, the usual remedy in Ireland on such occasions; but the Duke of Bedford refused to resort to so violent a remedy, and, by a proper use of the ordinary and regular authority of government, he succeeded effectually in repressing and putting a stop to these alarming excesses.

The British navy maintained during the present year its accustomed superiority. The shattered remains of the combined fleets of France and Spain were closely

blockaded by Lord Collingwood, off Cadiz. Admiral Russel was at the same time employed in watching the Dutch ports; and fleets of British cruisers were exercising the most indefatigable vigilance and activity off the port of Brest. In the Downs, the light squadrons employed on that station kept a scrutinising eye over the port of Boulogne, from which the flotilla of the enemy did not venture to move beyond the batteries, under a well-founded apprehension of inevitable destruction. From the North Sea to the straits of Gibraltar, the enemy were blockaded in their harbours, and had the mortification to see the British squadrons riding before them in perpetual triumph. With all the vigilance which it was possible to exercise in prosecuting the system of blockade, opportunities would inevitably occur, of which the enemy availed themselves, for sending out their remaining vessels of war, for the succour of their colonies, and the annoyance of the British trade. At the close of the preceding year, Admiral Villameux, accompanied by Jerome Bonaparte, the brother of the French emperor, availed himself of one of these opportunities to escape from port with eleven sail of the line, and a number of frigates. After continuing in company for ten days, the fleet separated into two different squadrons, one of which, consisting of five ships of the line, two frigates, and a corvette, under the command of Admiral Le Seigle, steered for St. Domingo, and, having arrived at that port, disembarked a body of troops, and a supply of ammunition for the use of the colony. On the 6th of February, Admiral Sir J. T. Duckworth, with a British fleet under his command, consisting of seven ships of the line, and four frigates, discovered the French squadron to windward of Ocoa bay. The enemy, sensible of his inferiority, endeavoured to effect his escape, but, by the judicious manœuvres of the British admiral, this intention was frustrated. The French, notwithstanding their inferior strength, fought with great gallantry; but, after an engagement of two hours, Admiral Le Seigle ran his ship, the *Imperiale*, on shore, and was followed by the captain of the *Diomedé*. The other three ships of the line struck to his majesty's arms, and were immediately taken possession of by the conquerors, but the smaller vessels had sufficient good fortune to effect their escape.* The *Imperiale* and the *Diomedé*

were after the engagement both destroyed by the British fleet; and the complete annihilation of this formidable force served "to add another sprig of laurel to our naval history,"* and procured for Admiral Duckworth, his officers and crews, the unanimous thanks of both houses of parliament.

The other squadron of Villameux, amounting to six sail of the line, with three frigates, was originally destined for the Cape of Good Hope, but, having been informed of the capture of that settlement by the English, they steered first to the coast of Brazil, and afterwards to the West Indies. In the month of June, Admiral Cochrane, the English admiral upon the windward station, who had at that time only four sail of the line and three frigates, discovered the enemy near Barbadoes, but contented himself with watching his motions, not considering it safe to hazard an engagement with such a disparity of force. Nor was it necessary; for the ruin of this hostile fleet was soon afterwards accomplished by the fury of the elements. A gale of wind, one of the most tremendous ever experienced, separated the ships of the enemy, on the 18th of August, and the French admiral reached the Havanna with extreme difficulty. The *Impetueux* made for the coast of North America, and was followed into the Chesapeake by his majesty's ships the *Bellisle* and *Bellona*, where she was run ashore and afterwards burned by the crew of the *Malampus*. Of the remaining vessels, two were eventually destroyed by the English on the same coast; but the *Castor*, which was supposed to have foundered at sea, reached the port of Brest in the middle of October. Prince Jerome, whose appearance in a British port was anticipated with confidence, with the good fortune which appears character-

<i>Agamemnon</i> ,	64
<i>Canopus</i> , Rear-admiral Louis,	84
<i>Donegal</i> ,	74
<i>Atlas</i> ,	74
	<hr/> 518

Frigates.—*Acasta*, *Magicienne*, *Kingfisher*, and *Epervier*.

FRENCH LINE.

	<i>Guns</i> .
<i>L'Imperiale</i> , Admiral Le Seigle,	120 (<i>destroyed</i>)
<i>L'Alexandre</i> , Captain Garreau,	84 (<i>taken</i>)
<i>Le Diomedé</i> , Captain Henry,	84 (<i>destroyed</i>)
<i>Le Brave</i> , Captain Conde,	74 (<i>taken</i>)
<i>Le Jupiter</i> , Captain Laignel,	74 (<i>taken</i>)
	<hr/> 436

Frigates.—*La Felicite*, *La Comete*. } (*captured*)
Corvette, *La Diligence*.

* Sir J. T. Duckworth's Despatches, dated at sea, Feb. 7th, 1806.

* BRITISH LINE.

<i>Superb</i> , Vice-admiral Duckworth,	<i>Guns</i> . 74
<i>Northumberland</i> , Rear-admiral Cochrane,	74
<i>Spencer</i> ,	74

istic to the voyages of his family, eluded the vigilance of his pursuers, and at length succeeded in gaining a French harbour.

The French Admiral Linois had long carried on a predatory warfare in the Indian seas, unmolested and undismayed. His successes were a theme of exultation to the enemy, and excited feelings of depression and apprehension in this country, such as, in similar circumstances, will ever occur in a mercantile community. The isle of France had been the grand depôt of the plunder he had collected, whence, in different bottoms, it had been transferred to France. Thither the admiral's ship, the *Marengo*, of eighty guns, and seven hundred and forty-four men; and the *Belle Poule*, of forty-eighteen pounders, and three hundred and twenty men; were this year bending their course, having completed their levies on British property, and looking forward to the splendid enjoyment of the produce of their toil. These hopes, however, were fatally intercepted by Sir J. B. Warren, with one of the squadrons which had been despatched in pursuit of Jerome Bonaparte. On the morning of the 13th of March, at daylight, the French ships were seen to windward, when, after a running fight of about three hours, the *Marengo* was obliged to strike to the British flag, and her example was speedily followed by the *Belle Poule*. This event, so mortifying to the hopes of the French admiral, diffused general satisfaction throughout Great Britain, and the catastrophe of the French expedition to the east afforded some atonement for the depredations committed by Admiral Linois upon British commerce.

An action, which requires honourable mention in the catalogue of illustrious exertions by sea, was performed by a part of the Jamaica fleet. Eleven of these merchant vessels, being on their passage, and destitute of convoy, were attacked by a French privateer, which they twice beat off. Having received intelligence soon afterwards, that three other privateers were in pursuit of them, they provided for their arrival by constituting Captain M'Farlan, the master of one of the ships, their commodore, and by sending detachments of men to enable him to perform the duties of his new appointment with effect. The privateers soon afterwards arrived, but after an hour's warm fighting, they thought proper to retire from the conflict, leaving these heroic traders to pursue their voyage without further molestation.

Five large frigates and two corvettes, with troops on board, for the West-Indies, having escaped from Rocheford, on the 24th of September, were, on the following

day, met at sea by a British squadron under Commodore Sir Samuel Hood, and, after a running fight of several hours, four of the five frigates were compelled to strike. The loss of the English, in this action, amounted to only nine killed and thirty-two wounded, but their gallant commander unfortunately received a severe wound in the right arm, which rendered the amputation of the limb necessary.

But vain would be the attempt to enumerate all the instances of courage, enterprise, and skill, which distinguished the British navy during the present year. The capture of the *Pomona* frigate on the coast of Cuba, though defended by a strong castle and a formidable line of gun-boats, all of which were destroyed by two English frigates, the *Anson* and the *Arethusa*; the action between the French frigate, the *Salamander*, of forty-four guns, supported by batteries and troops, provided with musketry and field-pieces on the shore, and the English ship the *Constance*, of twenty-four guns, assisted by a sloop of war and a gun-brig, in which both vessels were stranded and lost, though not till after the Frenchman had been compelled to strike his colours to the English; and the boldness and intrepidity displayed in numerous actions, in which vessels were cut out from under the protection of batteries, or in other circumstances unfavourable for attack; reflect the highest honour on those who succeeded in such hazardous enterprises, and add glory, if possible, to the achievements of the British navy.

An expedition to the Cape of Good Hope had sailed from England in the month of August, 1805, at the moment when hostilities were breaking out on the continent, and when, from the plan of operation concerted between the British government and its allies, it might have been expected that the whole of our disposable force would have been employed in some continental operation. The force destined for this conquest consisted of about five thousand land troops, under Sir David Baird, with a provisional naval force commanded by Sir Home Popham. Having touched at San Salvador for refreshment, the expedition sailed from that place on the 26th of November, and reached Table Bay on the 4th of January. After a general survey of the shore, it was found impossible to land the troops nearer to Cape Town than Saldanha and Loosdorp's Bay. The debarkation was conducted with perfect order, under the protection of the fleet, and although a few sharp-shooters appeared on the heights, and presented some annoyance to the troops, only two persons were wound-

ed by their fire, and the landing would have been effected without any other loss, had not one of the boats, in the ardour of the crew's zeal to be first on shore, upset, by which accident thirty-five soldiers, rank and file, were drowned. On the morning of the 8th, the army, consisting of the 25th, 59th, 71st, 72d, 83d, and 93d regiments, was formed into two brigades, with two howitzers, and six light field-pieces, and moved forwards on the road towards Cape Town.

Having ascended the summit of the Blaauwberg, or Blue Mountains, and dislodged the enemy's light troops, their main body, under the command of Lieutenant-general Janssens, was discovered, drawn up in two lines, and in motion, to anticipate the approach of the British troops. The enemy's force was estimated at about five thousand men, principally cavalry, with twenty-three pieces of cannon. Perceiving it was their intention to turn the right flank of the British army, General Sir David Baird formed his force into two columns, the second brigade, under Brigadier-general Ferguson, keeping the road, while the first struck to the right, and took the defile of the mountains. Having effected these operations, the first line was formed with equal celerity and order, and the left wing, composed of the Highland brigade, was thrown forward, and advanced with the steadiest step, under a heavy fire of round shot, grape, and musketry. Nothing could surpass or resist the determined bravery of the British troops, headed by their gallant leader, General Ferguson; and the number of the enemy, who covered the plain, served only to augment their ardour and confirm their discipline. For some time, they received the British force with firmness, and maintained their position without dismay, but in the moment of charging, the valour of the British troops bore down all opposition, and forced the Batavians to a precipitate retreat.

The first brigade, composed of the 24th, 59th, and 83d regiments, and commanded, in the absence of Brigadier-general Beresford, by Lieutenant-colonel Baird, was unavoidably precluded, by its situation, from any considerable participation in the triumph of the British arms, though the flank companies of the 24th had an opportunity of distinguishing themselves in dislodging a number of horse and riflemen from the heights on the right flank. It is scarcely possible to convey an adequate idea of the obstacles which opposed the advance, and retarded the success of our army. A deep, heavy, and hard land, covered with shrubs, and scarcely pervious to light bodies of infantry; and above all, the total privation of water, un-

der the effects of a burning sun, had nearly exhausted the troops in the moment of victory, and it was with the utmost difficulty that they were enabled to reach the Reit Valley, where they took up their position for the night. A considerable portion of the provisions and necessaries, with which the army were supplied at their embarkation, was lost during the action, and they occupied their ground under an apprehension that even the great exertions of Sir Home Popham and the navy could not relieve them from starvation. In this engagement, so brilliant to the British arms, the loss of the vanquished exceeded seven hundred killed and wounded, while the loss of the victors amounted only to fifteen killed, and one hundred and ninety-seven wounded and missing!*

On the 9th, the army under General Baird reached the Salt River, where they proposed to encamp, but a flag of truce having arrived from the commandant of the garrison of Cape Town, with offers to capitulate, the articles were agreed upon, and the following day the town was surrendered to the British army. After the battle of the 8th, the governor-general, Janssens, retired with a body of forces to Hottentots Holland's Kloof, a pass leading to the district of Zwelendam, and seemed disposed to maintain himself in the interior. But General Beresford having been sent against him, he was prevailed upon to surrender, on terms by which the conquest of the colony was completed, and its internal tranquillity secured. By the articles of capitulation, signed with General Beresford on the 18th of January, it was agreed that the whole of the settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, with all its dependencies, and the rights and privileges held and exercised by the Batavian government, should be surrendered to his Britannic majesty; and that in consideration of the gallant conduct of the army under General Janssens, they should be embarked, and sent straight to Holland, at the expense of the British government, and not considered prisoners of war.

Sir Home Popham, the naval commander employed against the Cape, had contributed materially to the expedition being undertaken, by the intelligence he had communicated to his majesty's government of the defenceless state of that important settlement, and of the probability that it would soon be reinforced from Europe. He had also, in common with other naval officers, been occasionally consulted by Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville about their de-

* Sir David Baird's Despatches, dated Cape Town, January 12, 1806.

signs on South America, and, at their desire, he had conferred with General Miranda, on that officer's views and projects in that quarter. The result of these communications had been his appointment to the command of the *Diadem*, of sixty-four guns, in December, 1804, for the purpose "of co-operating with General Miranda, to the extent of taking advantage of any of his proceedings, which might tend to secure to the British a position on the continent of South America."* But he had been afterwards given distinctly to understand, that, from deference to Russia, all projects of that nature had been for the present abandoned; and when sent to reduce the Cape, no instruction, direct or implied, public or confidential, had been given to him, which could authorize his leaving that colony, and employing the force under his command in any service unconnected with its conquest or preservation. His mind, however, which had formerly been occupied about schemes of conquest in South America, was, some time after the reduction of the Cape, again turned to such speculations, in consequence of information received of the weakness of the Spanish colonies on Rio Plata, and exaggerated reports of the disaffection of the people towards their government. He was so far influenced by these considerations, and by the prospect of public and private gain from the conquest of Buenos Ayres, that, forgetful of his duty as an officer, he determined on carrying off the whole of the naval force at the Cape, and attempting with it some exploit in the Rio Plata; and, having persuaded Sir David Baird to acquiesce in his plans, he obtained from that officer a small body of troops under General Beresford, to co-operate in any enterprise he should attempt.

Thus assisted, he sailed from the Cape about the middle of April, leaving that settlement without an armed vessel to protect it from insult, and directed his course in the first place to St. Helena, where he had the address to procure from the governor a small reinforcement to his little army, which, after all, did not exceed one thousand six hundred men, including marines. With this very inadequate force for so great an enterprise, he steered for Rio Plata, and arrived at the mouth of that river in the beginning of June. It was now debated, whether an attack should be made on Buenos Ayres or Monte Video, and the former being preferred, the troops were removed from the line-of-battle ships into the transports and frigate that accom-

panied the expedition, in which, after surmounting with great skill and perseverance the difficulties of a most intricate navigation, they arrived before Buenos Ayres, on the 24th of June, and next day disembarked without resistance on Punta de Quilmes, about twelve miles from that city. A body of Spaniards, placed on a height, at two miles distance, witnessed the landing of the British army without opposing it, and General Beresford having marched against them on the following morning, they fled with precipitation at the first fire, leaving behind them their artillery. No other difficulty occurred after this success, except the passage of a river, which it was necessary to cross in the way to Buenos Ayres; but this being effected with the aid of rafts and boats, General Beresford entered the city on the 27th, the viceroy having previously abandoned it, and fled to Cordova, with the small body of troops under his command.

While the army was thus employed in the conquest of Buenos Ayres, the line-of-battle ships of the squadron made demonstrations before Monte Video and Maldonado, in order to alarm and occupy the garrisons of these places, in which, as it afterwards appeared, were stationed the regular troops of the colony, while the defence of Buenos Ayres, from its situation supposed to be less liable to attack, had been committed to the militia. To this accident, and to the misconduct and timidity of the viceroy, who was quite inexperienced in military affairs, the success of an expedition, undertaken, not more in defiance of the rules of discipline, than in opposition to the dictates of prudence, may in a great measure be attributed. In justice, however, to the British commanders, it must be added, that in the execution of their enterprise, they displayed great boldness and intrepidity, and that, after victory, they showed a degree of forbearance and moderation to the vanquished. About 1,200,000 dollars of public money were found in the town, and sent to England; besides which, also public property, quicksilver, and Jesuit's bark, to the value of nearly three millions of dollars, were seized for the benefit of the captors; but, before they could be secured on board the ships, the place was retaken by the enemy.

The capture of Buenos Ayres diffused through every part of the British empire the most extravagant joy, and delusive expectations. A circular manifesto from Sir Home Popham to the principal mercantile and manufacturing cities, announcing, and certainly not underrating the value of the market he had opened, spread

* Lord Melville's Evidence in Sir H. Popham's Trial, March 9, 1807.

widely and rapidly the most exaggerated notions of his conquest; and led, as was naturally to be expected from so unusual and unprecedented an address, to many rash and improvident mercantile speculations, in which the adventurers had reason afterwards amply to lament their credulity. The delusion was universal, and, allowing much for ignorance and want of reflection, incredibly and unaccountably great. It was forgotten, that Buenos Ayres, and other parts of South America, had been always supplied with English goods through Spanish or neutral bottoms; and, though a direct trade, by affording our manufactures at a cheaper rate than a circuitous commerce, might increase the demand for them, it was not to be supposed that this could be in any proportion to the sanguine expectations and over speculations of the British merchants. Inexhaustible mines; fertile, salubrious plains; an innocent, unoffending population, cruelly oppressed by their former masters, and gratefully repaying with submission and obedience those that had rescued them from slavery; were the false and flattering images that dazzled every eye, and banished sober and cool reflection from every bosom. It was not considered that our new acquisition was eighteen hundred miles distant from the mines of Potosi; that the intermediate country was inhabited by a race, hardy and unsettled, expert in the management of their horses and spears, and as invincible in defensive war as the Arahs of the desert; nor that Buenos Ayres itself owed its wealth and importance, not to its natural resources, derived from the fertile but uncultivated country that surrounds it, but to its accidental and artificial pre-eminence, as the capital of an extensive government, and the emporium between the mother country and her more distant colonies.

When intelligence reached government of Sir Home Popham's unauthorized departure from the Cape, and meditated invasion of South America, orders were instantly despatched to recall him home, and to put a stop to his expedition. These orders were too late to prevent his enterprise; and when the news of his success arrived, the strong objections to his plan were drowned in the universal joy at the fortunate result of his operations. A conquest, which the government would not have made, it had not the resolution to abandon; or possibly, deceived by the ease with which the victory had been gained, it gave in to the popular delusion, and supposed that South America required only to be attacked in order to be subdued.

Long before the system proper to be fol-

lowed with Buenos Ayres came to be discussed in the British cabinet, that settlement was in the hands of the enemy. The Spaniards had been taken by surprise, and beaten by a handful of men, because attacked where they were unprepared for resistance; but no sooner had they recovered from their panic, and discovered the smallness of the numbers of their opponents, than, ashamed of their defeat, they began to concert measures to expel their invaders. Emissaries from Buenos Ayres excited the country people to arms, and an insurrection was organized in the heart of the city, under the eye of the English commander-in-chief, which seems to have escaped his vigilance, till it had arrived at maturity, and was ripe for action. Liniers, a French colonel in the Spanish service, crossed the river in a fog, on the 4th of August, unobserved by the English cruisers, and landed at Conchas, above Buenos Ayres, bringing with him about one thousand men from Monte Video and Sacramento. Encouraged by this reinforcement, the armed levies from the country, which had been defeated by General Beresford in a sally, advanced again to the city, and summoned the castle to surrender. All the inhabitants of the town were now in arms, and the danger appeared so imminent, that the English had determined to evacuate the place, and retire to their ships; but they were prevented by the state of the weather, and after a desperate action on the 13th, in the streets and great square of the town, in which they were attacked with incredible fury, and severely annoyed by a destructive fire from the windows and balconies of the houses, they were compelled to lay down their arms. The terms on which they surrendered became afterwards the subject of dispute and recrimination between Generals Beresford and Liniers, who acted as commander-in-chief of the Spaniards. Thus much only is certain, that, contrary to the articles of capitulation signed by Liniers, the English were detained prisoners of war, and marched up the country. The loss of the British army in the action of the 13th, amounted to one hundred and sixty-five killed, wounded, and missing, besides thirteen hundred made prisoners. Thus terminated the first expedition to Buenos Ayres, and such were the bitter fruits of an enterprise, undertaken without authority, and originating in a "breach of public duty," which, though alleviated by circumstances, was adjudged by a court-martial to be "highly censurable," and, for the general good of his majesty's service, deserving of a "severe reprimand."*

* Sentence of the Court-martial for the Trial of Sir Home Popham, held March 11th, 1807.

At the time when the city was taken, Sir Home Popham, the author of all these disasters, was riding in safety off the coast, but he continued to blockade the river with his squadron till the arrival of the troops from the Cape of Good Hope, in the month of October, enabled him to re-commence offensive operations. In renewing his efforts against South America, his first attempt was to make himself master of Monte Video, but finding it impossible for the ships to approach near enough to batter the walls, he was obliged to desist from the enterprise. On the 29th of October, a body of British troops was landed at Maldonado, under Colonel Vassal, and the Spaniards having been driven from that place, and from the isle of Gorriti, a sufficient space was gained for the encampment of the troops, and a tolerably safe anchorage procured for the ships. In this situation, our army in South America remained at the end of the present year, receiving successive reinforcements from England and the Cape, and preparing for further and still more disastrous enterprises.

While these events were taking place on the Spanish main, the negroes of St. Domingo rose against Dessalines, their chief, who, in imitation of Napoleon, had assumed the title of Emperor of Hayti, and having come upon him by surprise, put him to death—a catastrophe he had merited by the cruelty and injustice of his government, and provoked by the indulgence of a jealous and vindictive temper, against which no station or service afforded protection. His successor, Christophe, contented himself with the humbler title of chief of the government of Hayti, and in that capacity issued a proclamation, bearing date the 24th of October, 1806, opening to neutral nations the commerce of his dominions on principles the most liberal and enlightened.

The United States of America continued to flourish under the pacific administration of Mr. Jefferson, and, protected by their neutrality, which in the midst of so many belligerent powers they were still able, though with some difficulty, to maintain, they extended their trade and navigation beyond all former example. In the year commencing on the 1st of October, 1805, and ending at the same period in 1806, their exports were valued at one hundred and one millions of dollars, of which forty-one millions were in native commodities, and the remainder in foreign goods re-exported. Their revenue, arising almost exclusively from the customs, which in 1805 had not exceeded thirteen millions, rose in 1806 to nearly fifteen millions.* The reduction of their public debt proceeded as rapidly as

the conditions on which it had been contracted would permit, and at the close of the present year, the sum actually redeemed amounted to twenty-three millions of dollars, and was equal to more than two-thirds of what remained unpaid. The tranquillity of their Indian frontier was secured by the wise and just policy of the government towards the 'ludian tribes, whose esteem and confidence the republicans had gained by the unvarying rectitude of their conduct in all their transactions with them, and by their unceasing attention to promote the happiness and welfare of their uncivilized neighbours.

But, in the midst of all this prosperity, such is the checkered state of all human affairs, that even America was not without her evils and complaints. Differences had existed for a considerable time with Spain, arising out of the ill-defined boundaries of Louisiana, and the Spaniards had made inroads on the district of New Orleans and the Mississippi, even in those parts that had been expressly and unequivocally ceded to the United States. Negotiations on these topics occupied the attention of the two governments for the remainder of the year, without arriving at any conclusion, and excited or kept alive that state of irritable feeling which is ever the effect of long suspense, when interesting results are involved in the issue.

At the same time, the disputes of America with the English government had assumed an important character, and could not be viewed without alarm, particularly by those individuals whose interests were involved in the preservation of peace between the two countries. The complaints of the United States against Great Britain involved three points:

First, The practice of impressing British seamen found on board of American merchant vessels on the high seas:

Second, The violation of their rights as neutrals, by seizing and condemning their merchantmen, though engaged in what they considered a lawful commerce:

And Third, The infringement of their maritime jurisdiction upon their own coasts. (56)

(56) Another, and not less important point of controversy between the two countries, arose from the novel principles proclaimed by the British government in regard to blockades. The proclamation of the investment of an enemy's port was held by the latter to give notice of the fact to neutrals from the date on which it was issued, however distant the neutral might be, and consequently subjected to capture, not merely vessels attempting to enter, but such as might be found in any part of the ocean sailing for the blockaded port. This unjustifiable system, which was equally unwarranted by the law of nations, and ruinous in its operation upon American commerce, was fol-

* Message of the American President, dated Dec. 2, 1806.

The practice of impressing seamen on board American vessels, engaged in the peaceful pursuits of commerce, was, they contended, derogatory to the honour of their flag, inconsistent with their rights as an independent nation, and pregnant with outrages and abuses. It continually happened, as they asserted, that native Americans were impressed by our sea-officers on pretence of their being Englishmen, and forced to serve in the English navy; and such was the similarity of language and of external appearance between individuals of the two nations, that, with the purest intentions, these mistakes could not be avoided. That practice which necessarily led to so intolerable an abuse, however it might be justified in the abstract on the principles of public law, could not be endured by any independent state, unless from inability to resist the injury. It was, they held, the duty of the United States to protect their lawful trade from interruption and outrage, and to vindicate their citizens from compulsory services in the battles of a foreign power. They were ready to acquiesce in any measures that could be devised to prevent deserters from the British navy from finding refuge in the American territory, or shelter on board American ships, but they could no longer permit the liberty of their citizens to depend on the interested or capricious sentence of a British officer.

To this, it was answered on the part of Great Britain, that no power except her own could release her subjects from their duty of allegiance; and, provided she infringed not the jurisdiction of other independent states, she had a right to enforce their services wherever she found them. That no state had such jurisdiction over its merchant vessels upon the high seas, as to exclude a belligerent from searching them for articles contraband of war, or for the persons or property of enemies; and if, in the exercise of that right, the belligerent should discover on board of a neutral ves-

sel its subjects who had withdrawn from their lawful allegiance, upon what ground could the neutral refuse to surrender them? It was further contended, that it was impossible to maintain, that the belligerent may lawfully seize what belongs to its enemy, without violating neutral rights, and yet not have the power to reclaim what is its own. If the right to impress be clearly in favour of the belligerent, it was one too important to Great Britain, in her situation at that period; too essential to her safety in the war in which she was engaged, to be abandoned or relinquished for one instant, unless some unexceptionable plan could be devised of attaining the same end, by means less violent, and less liable to abuse. The difficulty of distinguishing between an Englishman and an American, though it might be a good reason for being cautious and reserved in the exercise of the right of impressing from neutral ships, formed, it was contended, no argument against the right itself.

With respect to the second ground of complaint, Great Britain had conceded to the Americans, in the late war, permission to trade with the colonies of the enemy, for articles intended for their domestic consumption; and in case no market was found in the United States for articles imported with that intention, permission had been given to them to re-export these articles to any port, in any part of the world, not invested by our blockading squadrons. But we had constantly refused them permission to trade directly between the colonies of the enemy and the mother country. "It is now distinctly understood," says Sir John Nicholl, his majesty's advocate general, in a report* officially communicated by Lord Hawkesbury to the American government, and transmitted to all our vice-admiralty courts abroad, as a rule for their future guidance and direction, "that the produce of the colonies of the enemy may be imported by a neutral into his own country, and may be re-exported from thence even to the mother country of the same colony. The direct trade, however, between the mother country and its colonies, has not, I apprehend, been recognised as legal, either by his majesty's government, or by his tribunals. What is a direct trade? or what amounts to an intermediate importation into the mother country? may sometimes be a question of some difficulty. But the high court of admiralty has expressly decided,† that land-

lowed by another still more indefensible. The established law of war, which had been sanctioned by reason as well as precedent, required, that to constitute a legal blockade, there should be cruising before the enemy's port such a naval force as to render it dangerous for a neutral to attempt to enter. This salutary rule was now violated. By the mere effect of a proclamation, a long line of the enemy's coast was declared to be in a state of blockade, and American vessels were captured and condemned on proof of their being bound to a port thus nominally blockaded. Against these measures, the government of the United States remonstrated with energy and warmth, but without effect. The same injurious system of aggression was continued until the war of 1812, of which it was one of the leading causes.

* Dated March 16, 1801, and officially communicated by Lord Hawkesbury, to Mr. Rufus King, the American plenipotentiary, on the 11th of April following.

† Decision of Sir William Scott, in the case of the *Polly*, July 5, 1800.

ing the goods, and paying the duties in the neutral country, breaks the continuity of the voyage, and is such an importation as legalizes the trade, although the goods be re-shipped in the same vessel, and on account of the same neutral proprietors, and be forwarded for sale to the mother country." From this communication, it came to be universally understood in America, that the mere act of landing the goods, and "paying the duties in the neutral country, was sufficient to break the continuity of the voyage, and to legalize the trade in the eyes of the British courts of admiralty."

Soon after this correspondence, the peace of Amiens put an end for a short time to questions of this nature. When hostilities were recommenced between France and England, the merchants of America, recollecting the footing on which this trade had been placed at the conclusion of the former war, embarked in it without apprehension, as a commerce perfectly lawful, and carried it on to an immense extent, till the summer of 1805, when a new ground of decision was adopted by our admiralty courts, which suddenly, and without the smallest warning, exposed the whole of this trade to seizure and condemnation. It was now decided, that the proof of a payment of duties in America, was no evidence of a *bona fide* importation into that country;* because payment of duties in America, does not mean that the duties have been actually paid in money, but that they have been secured by bonds; and from the peculiar system of revenue laws established in the United States, the merchant who re-exports goods previously imported, gets a profit by his transactions with the custom-house, instead of suffering any loss or deductions from his gains. The importer, where the duties are ascertained, gives bonds for the amount of such duties; but if, on the next day, he should enter the same goods for exportation, he is entitled to debentures from the custom-house, payable on the same days with the bonds, and made out for the same sums, with a deduction of only three and a half per centum, which is retained for the government. But such is the indulgent nature of the revenue laws of America, that the bonds lie unissued in the custody of the revenue officers, while the debentures are assignable and transferrable securities, capable of being recovered by a summary process; and, should the importer fail, enjoying a priority before all private demands. The result of the whole operation, therefore, is, that the government lends to the private cre-

dit of the merchant, the character of a public security; and receives three and a half per centum on the amount of the bonds deposited at the custom-house, for the more valuable accommodation which the debentures afford.

When these facts were made known to our courts, they refused any longer to admit the payment of duties in America as a proof of *bona fide* importation. But on the other hand, the merchants of America, without looking to the legal grounds of the former decisions, had trusted to Lord Hawkesbury's communication, announcing that "landing the goods, and paying the duty, legalized the trade," and had in consequence embarked their capital in a commerce, which they were taught on such high authority to consider as a legal and authorized trade. When the parties engaged in this species of commercial adventure, saw their vessels captured by British cruisers, without any previous warning, and brought into port for adjudication, they naturally complained of the violence and inconsistency of that conduct which had subjected them to these ruinous proceedings, and accused the British government of robbery and injustice. Congress, in a short time, caught the flame with which it was surrounded, and, after passing several resolutions that bore evident indications of irritation and precipitancy, a non-importation law was passed on the 18th of April against the manufactures of Great Britain, to take effect on the 15th of November following. In the mean time, the commissioners, sent to negotiate with the English government, were instructed to obtain from ministers some clear and precise rule for regulating their trade with the colonies of the enemy, not liable to be changed by orders of council, or instructions to cruisers, and not exposed to the uncertainty of determinations respecting the intentions of parties.

The third ground of complaint urged by the Americans, was of much less importance than either of the other two, and their demand to have their maritime jurisdiction defined and respected, was so just and reasonable, as to be incapable of resistance. An unfortunate accident, in which an American seaman happened to be killed, on the waters of the United States, and within sight of New York, drew the attention of both countries to this subject, and rendered some regulations indispensable; but no difficulty could occur in settling a point that was already settled by the law of nations. In the exercise of the privilege of searching neutral vessels, several British ships had been cruising off the American harbours,

* This point was first decided in the case of the *Essex*, in May, 1805; and after an elaborate discussion, a similar decision was pronounced in the case of the *William*, March, 1806.

and Captain Whitby, in the *Leander*, of fifty guns, was stationed off Sandy Hook, and appointed for this purpose. Many vessels were brought to by them and boarded, and some of the seamen were impressed, or recovered into the service of England. In addition to these causes of irritation, it was sworn by Joseph Pierce, the master of the sloop *Richard*, that about a quarter of a mile from the beach, off Sandy Hook, three shots were, on the 25th of April, fired from a British sloop-of-war, the last of which struck and killed a man at the helm of his sloop, the brother of the deponent, the *Leander* being at the same time only a mile distant. The affair of the *Leander* having taken place during the elections at New York, great use was made of it by the federal party, to excite odium against the president, and bring discredit upon his administration, on the pretence that foreigners were permitted to commit such outrages, by their knowledge of the weakness and timidity of the existing government. To counteract these designs, Mr. Jefferson issued a violent proclamation, accusing of murder the captain of the *Leander*, and prohibiting that sloop, and several other British vessels, from entering the harbours, or remaining within the jurisdictional limits of the United States. Captain Whitby was afterwards tried in England for the death of the American seaman, and acquitted.

The conferences, which were held in London, for the adjustment of these differences, by Mr. Monroe and Mr. Pinckney, on the part of the United States, and by Lord Holland and Lord Auckland, on the part of Great Britain, terminated in a treaty, from which the President of the United States thought proper to withhold his ratification. It appears, however, from the papers afterwards published, and laid before parliament, that the commissioners on both sides were animated by a sincere desire to establish a firm and lasting friendship between the two countries, on terms advantageous to both. After many fruitless conferences, held in the hope of devising some adequate substitute for the practice of impressing on the high seas, the American plenipotentiaries consented, contrary, as it appears, to their instructions, to proceed in the other articles of the treaty, without any further satisfaction upon this head, than an official paper from Lord Holland and Lord Auckland, dated the 8th of November, pledging the government of Great Britain, "to issue instructions for the observance of the greatest caution in the impressing of British seamen, and of the greatest care to preserve citizens of the United States from

any molestation or injury, and to afford immediate redress upon any representation of injury sustained by them;" and engaging besides, at any future period, "to entertain the discussion of any plan that should be devised to secure the interests of both states, without any injury to the rights to which they are respectively attached."

In the other questions between the two countries, the negotiators were more fortunate in bringing their labours to a successful issue. On the subject of the circuitous trade permitted to the United States, between the colonies of the enemy and other parts of the world, an article was framed,* which satisfied the American commissioners, by substituting a clear and precise rule for the regulation of that commerce, in place of the uncertain and changeable system by which it had hitherto been conducted. The principle of this article was taken from Lord Hawkesbury's communication to Mr. Rufus King, defining the difference between a continuous and an interrupted voyage: but besides requiring, as in that communication, that the goods should be landed, and the duties paid in the neutral country, that article expressly stipulated, that on re-exportation there should remain, after the drawback, a duty to be paid of one per cent. *ad valorem*, on all articles of the growth, produce, and manufacture of Europe; and on all articles of colonial produce, a duty of not less than two per cent. The maritime jurisdiction of the United States was guaranteed by another article,† against the alleged encroachments and violations of his majesty's cruisers; and on account of the peculiar circumstances of the American coast, an extension of maritime jurisdiction, to the distance of five miles from shore, was mutually conceded by both parties in the American seas, on certain conditions, and with certain limitations expressed in the treaty. On the other articles of the treaty, it was necessary only to observe, that the commercial stipulations contained in them appear to have been framed on the fairest and most liberal principles of reciprocal advantage and utility to the two countries.(57)

The year 1806, with the domestic occur-

* Article XI.

† Article XII

(57) The convention signed by Messrs. Monroe and Pinckney, did not as has been already observed, receive the sanction of the American government. It was returned by Mr. Jefferson without having been laid before the Senate. His objections to it were founded upon the want of a provision on the subject of impressments, upon the limitation of the colonial trade by the 11th article and upon other points of minor importance. The discussions on these subjects were renewed in England, but the change of ministry, and the or-

rences of which the third book of the history of our own times is concluded, will be rendered memorable by the death of two of the most distinguished statesmen this country ever produced. In the advantages of birth and fortune, they were equal: in eloquence, dissimilar in their manner, but superior to all their contemporaries; in influence upon the minds of their hearers, unrivalled; in talents and reputation, dividing the nation into two parties; in probity, above suspicion; in patriotism, as in all things else, rivals. Whatever the spirit of party, in the ardour of contention, may have suggested to the contrary, their opposition was a constitutional struggle for power, to which each had pretensions that must have borne the palm from any other man of his time.

At the commencement of Mr. Pitt's long administration, to which he succeeded by one of those court manoeuvres which have been practised in all countries, Mr. Fox could rarely object any thing to his measures, except that their proposer obtained his power against the will of the majority or the house of commons. In the delicate and difficult affair of the proposed regency, the whig leader of opposition, the man of the people, endeavoured to check the limitation which the court minister, the champion of tory principles, through the two popular branches of the legislature, would have fixed upon the hereditary successor to the extensive government, on a temporary demise of the crown. In opposition, each declined against the corruption of the commons, and proposed plans of reform. This was the *fulcrum* by which the one raised himself in early youth to popular favour, and gained the citadel of ministerial power. This too was the engine that the other employed to besiege him in his state, when he found it necessary to lead, and not impair parliamentary influence. How Mr. Fox, as minister, and the avowed patron of reform, would have encountered the difficulties of a similar situation, is doubtful: he died before the hour of trial arrived. On the subject of the Catholic claims, each of these statesmen gave them their avowed support, but neither of them was able to carry his views into effect, and the attempt was fatal to the power of those to whom Mr. Fox bequeathed his plans and his influence.* In their efforts to effect the abolition of the slave-trade, the result was different: Mr. Fox effected, in

one session of parliament, that, which the eloquence of Mr. Pitt had not been able in eighteen years to accomplish.

Upon the French revolution, and the coalition of the European powers against France, it is but candid to believe, that the difference between these great men was one of real political opinion. As far as it was a measure of mere foreign policy, the one was tempted to the course he pursued, by the flattering hope of increasing the military power of Britain, and extending her influence upon the continent. At the same time, this policy afforded a counteraction to the spirit of reform, which at that period so much embarrassed him at home, and which, had he not suppressed by occupying the public attention with foreign war, and by strong and unusual measures of domestic coercion, would certainly have effected a reform in the commons' house of parliament, by means, which, in his opinion, would have endangered the true equipoise of our mixed form of government. The other was led to observe more profoundly the consequences of an attack upon the infant republic of France; and, knowing that the coalition was composed, as indeed all coalitions are, of powers jealous of each other, and that England neither possessed a great military establishment, nor, at that time, a Marlborough to give an ascendancy to a small one, justly predicted that the conflict must tend to render France a nation of soldiers, who would become the masters of the continent.

Whether the minister, having quenched the flame of popular contention at home, might have chosen a happy moment for the cessation of war abroad, is a question which puts the political sagacity of Mr. Pitt to a test the most difficult for his reputation. But it must be considered, that when, perhaps, he desired peace most, it was unattainable. Mr. Fox, on the contrary, in every stage of its progress, opposed the war with firmness, and no doubt with sincerity; for in support of his opinions, he employed his pen in the only composition which he ever avowed, and sacrificed even the friendship of Burke to his conviction of their truth.

To conclude the parallel, they were men of such transcendent talents and towering ambition, that had they lived in a republic, one or the other would probably have been dictator; in an absolute monarchy, either might have founded a dynasty; while, in a mixed government, they were rival statesmen, alternately ministers, and during their political lives, leaders of the great councils of the nation, whose names may be fairly placed in competition with any of the ministers of modern empires, or the popular leaders of ancient republics.

* The Catholic Relief Bill was at length passed under the administration of the Duke of Wellington in 1829.

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

FOREIGN HISTORY:—Invasion of Naples by the French under Joseph Bonaparte—Battle of Maida—Policy of Prussia—She accepts Hanover from France, and shuts her Ports against British Commerce—Measures of Retaliation adopted by England—Prussia involved in a War with both Great Britain and Sweden—Indications of approaching Hostilities between France and Prussia—Consideration of the Rhine—Renunciation of the Title of Emperor of Germany by Francis II.—French Expose—Act of Aggrandizement—The United Provinces erected into a Monarchy under the Government of Louis Bonaparte—Seizure and Execution of M. Palm, the Bookseller, of Nuremberg—Convocation of the Jews—Traits in the Character of Bonaparte.

THE events of the campaign of 1805, consummated by the treaty of Presburg, had drawn around the eastern frontier of France a cordon of feudatory sovereigns, indebted to the Emperor Napoleon for their recent elevation, and bound to his service by the combined operation of policy and gratitude. Possessing too much collision of interest to unite in opposition to his authority, they exhibited a mighty bulwark against the attacks of his enemies, and seemed to free the empire of France from all the dangers of future molestation. The kingdom of Italy derived also from this treaty advantages, in territory and population, of the highest importance; and the iron crown of the Lombards was strengthened and enriched on the field of Austerlitz. But triumphant as was the treaty of Presburg to Bonaparte, in the same proportion was it humiliating to the house of Austria. Her losses were deplorable, and her influence in the affairs of Germany was drawing fast to a termination. Her splendid dependants, her mitred ecclesiastics, and the long catalogue of princes who formed the minor stars in the imperial constellation, were many of them forever extinguished; and with impaired influence in the west of Europe—influence which at that period it appeared scarcely possible she should ever regain, she seemed by this treaty to retrograde from the world of civilization, and likely to be shut out from those political concerns, in which she had borne so commanding and pre-eminent a part, for a succession of ages.

The consequences of Bonaparte's successes against Austria, were particularly unfortunate for the kingdom of Naples. A treaty of neutrality between France and that country, had been concluded at Paris, on the 21st of September, 1805, and rati-

fied at Portici, by the king of Naples, on the 8th of the following month. By this treaty, the Neapolitan court engaged to remain neutral in the war between France and the allied powers, and to repel by force every encroachment on her neutrality. But scarcely had six weeks elapsed after the ratification of this treaty, when a squadron of English and Russian vessels appeared in the bay of Naples, and were permitted, without opposition, to land a body of forces in that city and its vicinity. This gross violation of the stipulations of the treaty of Portici, was considered by the French emperor as an act of perfidy deserving the severest punishment; and on the morning after the signature of the treaty of Presburg, Bonaparte issued a proclamation from his head-quarters at Vienna, in which he declared, "that the Neapolitan dynasty had ceased to reign." That no time might be lost in carrying this threat into execution, the French army under Joseph Bonaparte marched, in three divisions, against the kingdom of Naples; the right, commanded by General Regnier, proceeding against Gaeta, and the centre, under Marshal Massena, through Capua, while the left advanced through Istria, under General Lacy. On the 12th of February, Capua was invested by the French troops, and on the 13th, a deputation from the city waited on Prince Joseph, and signed a capitulation, by which Capua, Gaeta, Peschieri, Naples, and the other fortresses of that kingdom, were surrendered into the hands of the enemy. But, notwithstanding this capitulation, it afterwards appeared, that Gaeta was far from being conquered; and the Prince of Hesse Philipsthal, having been summoned by General Regnier to surrender, answered with heroic firmness, that it was his in-

tention to justify the confidence reposed in him by his sovereign. The zeal and activity of the governor in defending the fortress committed to his charge, was most distinguished. With slight intervals of rest and refreshment, he was occupied night and day in the fortifications, and by his exhortations and example, he stimulated his troops to sustain the pressure of their situation with constancy, and to repel all attacks upon the garrison with heroism. The valour with which this place was defended, and the advantages obtained by the garrison over the besieging army, excited the attention and admiration of all Europe; and the spirit which animated the governor and the troops at Gaeta, began to diffuse themselves over the whole kingdom. Even within the city of Naples, the apathy which had in the first instance paralyzed the exertions of the inhabitants, and induced them to open their gates without resistance to the legions of the conquerors, gave place to more patriotic feelings; and the population of Calabria became at length actuated by so decided a spirit of hostility towards their invaders, that large unorganized masses of peasantry were led to oppose the disciplined forces of the conquerors of Europe. The ardour of patriotism was mingled with the thirst of vengeance; the first instances of opposition from the insurgents had been punished with inexorable severity; these violent inflictions animated the spirit of opposition in the Calabrians, and increased the deadliness of their hatred. Mutual exasperation gradually led to the establishment, by the French, of military commission at Naples, and throughout the country; the constitution of which was intrusted to Massena, a man whose feelings never warred against his interests, and whose long acquaintance with the trade of war had steeled his heart against the voice of humanity. The triumphant entrance of Joseph Bonaparte into his capital, to take upon himself the sovereignty of his kingdom, to which he had been appointed by his brother, to the exclusion of the recent dynasty, was attended by those acclamations and addresses which can always be procured by power. But these external demonstrations of joy, could not conceal the real situation of his newly acquired conquest. The invader and the patriot were still in determined and active hostility; and the feelings of the contending parties had attained the utmost paroxysm of rage. Military tyranny, mortified and incensed at the resistance of an enemy which it despised, gave free scope to its fury, in all those excesses which it has been the pride of modern warfare to

mitigate. The brave Calabrians, madened by the infliction of such horrors on men whose crime consisted only in the defence of their country, resolved, if possible, to outdo them in retaliation. The disposition to an exterminating contest seemed mutual. The excess of resentment seemed to destroy every feeling of humanity, and in the weaker party all regard to the chances against their success. Impulse superseded calculation; passion imparted energy to weakness; and the want of discipline often seemed supplied by the frenzy of revenge.

After the evacuation of Naples by the Russian and British troops, Sir James Craig had retired to Sicily with the English army, accompanied by the royal family of Naples, and had established his headquarters at Messina. At this place he remained till the month of April, when bad health compelled him to resign his command to Sir John Stuart, who was soon afterwards intrusted by his Sicilian majesty with the defence of the eastern coast from Melazzo to Cape Passaro. The army continued at Messina till the end of June, without attempting any offensive operation against the enemy; at which period, the English general, at the urgent solicitations of the court of Palermo, consented to land with a part of his army in Calabria, and to make trial of the loyalty and affection of the people to their former sovereign. The troops destined to this expedition, amounted to about four thousand eight hundred effective men; with this small force, Sir John Stuart landed, without any material opposition, on the morning of the 1st of July, in the gulf of St. Eufemia, near the northern frontier of Lower Calabria. The French general, Regnier, having been apprized of the debarkation of the English army, made a rapid march from Reggio, uniting his detached corps as he advanced, and anticipating, with his characteristic confidence, the defeat of the British troops. On the morning of the 3d, he advanced into the neighbourhood of Maida, about ten miles distant from the English army, and took up his position on a ridge of heights. His force at that moment consisted of about four thousand infantry, and three hundred cavalry, together with four pieces of artillery, and he was in daily expectation of being joined by three thousand more troops, who were marching after him in a second division, and who joined the French army on the night of the 3d. Perceiving that no time was to be lost, Sir John Stuart determined to advance before the position of the enemy, and having left four companies of Watteville's regiment, under Major Fisher, to protect the stores, and occupy the works

that had been thrown up at the place of landing, at three o'clock the next morning, the body of the British army commenced its march along the borders of the sea, across the plain of Eufemia.* Sir Sidney Smith at this time took up a position with a small squadron placed under his command, to act as circumstances might occur; but from the situation of the two armies, no co-operation from the navy could be effected, much to the regret of the gallant knight. A vast plain, extending from four to six miles in breadth, and flanked by chains of mountains, which ran nearly parallel from sea to sea, and which form the interior boundaries of the two Calabrias, seemed to favour the manœuvres of both armies, and afforded a fair opportunity for trying the skill and gallantry of the contending nations. Had General Regnier thought proper to remain upon this elevated ground, flanked as he was by a thick impervious underwood, no impression could have been made upon him; but quitting this advantage, and crossing the river Amato with his entire force, he descended from the eminence, and met the British army upon the open plain. After some close firing of the flankers, to cover the deployments of the two armies, by nine o'clock in the morning of the 4th of July, the opposing fronts were warmly engaged, when the prowess of the rival nations seemed fairly at issue before the world. The corps which formed the right of the advanced line of the British, was the battalion of light infantry, commanded by Colonel Kempt, consisting of the light companies of the 20th, 27th, 35th, 61st, 81st, and Watteville's, together with one hundred and fifty chosen battalion men, of the 35th regiment, under Major Robinson; directly opposite to whom was the favourite French regiment, the 1st Legere. The antagonist bodies, at the dis-

tance of about one hundred yards, fired reciprocally a few rounds, when, as if by mutual agreement, the firing was suspended, and, in close compact order and awful silence, they advanced towards each other, till their bayonets began to cross. At this momentous crisis, the enemy became appalled. Their ranks were broken, and they endeavoured to fly, but it was too late, they were overtaken, and the most dreadful slaughter ensued. Brigadier-general Auckland, whose brigade was immediately on the left of the light infantry, availed himself of this favourable moment to press instantly forward upon the corps in front; the brave 78th regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Macleod, and the 81st regiment, under Major Plenderleath, both distinguished themselves on this occasion. Advancing with shouts of victory, the enemy fled before them with dismay and disorder. General Regnier, finding his army thus discomfited on the left, began to make a new effort with the right, in hopes of retrieving the disasters of the day. This operation was resisted most gallantly by the brigade under Brigadier-general Cole. Nothing could shake the undaunted firmness of the grenadiers under Lieutenant-colonel O'Callaghan, and of the 27th regiment under Lieutenant-colonel Smith. The French cavalry, successively repelled from before the front of these regiments, made an effort to turn their left; but at that moment, Lieutenant-colonel Ross,* who had the same morning landed from Messina, with the 20th regiment, and had come up to the army during the action, threw his regiment opportunely into a small cover over the enemy's flank, and by a heavy and well-concerted fire, rendered this attempt abortive. This was the last feeble struggle of the enemy, who, astonished and dismayed by the intrepidity with which they were assailed, began precipitately to retire, leaving the field covered with their dead. (58)

* The following is the detail of the British force.

<i>Advanced corps.</i>	Lieutenant-colonel Kempt, with 2 four pounders. Light infantry battalion. Detached royal Corsican rangers. Detachment of the royal Sicilian volunteers.
	Brigadier-general Cole, with 3 four pounders. Grenadier battalion, 27th regiment.
<i>First brigade.</i>	Brigadier-general Auckland, with 3 four pounders. 78th regiment, 81st regiment.
<i>Second brigade.</i>	Colonel Oswald, with 2 four pounders. 58th regiment. Watteville's regiment, five companies. 20th regiment.
<i>Third brigade.</i>	Lieutenant-colonel Ross, landed during the action.
Reserve of artillery, Major Lemoine, four six-pounders, and two howitzers. Total—rank and file, including the royal artillery, 4,795.	

* The same officer who was killed at North Point on the 12th of Sept. 1814.—W. G.

(58) The French official account of this engagement, which is here represented to have terminated so favourably for the British arms, has never, we believe, reached the United States. Compared with the battles of Austerlitz and Jena, the skirmishes of a few thousand men in Calabria were not perhaps considered of sufficient moment to be made the subject of a bulletin. The English seem therefore to have been left to boast of this victory without interruption, while their opponents contented themselves with the conquest of the peninsula, to prevent which the English had landed. If we may give credit, however, to the statements of an anonymous French writer, we shall be led to doubt the accuracy of the English narrative altogether, or at all events to reduce considerably the merit of the victory. The force which the

About seven hundred Frenchmen were buried upon the ground; the wounded and prisoners amounted to above a thousand men; and about the same number were left in Monteleone, and the different posts between Maida and Reggio, who signified their readiness to surrender, whenever a British force could be sent to receive their submission, and to protect them from the fury of the inhabitants. Never was the pride of the enemy more severely humbled than in the events of this memorable day. The total loss of the French, occasioned by this conflict, amounted to at least four thousand men, while the loss of the English did not exceed three hundred and twenty-six, of which number two hundred and eighty-two were wounded, and forty-four slain.* This splendid victory was attended with no permanent advantage, with respect to the immediate object of the expedition; but the impression which it was calculated to make in favour of the discipline and bravery of the British soldiers, was of incalculable importance. The pride of the enemy was mortified at seeing the very troops which had been most distinguished for high exploits, retiring before English bayonets; and, with all their experience and reputation in arms, yielding an easy victory to greatly inferior numbers. The laurels gathered at Lodi, Marengo, and Austerlitz, drooped on the plain of Maida, from whence sprung another, and perhaps a more brilliant wreath, to adorn the brows of British valour, in addition to those which had so recently been acquired on the shores washed by the waters of the Nile.

The complete subjugation of the Neapolitan territory by the arms of France, followed not long after this illustrious victory, which might somewhat delay, but could not prevent its accomplishment. The support of the British arms being withdrawn, the enthusiasm of the Calabrians abated, and they finally yielded to a fate which they had nobly resisted, without the least hope of success attending their gallant and persevering endeavours. Gaeta had firmly withstood the effects of all that force and skill on the part of the enemy could effect;

but its garrison, originally small, was diminished by the fire of the enemy, and borne down by incessant exertions; its heroic commander was severely wounded; the works of the besiegers were completed; two practicable breaches were made in the walls; and a signal was every moment expected for the assault. Under these circumstances, the commandant truly and wisely concluded that he had done enough for glory, and signed a capitulation, by which Gaeta was surrendered into the hands of the French general.

The conduct of Prussia, towards the close of the year 1805, had disappointed the hopes of all who wished to see a check imposed on the ambition and usurpations of France. The rivalry between Austria and Prussia, in ordinary circumstances, might be allowed to preclude cordial co-operation between the two powers; but a participation of danger seemed calculated to banish mutual jealousies, and to produce a union sufficiently firm to unite the two rival states in a combined resistance against a common enemy. Such, it was hoped, might have been the case with regard to the two great powers, Austria and Prussia, but the progress of the French arms extinguished the expectations, while the versatility and equivocation, the odious rivalry and selfish rapacity of Prussian policy, became the theme of universal invective. On the 27th of January, a proclamation was published by the king of Prussia, addressed to the inhabitants of Hanover, in which it was observed, that after the events which terminated in the peace of Presburg, the only means of preserving the country from the flames of war, consisted in forming a convention with the French emperor, in virtue of which the states of his Britannic majesty in Germany were to be wholly occupied and governed by Prussia till the return of peace; and all the authorities of that country were called upon to conform to the dispositions made for that purpose, under the civil and military administration of Gen. Kecknert, and the commissioners chosen by him. The conduct of Prussia, in assuming to herself the civil and military administration of the electorate of Hanover, called forth an official note from Mr. Fox, under date of the 17th of March, addressed to Baron Jacobi, the Prussian minister in London, wherein he expressed "the great anxiety felt by his majesty at the manner in which possession had been taken of the electorate of Hanover," and desired him explicitly to inform his court, "that no convenience or political arrangement, much less any offer of equivalent or indemnity, would ever induce his majesty so far to forget what was due to his legitimate

English landed at St. Eufemia is represented to have amounted to six thousand men, who were soon afterwards joined by four thousand of the Neapolitan regular troops, and four thousand insurgents, making a total of 14,000 combatants. With this formidable army, they advanced into the interior, and at a short distance from Cozengavere, it is said, met by General Verdien, and totally defeated, with the loss of 1800 prisoners.—*Relation des Batailles*, &c. vol. 3, p. 344.

* General Sir John Stuart's Despatches, dated from the plains of Maida, July 6, 1806.

rights, as well as to the exemplary fidelity and attachment of his Hanoverian subjects, as to consent to the alienation of the electorate." Soon after the delivery of this note, his Prussian majesty thought proper to drop the slight veil with which he had so ineffectually attempted the concealment of his real designs, by publishing on the 1st of April a proclamation, in which he stated the conclusion of a convention between himself and the French emperor, for the exchange of Hanover in return for three provinces of his monarchy;* and as the Hanoverian states were possessed by France in right of conquest, he declared that the rightful possessor of the electoral states of the house of Brunswick situated in Germany, had passed over to him, in return for the above cession on his part; that they were now subjected only to his power; and that thenceforth their government would be administered in his name alone, and under his supreme authority. A proclamation, in the same spirit of injustice and aggression, was issued by the court of Berlin, on the 28th of March, in which it was declared, that in virtue of a treaty concluded between his Prussian majesty, and the Emperor of France and King of Italy, the ports of the German Ocean (the North Sea), and the rivers which empty themselves into it, shall be shut against British shipping and trade, in the same manner as was practised while Hanover was occupied by French troops.

No sooner had intelligence reached London of the actual exclusion of British shipping from the Elbe, and of the determination of Prussia to shut all the ports of the German Ocean against the British flag, than measures of retaliation were adopted. Notice was given on the 8th of April to the ministers of the neutral powers, that the necessary means had been taken for the blockade of the river Ems, Weser, Elbe, and Trave. A general embargo was laid on all Prussian vessels in the harbours of Great Britain and Ireland; and this order was extended, on the 16th of the same month, to all vessels belonging to the rivers Elbe, Weser, and Ems, vessels under the Danish flag only excepted. The English mission at Berlin was recalled; and a message from his majesty was presented to both houses of parliament, on the 21st, stating "the necessity in which his majesty found himself, of withdrawing his minister from the court of Berlin, and of adopting provisionally

measures of just retaliation against the commerce and navigation of Prussia," on account of acts "of direct hostility, deliberately pursued against him, which left him no alternative." After stating concisely the particulars of the conduct of Prussia which called for these proceedings, the message concluded by saying, that his majesty "had no doubt of the full support of his parliament, in vindicating the honour of the British flag, and the freedom of the British navigation; and that he would look with anxious expectation to that moment, when a more dignified and enlightened policy on the part of Prussia should remove every impediment to the renewal of peace and friendship with a power with whom his majesty had no other cause of difference than that now created by these hostile acts." On the 20th of the same month, a declaration was issued by his Britannic majesty, in his capacity of Elector of Hanover, recapitulating instances of perfidy, insincerity, and rapacity of the court of Berlin, and solemnly protesting, for himself and his heirs, against every encroachment on his rights in the electorate of Brunswick Lunenburg, and its dependencies.

In addition to her war with England, the subserviency of Prussia to France involved her in hostilities with Sweden. The Swedish troops, who occupied Lunenburg on behalf of the King of England, having opposed the entrance of the Prussians into that duchy, were compelled, after a slight resistance, to retreat into Mecklenburg; upon which hostile proceedings, the King of Sweden laid an embargo upon all Prussian vessels in his harbours, and issued an order, bearing date the 27th of April, for the blockade of all the Prussian ports in the Baltic. In order to counteract these hostile operations, Prussia commenced preparations for the expulsion of the Swedish troops from the states of Pomerania; but, before this design could be carried into effect, a new revolution in her politics took place, which gave a totally different direction to her arms. A large proportion of the subjects of Prussia were well aware of the abject degradation in which the subserviency of their government to the mandates of France had involved them; and the dissatisfaction and discontents which ensued flowed naturally from the occasion. Expressions of loyal and devout attachment were suspended; conversations in public assumed a tone of animated comment upon public measures which had rarely been employed; and men of rank and station deplored the shade which had been thrown upon the

* The three Prussian provinces ceded by this memorable treaty, were Anspach and Bayreuth, in Franconia; Cleves, in Westphalia; and Neuchâtel and Valengin in Switzerland.

character of the country. The military entered into the general feeling with ardour; this feeling was in some instances almost roused to frenzy, and the attendants and relatives of majesty itself were bold enough to give intimations of their disgust in the royal presence. This spirit of high disdain, dangerous in any government, and peculiarly so in a military state, when those who are designed for the support of despotism feel a stronger disposition to remonstrate than to obey, was thought not unworthy the notice of power. Several of the military officers of the staff were not only reprimanded, but cashiered, for the freedom with which they had expressed themselves on political topics; and a proclamation was published, prohibiting the discussion of the proceedings of government—measures which checked the ebullition of popular feeling, but confirmed rather than changed the public opinion. The queen, young, beautiful, and persuasive, listening to her indignation at the usurpations and insults of France, and jealous of her husband's honour and reputation, joined in the same cause. The ministers, weak and unprincipled, were unable to resist the torrent; after an ineffectual resistance to the popular voice, they united or seemed to unite in the general feeling, and contributed to hurry the Prussian monarchy to its approaching humiliation.

Prussia has hitherto been contemplated, unsteady and fluctuating in her policy, constant only in her duplicity; professing neutrality while she was meditating acts of hostility; and pretending to negotiate for the neutrality of Hanover, while she was appropriating that country to herself. We are now to behold her enraged at the disappointment of her ambitious projects, impatient of the contempt with which she was treated, and goaded on by the universal indignation of her subjects, seeking to retrieve her honour and character by resistance to France, but without wisdom or foresight in her plans, and constant to the last in her dissimulation.

The first public act of the cabinet of St. Cloud which gave serious offence and alarm to the cabinet of Berlin, was the investiture of Murat, a soldier of fortune and a brother-in-law of Bonaparte, with the duchies of Berg and Cleves. But a deeper and more sensible injury awaited the Prussian government: while Laforest, the French resident at Berlin, was urging the ministers of that court to persist in the measures they had adopted for the retention of Hanover, Lucchesini, the Prussian minister at Paris, discovered that the

of Great Britain the complete restitution of his electoral dominions. Thus, after the sacrifice of her honour and reputation, Prussia saw herself about to be deprived of the reward for which she had consented to act a part so mean, treacherous, and unworthy, without an opportunity of retrieving her character, or of bettering her condition by resistance. Fortunately, as she then thought, the negotiation for peace between France and Russia, after preliminaries had had been signed at Paris, was broken off by the refusal of the court of St. Petersburg to ratify the treaty concluded by M. D'Oubril. But this event, while it opened to Prussia the prospect of assistance, in case she should be driven to a war with France, disclosed to her further proofs of the secret enmity of the cabinet of St. Cloud, and of its readiness to abandon her interests. She was now for the first time apprized, that, during the negotiations at Paris between France and Russia, distinct hints had been given to M. D'Oubril, that if his court was desirous of annexing any part of Polish Prussia to its dominions, no opposition would be interposed against such a project by France.

The peace of Presburg had left the forms of the Germanic constitution entire, and from some of the articles in that treaty it appears doubtful, whether the French emperor entertained thoughts at that time of the speedy subversion to which this venerable empire was afterwards condemned. The residence of the French troops in Germany, in consequence of the procrustinated occupation of Cattaro by the Russians, matured a design suitable to the ambitious mind of the French emperor, and seemed to suggest the establishment of a new confederation of princes, at the head of which he should himself be placed. This project, conceived in the early part of the month of June, was arranged in all its details with extraordinary promptitude; and on the 12th of July, the act of confederation was executed at Paris, by princes and ministers who were scarcely allowed time to read the deed to which they affixed their signatures.*

This portentous document, which, by a few lines of the pen, supported, however, by the power of the sword, subverted the complicated establishment of ages, commences with observing, that their majesties the Emperor of the French, the Kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, the Archbishop of Ratisbon, the Elector of Baden, the Duke of Berg, the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, the Princess of Nassau-Weil-

* Despatch from Lord Yarmouth, dated Paris, July 19th.

burg, and Nassau-Usingen, of Hohenzollern-Hechingen, and Hohenzollern-Steinheim, Salm-Salm, and Salm-Kyrburg, Isenberg, Birchstein, and Lichtenstein, the Duke of Arensburg, and the Count of Leyen, being desirous to secure the peace of Southern Germany, which experience had long since proved could derive no guarantee from the existing constitution, had appointed certain plenipotentiaries to effect arrangements from which this guarantee would naturally and decidedly result. In consequence of the dispositions which had been agreed upon, and which were now ratified, the states of the contracting parties were to be for ever separated from the Germanic body, and united by an act called "the Confederated States of the Empire." The affairs of this confederation were to be discussed in a congress, which should sit at Frankfort, divided into two colleges of kings and princes, where all disputes should be settled that might arise amongst the members, who could in no case enter into the service of any other power than the confederation, nor alienate to any other power their sovereignty or territory. The elector arch-chancellor was to preside in the congress, under the title of prince primate, and on the demise of any prince primate, the right of naming a successor should attach to the Emperor of France, who was to be proclaimed protector of the confederation. In the event of a continental war, which should involve either the Emperor of France or any other individual of the union, all parties should make a common cause; and in case of preparation for war against any one of the parties, his minister should be authorized to demand of the congress a general arming of the confederation.* The congress were to regulate the proportion of assistance to the exigency of the case, and the summons of the emperor to the parties was to be the signal for taking the field.

The house of Austria, thus stripped of its honours, was compelled to lay down the title of Emperor of Germany, and to yield the precedence to France; and by a formal deed of renunciation, bearing date the 6th of August, Francis II. resigned his office and title of Emperor of Germany, retaining only the more humble title of Emperor of Austria. The fallen fortunes of this august house, thus deprived of the brightest jewel in the imperial crown, presents an impressive picture to the imagination. It was a spectacle of

no common interest, to observe the descendant of imperial chiefs through a long series of generations, degraded into a renunciation of his dignity in behalf of a man, who, by his talents and his sword, was enabled to trample on the necks of sovereigns; and by whom family honour, and political establishments, which had endured for centuries, were swept away in promiscuous ruin.

When these arrangements were communicated to Prussia, her acquiescence was purchased by the delusive hope held out to her by France, that she would be permitted to form a confederation of states in the north of Germany, under the protection of Prussia, as the confederation of the Rhine was under the protection of France.† But no sooner had Austria submitted to the loss of her ancient imperial dignity, and deposited the sceptre of the Othos at the foot of the modern Charlemagne, than Prussia, whose meanness was despised, and whose assistance was no longer wanted by Bonaparte, found herself condemned to another disappointment, aggravated by the reflection that she was indebted for this mortification to the want of wisdom and probity in her councils. She was told that Bonaparte could not permit her to include the Hanseatic towns in her plan of a northern confederation, and that he was determined to take them under his own protection.‡ He professed not to be adverse to her plan of a confederacy, but his regard to justice, and the respect due to the law of nations, would not allow him to see any compulsion used to force independent princes into this measure.

The *expose* of the French empire was this year laid before the legislative body early in the month of March. In this document, which details the prominent events in the national politics from the period of the coronation of the emperor, it is observed, that each succeeding coalition formed by England had only increased the power and territory of the French nation. By the first, she had gained Belgium, the boundary of the Rhine; the federation of Holland with France; and the conquest of the states of the present kingdom of Italy. The second had procured Piedmont. The third had added to her grand federation, Naples and Venice. But the *expose* considered what had been done for the glory of France, as but little, compared with what remained. The emperor had exhausted military glory, and wanted none of those blood-stained laurels which he had been compelled to gather.

* The contingent of troops to be furnished by each state was determined as follows:—France, 300,000; Bavaria, 30,000; Wirtemberg, 12,000; Baden, 3000; Berg, 5000; Darmstadt, 4000; Nassau, Hohenzollern, and others, 4000.

† Prussian Manifesto, dated October 9, 1806.

‡ Letter from the Emperor of France to the King of Bavaria, dated September 27, 1806.

He wished now to perfect the public administration, to promote the permanent and increasing happiness of his people; to render his acts a lesson and example of elevated morality, and to merit the blessings of the present and future generations.

On the 31st of March, the arch-chancellor of the empire was authorized to preside in the room of the emperor in the assembly of the senate, and presented for their sanction from his imperial majesty, an act, the first part of which was a code of regulations regarding the education of the princes of the imperial family. The city and territories of Venice were by the next section to be added to the kingdom of Italy. By the third, the pious affection of the emperor's brother Joseph for the head of his house, was to be remunerated by the throne of Naples, which in no case was to be connected with that of France. In consideration of the splendid services and virtues of Prince Murat, he was, by the fourth part of this act, to possess in full sovereignty the dutchies of Cleves and Berg. The principality of Guastalla, with some others, were conferred on the Princess Pauline, and her husband, the Prince Borghese; and by another part of this comprehensive act, the principality of Neuchâtel was conferred on Marshal Berthier, whom the emperor was pleased to designate as an officer equally fearless and intelligent, his old companion in arms, whose elevation, while it gave peculiar gratification to the emperor, would excite the sensibilities of every virtuous heart. From the inability which the emperor experienced to provide adequately for many who had distinguished themselves by the importance or splendour of their services, Parma, Placentia, Venice, and several other states of Italy, were, by the last article of the act, to furnish more than twenty titles of distinction, accompanied by appropriate domains, to be transmitted by these heroic men to their descendants. A message to the senate announced, at the same time, the marriage of the emperor's niece, Stephanie, to the hereditary Prince of Baden; and in another address to the same body, the emperor signified his wish to relieve his people of Italy from that suspense which they must feel about their future destiny, by appointing to the hereditary throne of that kingdom, in case of failure of heirs to himself, his son, the existing viceroy. In connexion with the establishment of the new monarch of Italy, a new order of military knighthood was instituted by Bonaparte, to consist of two hundred knights of the *order of the Iron Crown*, which afforded an opportunity of reward-

ing many of his officers, and might be regarded as another evidence of his devotion to that class of merit from which he had derived such singular advantages.

A circumstance of gratification to the people of Paris, was found this year in the arrival of an ambassador from the grand signior, expressly appointed to congratulate Bonaparte on his accession to the throne of France. The eastern style of hyperbolical address, which characterized his excellency's speech to Napoleon on his grand audience, was not so remote from the habits of the Parisians, as to prevent their cordial sympathies: "The bright star of glory of the western nations: the greatest of the sovereigns in the Christian faith; he who graspeth in one hand the sword of valour, and in the other the sceptre of justice;" were designations which met with their complete concurrence, and served to keep in countenance the homage which they were themselves accustomed to offer to the "resemblance of that invisible Being who is known only by his power and benevolence."*

The embassy from Constantinople was followed by a deputation from their high mightinesses of Holland. Bonaparte had no sooner abolished the name of republic in France, than he sought to extinguish that appellation in the other states of Europe. The Cisalpine republic he had transformed into the kingdom of Italy; the Ligurian commonwealth was absorbed in the great empire; the free cities of Germany were made over to the vassal kings, who approached the foot, or decorated the steps of his throne; and such was his thirst for harmony and regularity in the political edifice which he was erecting, that even the people of the United Provinces, born and nurtured under republican institutions, were instructed to demand a king. Prince Louis, a younger brother of the Emperor Napoleon, and constable of the French empire, was selected to be the King of Holland, and unwillingly dragged from the gayeties and delights of Paris, to rule over a laborious and impoverished people, who had yet to teach their lips the accents of loyalty.† The new constitution which accompanied the king, had no guarantee but the will of its author, nor was it attempted to be disguised, that Holland, though governed by a separate king, was to be considered as virtually a province of the great empire, and subject in all international relations to the will of its chief.

While the Emperor Napoleon was carry-

* French Exposé, March 12, 1806.

† Louis Napoleon was proclaimed King of Holland at the Hague on the 5th of June, 1806.

ing into effect his projects of aggrandizement in Germany, the pressure of the French armies upon that country was extreme, and a spirit of resistance on the part of the inhabitants was summoned to its noblest exertions in a variety of publications, which soon attracted the notice of the French government. Orders were in consequence given for the apprehension of various booksellers in Franconia, Bavaria, and Suabia, and the offenders were carried to Braunau. Among these persecuted men, the fate of John Palm, a resident of Nuremberg, an imperial town of Germany, possessing laws and tribunals of its own, attracted particular notice. This person was the publisher of a pamphlet, entitled "Germany in the lowest state of degradation," a work written with considerable ability, and which had been read with great avidity. M. Palm was in consequence arrested by order of the French government, and dragged to Braunau, charged with the publication of a work libellous against the French emperor, and tending to mislead the people of the south of Germany. On his arrival at the fortress, a court-martial was immediately summoned, consisting of General Berthier, seven colonels of French regiments, and an adjutant, with a reporter. After sitting for three days, M. Palm, who had not been present during the delivery of the depositions, was brought into court on the 25th of August, when the evidence was read to him, and his defence heard; he was then ordered to withdraw, and the court, after some consultation, ordered him to be shot within four-and-twenty hours; which sentence was carried into execution on the following day. This sanguinary proceeding, though affecting only an obscure individual, excited considerable attention and indignation throughout the different countries of Europe; and although the chief of the French government did not personally appear upon the bloody stage, and although, by his distance from the scene of action, he was precluded from being made acquainted with the sentence of the court-martial before it was carried into effect, yet he did not escape that odium and execration which might naturally attach to the sovereign under whose authority the tribunal acted, and who had ever displayed a decided enmity to that freedom of the press which is certainly the most formidable foe of tyranny, and will eventually effect its extermination.

The attention of the religious world was this year drawn to some events which occurred in France in relation to the Jews. The situation of this people has, during a long succession of ages, interested those who have adverted to their universal disper-

sion through barbarous and civilized nations, without mingling in their course into the common mass, and sinking their national manners, language, and religion, to which with inviolable fidelity they have adhered, amidst that scorn and persecution which have been their only inheritance. Complaints had been repeatedly communicated to the emperor from various departments of France, of the fraudulent and usurious conduct of this degraded race; and, on the 30th of May, an edict was published, convening a convocation from the principal cities of the empire, to be opened at Paris, on Saturday, the 26th of July. In virtue of this summons, the assembly met at the appointed time, and their meeting was stated to be pregnant with the most important consequences. The race of Abraham were now, for the first time, to be judged by a Christian prince with fairness and impartiality. The convocation, in answer to several questions proposed to them, stated that their law permitted polygamy, divorce, and intermarriages with Christians, which were, however, modified by usage. That they could, in perfect consistence with their laws, render obedience to the civil institutions of the states in which they resided; and that their prohibition, and in other cases their permission of usury, related to charitable loans, and not to mercantile transactions. The answers of the convocation were so conformable to the wishes of Bonaparte, that a grand sanhedrim was summoned to meet at Paris, for the purpose of considering the same questions, and giving a solemn opinion with respect to them, which should be placed by the side of the Talmud, and considered obligatory on all persons professing the law of Moses. The time fixed for the meeting of the sanhedrim was the 20th of October, but the discussion was prolonged to the following year. The results of this assembly's deliberations were satisfactory, and tended to show that the Jews were not debarred, by the peculiarities of their religion, from the enjoyment of the same civil privileges as the members of other religious communities. The consequences anticipated from these events, respecting a nation which, from its first bondage in Egypt, has been exposed to the perpetual abhorrence of the world, varied in different minds according to their respective habits of speculation or prejudice. Judicious observers, however, were gratified to behold evidences of that progressive reason, which, by slow but certain influences, ameliorates the affairs of the world, and to witness an effort to elevate a degraded race of men to usefulness, to estimation, and to dignity.*

* The following return, showing the number of persons of the Jewish persuasion in the differ-

At this moment, the French emperor was at the zenith of his power, and in the enjoyment of the utmost vigour of his faculties. Nothing seemed too vast for his comprehension, or too minute for his observation. His exertions were without a parallel among sovereign princes; he inspected every thing with his own eye; he laboured with more industry than any secretary in office; and his principal relaxation was in the variety of his business. He appointed to stations of distinction those only, who, by experience or talents, were qualified to discharge the duties of them, and he superintended the discharge of those duties with a vigilance which would not permit the approach of delinquency or inattention. No formidable adversary to any nation or individual ever yet existed from whom something valuable might not be learned; and the most effect-

tual way to counteract the projects of an enemy, is to follow his example in those judicious regulations which have led to his success. The industry of Bonaparte may be copied by those who detest the ultimate object of his labours. In his bestowment of honours upon merit, and in his inspection into the abuses of administration, he may be resembled, not only without disgrace, but even with honour; while that boundless thirst of power, which prevented the repose of Europe, and produced his final overthrow, receives all the reprobation which it merits. His temperance and energy, his steady vigilance, and his unwearied assiduity, may be praised and imitated, while he is justly condemned for his spoliation of peaceful states, his breach of the most solemn engagements, and the abject prostration to which he subjected his country's rights.

CHAPTER II.

FOREIGN HISTORY: Continental Campaigns of 1806-7—Opening of the Campaign between France and Prussia—Disastrous to the Latter—Battle of Jena—Death of the Duke of Brunswick—Mémorial—Fall of the Prussian Garrisons—Surrender of the Army under Prince Hohenlohe—Triumphal Entry of the Emperor Napoleon into Berlin—Berlin Decree—Arrival of the Russian Divisions on the Vistula—Battles of Pultusk and Golymin—The contending Armies take up their Winter-quarters in Poland—War in Silesia—War in Pomerania—Neutrality of Austria—Renewal of Hostilities in Poland—Battle of Eylau—Fall of Dantzic—War between the Porte and Russia—Situation of the Russian and French Forces previous to the Battle of Friedland—The Battle of Friedland—Armistice—Interview between the Emperor Alexander and the Emperor Napoleon on the River Niemen—Peace of Tilsit.

THE discussions between France and Prussia had now advanced to a point which left no prospect of friendly arrangement. The court of Berlin, no longer influenced by a temporizing policy, had assumed a tone of firmness and decision; the troops were animated to a high degree of enthusiasm, by the expectation of hostilities, which they conceived the honour of the nation had long ago required; and the zeal of the people coincided with the sentiments of the army. The disposition manifested by the court, was equally approved by foreign powers, as by the subjects of Prussia. The King of Sweden was eager to cherish the prospect which seemed thus to be afforded, of checking the power and aggrandizement of France; the Prussian vessels

detained in the ports of Great Britain were speedily liberated, and Lord Morpeth was despatched to the court of Berlin, with proposals to afford her every assistance and co-operation in the fourth coalition that was at this time forming against France.

The preparations of Prussia were met with equal vigour on the part of the Emperor of France, who was never behind his enemies in vigilance and activity. On the 24th of September, Napoleon quitted his capital to join the armies, infusing energy as he passed into the various parts of the service, and settling arrangements, adapted to all the details of that complicated and formidable machine, the operations of which he was about to direct. In the mean time, discussions were still continued, and even so late as the 5th of October, when both monarchs were at the headquarters of their respective troops, a despatch was delivered from the Prussian outpost to the French army, which still afforded an opening for amicable adjustment.*

ent parts of the habitable globe, was made to Bonaparte by the Jewish sanhedrim, assembled at Paris, in 1807.

In the Turkish Empire,	1,000,000
In Persia, China, and India, on the east	
and west of the Ganges,	300,000
In the west of Europe, Africa, and	
America,	1,700,000

Constituting an aggregate population of 3,000,000

* By this despatch, it was required of France, that, as a preliminary to negotiation, the whole of the French troops in Germany should immedi-

Within a few days afterwards, however, a declaration, stating the grounds of the war, was published by the Prussian cabinet. Both parties now conceived themselves ready for the conflict; and so confident was Prussia in her own strength, that on the 29th of September, just before the commencement of hostilities, she appears to have declined the offer of reinforcements made by other powers.

The French army had advanced in three divisions; the right, consisting of the corps of Marshals Ney and Soult, with a division of Bavarian troops, proceeded by the route of Amberg and Nuremberg, to unite at Bayreuth, in Franconia, in their advance upon Hof, on the southern confines of Saxony: the centre, composed of the reserve, under the Grand-duke of Berg, with the corps of the Prince de Ponte Corvo (Bernadotte) and Marshal Davoust, and the imperial guards, marched by Bamberg, towards Culmbach, in Franconia, and by way of Saalbergh to Gerra, in Saxony: the left, consisting of the troops of Marshals Lannes and Augereau, took their route for Schweinfurth, towards Coburg, and advanced to Saalfeld, in Saxony. The veteran Prussian army, having its right under General Blucher, its centre under the Duke of Brunswick, and its left commanded by Prince Hohenlohe, had taken a very strong position along the north of Frankfort, on the Mayne. The campaign opened on the 9th of October, with the battle of Schleitz, seven miles to the north-west of Fulda. Here, three Prussian regiments sustained, with great firmness, one of the most spirited charges of the enemy's cavalry; but the efforts of the French were finally successful, and the Prussians were obliged to retreat, with a loss of seven hundred men, killed, wounded, and prisoners; and five hundred wagons, containing military stores, fell into the hands of the victors. On the 10th, the left wing of the French army, under Marshal Lannes, was equally successful at Saalfeld. After a tremendous cannonade, continued without intermission for more than two hours, the Prussian cavalry were cut off by the French hussars, and their infantry, being unable to effect an orderly retreat, were some of them obliged to take shelter in the adjoining woods, while others were involved inexorably in a marshy ground, where they

were driven to the painful alternative of surrendering themselves prisoners of war. In this engagement, Prince Louis of Prussia, brother of Frederick-William, was killed by Marshal De Louis, of the 10th regiment of the French hussars, with whom he was engaged in personal combat. The merits of this young prince rendered his death a great public calamity, and aggravated the other losses of this unfortunate battle, from which the French derived two thousand prisoners, and thirty pieces of cannon, while six hundred of the Prussian troops were left dead upon the field. This inauspicious opening of the campaign, excited no slight sensation at the headquarters of the Prussian army, the main body of which found itself placed on the 12th in a situation of considerable danger.

The object of Bonaparte had been to repeat the operation of the preceding campaign, and to interpose himself between the army of the enemy and their depôts and resources. The main body of the Prussian army occupied Eysenach, Gotha, Erfurt, and Weimar; and it was the intention of the Duke of Brunswick, to whom, now seventy-two years old, the chief command was confided, to commence hostilities by bearing down with his right wing upon Frankfort, with his centre on Wurtzburg, and his left wing on Bamberg. The arrangements for the execution of this plan had been prepared with great minuteness, and several columns had been pushed on to Cassel and other places, to act upon the offensive; but the French army had by this time unexpectedly turned the extremity of the Prussian right wing, and obtained possession of the eastern bank of the Saal, occupying, within a very short period, Saalberg, Schleitz, and Gerra. Alarmed by these movements, the arrangements of the Prussian army were immediately changed. The detachments which had been precipitately urged forward, were recalled; and the head-quarters were removed through Weimar to Auerstadt, in the vicinity of Jena, while General Rachel occupied the position of Weimar. Such were the arrangements made by the Prussians previously to the 13th, in anticipation of the ensuing decisive struggle. On the same day, the Grand-duke of Berg and Marshal Davoust were with their corps at Naumberg, to which place the Prince of Ponte Corvo was in full march: Marshal Lannes proceeded to Jena, whither the Emperor Napoleon also was advancing, while his head-quarters were at Gerra. Marshal Ney was at Gotha, and Marshal Soult was proceeding on the straight road from Naumberg to Jena. In the afternoon of the 13th, Bonaparte ar-

ately recross the Rhine; that no obstacles should be raised by France to the formation of a northern league, including all the states not mentioned in the fundamental act of the confederation of the Rhine; and that the basis of the negotiation should be the separation of Wessel from the French empire, and the re-occupation of the three abbeys by the Prussian troops.

rived at Jena, and from an elevated flat near the place, reconnoitred the position of the enemy. The importance of this elevation for the play of the artillery was so great, that, notwithstanding the extreme difficulty, and indeed seeming impossibility of its accomplishment, the herculean labour was at length surmounted, and before morning the artillery was actually planted upon the eminence. Notwithstanding the practical errors of the King of Prussia in this campaign, his address to his army was in good taste and appropriate; and concluded with a passage, which, though its accomplishment was long delayed, proved at last prophetic: "We go," said Frederick William, "to encounter an enemy who has vanquished numerous armies, humiliated monarchs, destroyed constitutions, and deprived more than one state of its independence, and even of its very name. He has threatened a similar fate to Prussia, and proposes to reduce us to the dominion of a strange people, who would suppress the very name of Germans. The fate of armies, and of nations, is in the hands of the Almighty; but constant victory, and durable prosperity, are never granted, save to the cause of justice."

The night of the 13th was sublimely interesting. The sentinels were almost close to each other; and the lights of the two armies were within half a cannon shot; in one case, illuminating the atmosphere through an extent of front of six hours march, and, in the other, concentrated to a comparatively small point. On both sides, all was watchfulness and motion. The divisions of Ney and Soult were occupied the whole night in marching, and at break of day all the French troops were under arms. Suchet's division formed the right; the imperial guards occupied the summit of a height; and each of these corps had their artillery in the small spaces between them. The morning was obscured by a fog, which continued to prevail for two hours, during which Bonaparte rode along the line, cautioning his officers to exhibit order and compactness against the Prussian cavalry, and reminding them of the similarity of the situation of the Prussian army to that of the Austrians in the preceding year at Ulm, when they were driven from their magazines, and compelled to surrender.

The light troops began the action, by dislodging the Prussians from an apparently inaccessible position on the highway between Jena and Weimar: and the success of this operation enabled the French troops to stretch out without restraint on the plain, where they now formed in order of battle. An army of fifty thousand men

had been detached by the Prussians from their left wing, to cover the defiles of Naumberg, and to possess themselves of the passage of Coesem, in which they were anticipated by Marshal Davoust. The other two armies, one of which amounted to eighty thousand men, placed themselves in front of the French army, which now opened out from the level height of Jena. At this crisis, the mist which had hung over the combatants began to dissipate, and both armies beheld each other within the range of cannon shot. After the first action of the morning, by which the Prussians had been forced to quit their position, the village of Hollstedt became the point of attack, and the Prussians were in full motion to dislodge the French from this station, when Marshal Lannes was ordered to its support. Marshal Soult attacked a wood on the right. The right wing of the Prussians made a movement against the left of the French, which Marshal Augereau was ordered to oppose, and in less than an hour the action became general. Every manœuvre on both sides was performed with as much precision as if it had been executed upon the parade; while two hundred and fifty thousand men, and seven hundred pieces of artillery, scattered death in every direction, and exhibited one of the most affecting scenes ever displayed on the theatre of the world. After a struggle of nearly two hours, Marshal Soult secured possession of the wood, from which he immediately moved forward, while, at the same instant, the division of the French cavalry in reserve, and two other divisions just arrived on the field of battle from the corps of Marshal Ney, were, by order of Bonaparte, brought into action, and so much strengthened the French line, as to throw the Prussians into great disorder. By a striking effort of skill and bravery, this disorder was speedily retrieved, and the battle was resumed, and continued for almost an hour. At this crisis, "there was room for a moment's doubt;" the fate of the day hung in awful suspense; but the reserve, under the Duke of Berg, precipitated themselves into the midst of the fight, and threw the Prussian troops into extreme confusion.* In vain

* FRENCH BULLETIN. This document mentions a trait of character that should not be wholly omitted in a record of the battle of Jena. "The imperial foot guards," says the Bulletin, "enraged at not being allowed to press on while every other corps was in motion, several voices among them cried out 'Forward!' 'What is this I hear?' said the emperor: 'this can proceed only from some beardless boy that will give orders independent of me: let him wait till he has commanded in thirty battles, before he takes upon himself to advise me.'"

did the cavalry and infantry form themselves into a square, the shock was irresistible, and this most dreadful charge completed their overthrow. On the right, Marshal Davoust not only maintained his ground against the great body of Prussians sent to possess the defiles of Coesen, but, advancing into the plain, pursued them for three hours in their retreat to Weimar. In this retreat, the confusion of the Prussian army was extreme, and the king, finding it necessary to quit the road, was obliged to retire across the field at the head of his regiment of cavalry. The loss of the Prussians in this battle is estimated by the French at twenty thousand killed, and from thirty to forty thousand prisoners, besides sixty standards, three hundred pieces of cannon, and immense magazines of military stores and provisions: among the prisoners, were more than twenty generals: the Duke of Brunswick and Marshal Mollendorf were wounded, the former mortally; and General Ruchel was killed.*

* CHARLES WILLIAM FREDERICK, DUKE OF BRUNSWICK, was born on the 9th of October, 1735, O. S., and his ancestry is traced up to Albert Azzoni, one of the richest marquises in Italy, born in the year 996, and married to Cuniza, heiress of the ancient house of Guelphs, or Welfes, in Germany. From this stock, sprung the royal family of England, which having attained the electoral, soon added the regal crown to its arms. The Duke of Brunswick, like all the German princes of his time, was bred to the profession of arms from his cradle, and as he was descended from a house eminently warlike, he applied himself to war as a science with no common avidity. By the time he had attained the age of nineteen, the hereditary prince, for by this title he was called during the lifetime of his father, experienced many opportunities to distinguish his courage and conduct in arms. The first exploit undertaken by the hereditary prince as a commander, was the capture of Kays, towards the end of the year 1758. Flushed with success, the young warrior next advanced against Minden, so celebrated afterwards, on account of the battle in that neighbourhood, and having invested the village on the 5th of March, the garrison surrendered at discretion at the end of nine days. To this prince, England and her allies were not a little indebted for the victory of Minden. On that memorable day, he encountered and overcame the Duke de Brissac, and by that achievement prevented the Marshal de Contades from making his retreat by the defiles of Wittenkendorf. At the close of the campaign, in 1759, the hereditary prince was detached, with 15,000 men, to serve under his relation, Frederick the Great, and was afterwards present at the battle of Corbach; and although obliged on this occasion to retreat, yet he maintained all his former reputation. Prince Ferdinand and Marshal Broglie were at this period opposed to each other; and the former having conceived the project of cutting off the communication with France by the Lower Rhine, the hereditary prince was detached for that purpose. On this occasion, he was anticipated by the Marquis de Castries, and obliged to recross the Rhine, but he effected a brilliant retreat with his prisoners,

The French acknowledged a loss on their part of from four to five thousand men; the victory, however, was complete, and the battle of Jena decided the fate of the campaign.

among whom was Dumouriez, at that moment an obscure subaltern in the French service,* but who was destined afterwards to check his progress in the plains of Champagne, at the head of a numerous army, and thus to give a new turn to the destinies of France and of Europe. During the campaign of 1762, the hereditary prince resumed his usual activity. On the 31st of August, having seized on the heights of Joazeberg, he endeavoured to prevent the junction of the armies under the Marshal d'Etrees and the Prince of Condé, but in this attempt he failed of success, and his cannon, and a large body of prisoners, fell into the hands of the enemy. No sooner was a treaty concluded, than his serene highness returned home to cultivate the arts of peace, and on the 12th of January, 1764, he married the Princess Augusta, sister of the present king of England. In 1780, the Duke of Brunswick died, and the hereditary prince, of course, succeeded to his titles and dominions. His first care was directed to the melioration of the affairs of his country, and so unremitting were his endeavours to promote the happiness and prosperity of his subjects, that he acquired, as he merited, the glorious title of the "Father of his people." On the death of the old King of Prussia, the title of field-marshal was conferred upon the duke by Frederick William II., and being appointed to the command of the Prussian army, he succeeded in overrunning Holland, and reinstating the stadtholder.

Soon after this event, when the successful revolt of a whole people from an oppression sanctioned by the practice of ages, had created the most serious alarm in all the courts of Europe, the Duke of Brunswick was looked up to as the only general capable of reducing the French nation within the pale of unlimited obedience. On this occasion, the rival courts of Vienna and Berlin cordially united in the choice of the same leader, who, having assumed the command of the combined forces, in July, 1792, advanced from Coblenz to the heights of Valmy, where an obscure officer of cavalry† foiled the tacticians who had studied the art of war in the school of the immortal Frederick; and that army which had marched forward in all the pride of triumph, denouncing vengeance and desolation against the French capital, was obliged to withdraw, by forced marches, to their own frontier, destitute of provisions, encumbered with baggage, exposed to the ravages of a dreadful dysentery, and completely bereft of all its glory. In 1793, the duke, who in the interval had redeemed some portion of that glory which he had lost at Valmy, by the capture of Mentz, retired from the command of the Prussian army in disgust, and was succeeded by Mollendorf, the companion of his youth and the rival of his old age. On quitting the duties of the camp, his highness immediately returned to Brunswick, and occupied himself as usual in promoting the prosperity of his own dominions. Happy had it been for him and for his family, had he confined his cares to his sovereignty; but he was addicted to war from habit and from disposition, and he pined for active

* Life of General Dumouriez, vol. i. p. 29

† Dumouriez.

† Book I. Chap. iii. p. 87.

The Duke of Berg, who, in his operations, had so frequently proved himself worthy of his great preceptor in the art of war, on the 15th of October invested Erfurth, and, on the following day, that fine citadel, to which General Mollendorf had retreated, was surrendered, with fourteen thousand men, into the hands of the enemy. The blockade of Magdeburg, which, being supposed perfectly out of danger, had been made a dépôt for the most valuable effects from Munster, Cassel, and East Friedland, amounting to a very great accumulation, was entered on the 20th under the orders of the same commander, while he proceeded towards Spandau, only three miles from Berlin. The garrison of this place surrendered on the 24th, and on the 8th of November, Magdeburg itself, with twenty-two thousand prisoners, was yielded to the enemy, presenting a singular instance of the effect of that alarm which had been excited by the success of the French forces, and the influence of which pervaded the most numerous garrisons and the strongest fortifications. Another effect of this complete dismay was the capture, by this active and successful commander, of Stettin, a fortress well calculated for defence, and which contained a garrison of six thousand men, and one hundred and sixty pieces of cannon. This achievement was accomplished by one of the wings of the Duke of Berg's corps, while the other attacked a column of six thousand Prussians, who immediately laid down their arms.

employment in the field and at the head of armies. On the breaking out of the war in 1806, the command of the Prussian army was again confided to the Duke of Brunswick. He was almost the only surviving general of the *old school*, and it remained to be determined on the plains of Jena, whether the ancient art of war or the modern system of tactics was doomed to prevail. On the 13th of October, the fatal conflict took place, and victory, as we have seen, declared for the French, under the Emperor Napoleon. While reconnoitering the enemy at an advanced post with a telescope in his hand, the duke was wounded in the face by a grape-shot; and he was obliged soon afterwards to have recourse to a litter, in which he was conducted to the capital of his dominions. On the approach of the enemy, he left his little metropolis for the last time, and retired by easy journeys to Altona. There, in an obscure lodging, attended by his consort, the sister of the king of England, he heard that the royal family was fled; that nearly all his troops had been intercepted in their retreat; and that he himself was stripped of his dominions. In this melancholy situation, bereft of sight, overwhelmed with pain, and surrounded by misery, died a sovereign prince, who, until eclipsed by a new race of warriors, had been considered as the greatest commander of his age, and to whose talents, at one critical period, all the sovereigns of Europe looked up for safety and protection. The duke breathed his last on the 10th of November, in the 71st year of his age.

Stettin was the fortress to which, after the fatal day of Jena, the Prince of Hohenlohe, directed his course with the principal wreck of the army, having under him about sixteen thousand infantry, principally guards and grenadiers, six regiments of cavalry, and sixty-four pieces of harnessed artillery. In his attempt, however, to reach this place he was anticipated by the arrival at Templon of the Duke of Berg, who, not doubting that the prince would, in consequence of this failure, bend his course to Prentzlow, without a moment's loss of time set off for that place, and, by a well-concerted attack, overthrew, in its suburbs, the cavalry, infantry, and artillery of the prince, and forced him, with great loss, to withdraw within the town, where he was immediately summoned. The gates being speedily burst open by the enemy, and no chance of effectual opposition to the attack remaining, the prince engaged in a treaty of capitulation, and the same day defiled his whole army before the grand-duke, as prisoners of war.

The retreat and resistance of the gallant General Blücher are deserving of particular mention. His intention, after the defeat of Jena, was to gain the Oder, to effect a junction with the army of Prince Hohenlohe, and by affording employment to different divisions of the French troops, to allow time for the supply of some important fortresses, and for the junction of the Russian and Prussian troops. The reserve of the army, which, under the Prince of Wurtemberg, had suffered very materially at Halle, was confided to him on the 24th of October, and appears afterwards to have met with a corps under the Duke of Weimar and the hereditary Duke of Brunswick. It consisted of ten thousand five hundred men. After various attempts to join Prince Hohenlohe, in which his little army had several times separated, although they rejoined after a variety of difficulties, they were obliged to fight against very superior numbers, but often inflicting in these contests more injury than they experienced, he received the mortifying intelligence that the prince had capitulated. General Blücher had now no other alternative than either to take the direction to Hamburg or Lubeck, or to fight the next day, as the Duke of Berg was on his left flank, Marshal Soult on his right, and Bernadotte on his front, each of whose divisions was more than double the number of his own. His march to Lubeck was accordingly resolved on. But here, to his unutterable regret and indignation, treachery combined against him, and afforded aid to the French troops, who soon filled the town. A contest took place, which in fierceness and horror has

rarely been exceeded. The squares, streets, and even churches were scenes of the most bloody conflict and carnage; war triumphed in this unfortunate place in its full ravage; and the Prussian troops, at length obliged to yield to the superior forces of the enemy, withdrew from the town. In this extremity, suffering from want of ammunition, with reduced strength and reduced numbers, effectual resistance seemed absolutely impossible. After three weeks constant retreat, in which, from the incessant fatigue of marching five or six German miles a day, with only the most miserable means of subsistence, fifty or sixty men being frequently obliged to be left behind, but notwithstanding which, the whole corps had displayed a fidelity and courage which could never be exceeded, he felt it his duty, at the moment the French were about to attack him, to yield to a capitulation. The conviction of having discharged his duty might well support him under this disaster, and he may be considered as having derived more glory from his well-conducted retreat, than has attached in many cases to the most decided and important successes.

Marshal Davoust had, on the 18th of October, taken possession of Leipzig, where immediate notice was given to the merchants and bankers, that all English property would be seized in this grand *entrepot* of British merchandise; and all persons were enjoined within twenty-four hours to send in a declaration regarding all such property in their possession, of whatever description; the non-compliance with this mandate to be punished by the summary process of military tribunals. Having ordered a bridge to be thrown over the Elbe at this place, Davoust proceeded to Wittenburg, and gained by surprise the bridges of that town, after which he moved forward to Berlin, which he entered at the head of his troops on the 25th, followed on the succeeding day by the corps of Marshal Augereau. On the 24th, Bonaparte arrived at Potsdam, where he visited the palace and the tomb of the great Frederick. The sword of that distinguished warrior, the riband of the black eagle, the colours taken by him in the seven years war, and the scarf which he used during that critical period of his vicissitude and glory, excited particular regard and emotion, and Napoleon, seizing these trophies, exclaimed with transport, "Twenty millions shall not purchase them. I will present them to my old soldiers, and the Hotel of Invalids at Paris shall be their future depository." Within three days after his arrival at Potsdam, he made his public entry into Berlin, attended by his

principal generals, and his foot guards. Various ambassadors from the powers with which he was at peace, were here presented to him at the palace. He afterwards received the deputies from the Lutheran and Reformed churches, mostly the descendants of the refugee French Protestants driven from their country by the revocation of the edict of Nantes, to whom he promised the continued enjoyment of their privileges and worship. Twelve hundred of the principal inhabitants were intrusted with the guardianship of the city; and to the management of eight of the highest reputation and consequence, was committed the superintendence of the police. The presence of the French scarcely discomposed the ordinary routine of business; and, by the vigilance of the burghers, and the strict discipline of the army, the utmost tranquillity was secured. Berlin, at the time of its occupation, notwithstanding previous removals, abounded with military stores of every description, which the precipitate approach of the French, "the rapidity of whose march outstripped that of their renown," had prevented them from removing. The supreme provisional government of the conquered country of Prussia was divided into four departments—Berlin, Custin, Stettin, and Magdeburg, and committed to the direction of General Clarke.

During the time which the Emperor Napoleon was enjoying himself in comparative leisure and full tranquillity in the palace of Berlin, admiring the novelty of the scene, and the trophies of military greatness; the King of Prussia was experiencing all the horrors of exile, and the alarms natural to the loss of a kingdom, for the recovery of which he had reason to fear that he must be more indebted to the moderation of the conqueror, than to any remaining resources of his own.—In the course of a few days, his army had been completely dissipated and ruined. The army of Westphalia, under General Blucher; the left division, under Prince Hohenlohe; the reserve, under the Prince of Wurtemberg; and the army under his own immediate inspection; had comprehended a mass of military power, which he had represented to his imagination as almost irresistible: yet nearly all had now disappeared. Of one hundred and fifty thousand men, comprehended in these divisions, a large proportion had been destroyed, wounded, or made captive in the fatal contest of Jena. Of the rest, various corps, after wandering amidst inextricable difficulties, and exhibiting an enterprise and perseverance worthy of a better fate, had been obliged to surrender to the superior force of the ene-

my ; while others, as if struck with consternation, and imagining themselves to be assailed by an enemy of more than mortal powers, yielded, in succession, positions of the first importance, and capable of long-continued defence. The fortresses appeared as if incapable of affording resistance to the enemy, or protection to their own garrisons. The armies, the garrisons, and the magazines, were lost to the monarch of Prussia with such rapidity of successive disaster, that he might doubt at certain moments the reality of his humiliation, and the testimony of his own senses. After the battle of Jena, his majesty retreated to Custin, but the approach of the enemy speedily produced the necessity of his further removal, and Königsburg became the place of his residence, and the rallying point for the wreck of the Prussian forces. Here, the last regiments of the Prussian monarchy, amounting to about fifty thousand men, collected around Frederick William, and awaited the accession of reinforcements, and the arrival of whatever assistance might be afforded by the Emperor of Russia.

Bonaparte, well aware that the Elector of Saxony had been forced into the service of Prussia, dismissed six thousand of his troops on their parole, immediately after the battle of Jena. The Elector of Hesse was, on the contrary, deprived of his dominions ; as was also the Duke of Brunswick, because he had encouraged a war "which he ought to have used his influence to prevent."* Mecklenburg was also taken possession of by the French ; but its destiny was postponed, and left subject to be regulated by the conduct of Russia. Hanover was occupied by a detachment under the command of General Mortier. The siege of Hameln was intrusted to General Savary, who found a conference as efficacious as a grand assault. The desperate situation of the Prussian monarchy afforded no prospect of advantage from the protraction of a siege on the part of the commandant, who, under the influence of this persuasion, consented to sign a capitulation, by which this important fortress, with a garrison of nine thousand men, abundance of military stores, and provisions for six months, was delivered to the French general, whose troops amounted only to three regiments. In Hanover, the order and discipline of the French troops were strikingly observable ; and a few days were sufficient to complete the conquest of that electorate. Fulda and Cassel were at the

same time occupied by other corps of the French troops, and a perfect communication was opened and maintained with the grand army. The next object to be accomplished, and which was no sooner ordered than it was effected, was to take possession of Hamburg ; and the transactions at this place, where all British merchandise and other property was placed under sequestration, flowed from a system of policy explained by a decree of the French emperor, published at Berlin towards the close of the month of November. This edict, which afterwards became so memorable under the designation of the **BERLIN DECREE**, was introduced by a declaration, stating, that England had violated the laws of nations, in considering every individual belonging to a hostile state as an actual enemy, whether found on board vessels of merchandise, or engaged otherwise in the tranquil occupations of commercial agents, or as members of commercial factories. She had moreover extended her right of blockade beyond all reasonable limits—to places before which she had not a single ship of war, and even to whole coasts and kingdoms, where, with all her naval superiority, it was impossible for her actually to maintain it. This monstrous abuse of the right of blockade, as it was styled by the French emperor, had no other object than to impede the communication between nations, and to aggrandize the commerce and industry of England by the ruin of the commerce and industry of the continent. All those who dealt in English commodities upon the continent, might therefore be justly regarded, whether intentionally or not, as seconding those views, and rendering themselves her accomplices ; and as it was a right, conferred by the laws of nature and of nations, to oppose to an enemy the weapons employed by him against his adversary ; it was therefore decreed, that till the English government should abandon this system, the British isles should be placed in a state of blockade, and all commerce and correspondence with her interdicted.

The idea of blockading the British islands was at first treated as the phantom of a disordered imagination, but the ridicule cast upon the project was speedily removed by illustrative facts. In all the countries under the direct power and influence of France, British property, and the persons of British citizens, were divested of all security, and recognised as fair subjects of sequestration and imprisonment. The means of continental communication were extremely impaired : and the grand

* Declaration of Napoleon.

entrepot of English commodities was completely cut off. The strictest orders were circulated through Holland, Switzerland, and all the other tributary governments of the French empire, to enforce these regulations, so as to effect, if possible, the utter exclusion of British intercourse with their dominions; and it was found, that, although the French were enclosed by the British squadrons in their own ports, which they could quit only by the aid of storms and darkness, the idea of blockading the British isles was not altogether frivolous and illusory. Founded, as the system of commercial intercourse was, on the very basis of reciprocal wants and advantages, the British nation found that they were contending with an enemy whose grand object was to impair their resources, to harass their credit, to produce that failure of revenue which would operate most powerfully in support of his views of policy and vengeance; and for the accomplishment of which, the inconvenience attached to Europe, and even to France herself, from the influence of the "continental system," would be cheerfully endured. The suspension of the regular course of payments from abroad, soon proved fatal to many mercantile houses of distinction; while others, who had enjoyed the good fortune, in anticipation of these events, to dispose of their property, and settle their accounts abroad, but whose warehouses at home were crowded with merchandise, for they could now obtain no market, were in a state little less to be deplored. The West India merchants, so large a portion of whose importations had found their way through long established channels to the continent, from which they were now excluded, particularly suffered from this cause: and the columns of the London Gazette, no longer adorned with the records of victory, were swelled with the names of those who had recently imagined themselves in a state of comparative opulence, but who were doomed to fall into decay under the weight of this unmarketable and depreciated merchandise.

Immediately after the battle of Jena, the King of Prussia made application to Bonaparte for an armistice, and, though this request was refused, he was encouraged to send a plenipotentiary to the head-quarters of the French army, charged with instructions to negotiate a peace. Lucchesini, the Prussian negotiator, arrived at Berlin on the 22d of October, and found that Duroc was named by the French emperor to discuss with him the terms of the proposed treaty. The situation of his Prussian majesty became every day more desperate, by

the capture of his armies, and the surrender of his fortresses; and a very short time was sufficient to show, that no terms of peace, short of unconditional surrender, were to be obtained from the conqueror. An armistice was next proposed, and concluded on the 16th of November, but on terms so disadvantageous to Prussia, that the king refused to ratify the act of his minister, preferring rather to try still further the fortune of war, with the aid and under the banners of his Russian ally. Every exertion was made, to give effect to this last effort; and, considering the facility with which the slightest promise of favourable change is caught at by the unfortunate, it could not appear surprising that the approach of the Russian armies, and the expectation of a general rising among the Silesians, to whom the king addressed an energetic proclamation, should have inspired a hope of ultimate success, which was in reality the cause of the determination not to ratify the armistice.

The advanced guard of the Russian army, under General Benningsen, amounting to four thousand men, had at length crossed the Vistula, and arrived at Warsaw on the 13th of November, whence they pushed on by forced marches to the river Drzura. The reconnoitering parties, however, on advancing along the road towards Thorn and the Wartha, soon ascertained the great superiority and the rapid march of the enemy, on which General Benningsen speedily retired across the Vistula, and entirely destroyed the bridge over that river, with a view to impede the enemy in his pursuit. About the end of the month of November, the first division of the French army arrived at Warsaw, and one of their first objects was to substitute a bridge for that which the Russians had destroyed. From the eastern bank of the Vistula, a corps of Marshal Davoust's division pushed on towards the Bug, where they strengthened their position by a *tete du pont*, and afterwards proceeded to the village of Pomikow. The general-in-chief of the Russian army, Kamenskoi, having at length arrived at the camp, seemed to consider the honour of the army as tarnished by the retrograde movements of General Benningsen; and, in order to counteract the impression made by this retreat, he ordered his troops to advance, and to fix their head-quarters at Pultusk, on the Narew, at a distance of thirty miles from Warsaw. No sooner was Bonaparte acquainted with the first indications of this disposition in the Russian general for offensive operations, than he quitted Posen for Warsaw; but previously to his departure, he published a proclamation addressed to

his soldiers, which may be considered as a summary of the Prussian campaign.* Marshal Ney had been for some time in possession of Thorn, whence he united the different corps of his division at Gallup. Marshal Bessieres, with the second corps of the reserved cavalry, proceeded from Thorn to Biezun, which route was pursued also by Marshal Bernadotte, while Marshal Soult passed the Vistula opposite Plock, and Marshal Augereau, by indefatigable exertions, established a bridge over the Narew.—These operations were succeeded by the battles of Maziesk and Lopackzin, fought on the 24th of December, in which the Russians lost sixteen hundred men, and twenty-five pieces of cannon. In the mean time, a Prussian corps, consisting of six thousand infantry, and one thousand cavalry, sustained a signal defeat at Scoldaw, by a corps of French troops under Marshal Ney; while Marshal Bessieres routed another detachment of Prussian troops, breaking their line, and driving them into the morasses near the village of Carmeden. These successes were only preliminary to a battle of more importance fought, on the 26th of December, in the vicinity of Pultusk, which closed the mili-

tary operations of the year. In the morning of that day, Marshal Lannes arrived opposite to Pultusk, where the whole corps of General Benningen had assembled during the night. About ten o'clock the next morning, the attack was commenced by the French, and received by the Russians with great firmness. The battle was fought with great obstinacy, and with various vicissitude, but at length French tactics triumphed over Russian courage, and General Benningen, on whom the chief command of the Russian army had now devolved, was compelled to retreat. In the mean time, General Buxhoeven had assembled the different corps of his army at Golymin, to which place they were closely pursued by Davoust, who took up his position in an adjoining wood. About noon, Augereau arrived, and took the Russians in flank, while another French corps deprived them of a point of support, derived from a neighbouring village, and at three o'clock the division of General Hendlet formed in line and advanced against the Russians. The fire was conducted with great animation, and, notwithstanding several impetuous and successful charges made by the cavalry of the Duke of Berg, the contest continued till eleven o'clock at night; when the Russian commander, finding himself unable any longer to resist the shock, ordered a retreat to Ostrolenka. General Buxhoeven was now placed in a situation of extreme danger, and had not the unfavourable state of the roads impeded the progress of the French troops under Marshal Soult, scarcely any portion of the Russian army could have escaped destruction. The loss in these actions, on the part of the French, was admitted by themselves to be little short of three thousand men; but that of the Russians was, on the same authority, stated at twelve thousand killed, wounded, and taken; eighty pieces of cannon; and about twelve hundred baggage-wagons. The retreat of the Russians was the signal for the French troops to enter into winter-quarters, and the corps under Marshals Ney, Bernadotte, and Bessieres, were almost immediately cantoned on the left bank of the river Oreg, while Marshal Soult, with the brigades of light horse, was stationed on the right bank of that river for their protection.

The King of Prussia, while all these disastrous events were occurring, was experiencing a state of suspense and embarrassment, which, although arising from his own culpable policy, could not but excite sentiments of commiseration. His queen and family, with a long train of attendants and nobility, sought an asylum, first at Pantic, and afterwards at Memel, where the death

*PROCLAMATION.

Imperial Head-quarters at Posen, Dec. 2, 1806.

"SOLDIERS!

"A year ago, at the same hour, you were on the memorable field of Austerlitz. The sacred cohort of Russia fled, defeated, before you; or, surrounded, laid down their arms at the feet of their conquerors. To the moderation, and perhaps, blameable generosity, which overlooked the criminality of the third coalition, is the formation of a fourth to be ascribed. But the ally, on whose military skill their principal hope rested, is already no more. His principal towns, his fortresses, his forage and ammunition, magazines, two hundred and eighty standards, seven hundred pieces of cannon, are in our power. Neither the Oder nor Wartha, the deserts of Poland, nor the rude season of winter, have been capable of arresting, for a moment, our progress. You have braved all dangers—have surmounted them all, and every enemy has fled on your approach. In vain, did the Russians wish to defend the capital of ancient and illustrious Poland. The French eagles hover over the Vistula. The unfortunate but brave Poles, on contemplating you, fancy they behold the celebrated legions of the great Sobieski returning from a military expedition. Soldiers! we shall not lay down our arms until a general peace has confirmed and secured the power of our allies; until it has restored to our commerce its freedom, and given back to us our colonies: on the Elbe, and on the Oder, we have reconquered Pondicherry, all our possessions in India, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Spanish colonies. What right has Russia to hope that she shall hold the balance of destiny in her hands? What right has she to expect she should be placed in so favourable a situation? Shall there be a comparison made between the Russians and us? Are we not the soldiers of Austerlitz?

Signed)

"NAPOLEON."

of one of the young princes was combined with other circumstances of public and domestic affliction. In this brief but decisive campaign, the successes of the French are almost unprecedented in the records of history. It cannot appear surprising that these successes should have operated upon a people peculiarly susceptible of every thing calculated to excite exultation, and gratify national vanity; nor that the "illustrious head of the great nation" should, at the contemplation of that superiority which he obtained in these conflicts, adopt frequently a style of decided prophecy and dictation, approaching to the most consummate arrogance. The forces of an immense empire were under his uncontrolled direction, and he was able to avail himself of them to their fullest extent. There was no opposition to his projects, no collision with his interests. The decisions of his cabinet, or rather of his closet, instead of being obliged to await the forms of slow deliberation, and the fluctuation of remote caprice, sprang with all the bloom and vigour of youth into immediate action. In the coalitions which he had hitherto encountered, this simplicity, in the midst of complication, administered in a great measure to his uninterrupted success. In the case of Prussia, indeed, concert had not been formed till ruin was almost absolutely incurred, and her folly was only the more apparent from these defective arrangements, which had depended solely upon herself.

A suspension of hostile operations existed for some time after the battles of Pultusk and Golymin, arising from the difficulty of procuring supplies, and the state of a northern region at this season of the year. Vigilance and preparations were on both sides connected with a state of comparative acquiescence; and no means were omitted by either army to qualify themselves for those approaching shocks, to which Europe now looked with painful suspense for the decision of its fate. A general armament was ordered by the Emperor of Russia, to be raised in a certain proportion to the existing population, according to which the force to be levied would amount to more than six hundred thousand men, who were, on any requisite emergency, to be ready to support the troops of the empire. Nor was the Emperor Napoleon by any means less attentive to the arrangements required by his situation. Levies were perpetually sent from the interior of France to the seat of war, and an anticipated conscription for the ensuing year was put in requisition, to be trained and disciplined, though not immediately to be marched to the theatre of war.

In the mean while, Jerome Bonaparte

was successfully conducting the operations of the army in Silesia. The proclamation of the King of Prussia to the brave inhabitants of this province, though by no means attended with those results which in the ardour of his mind he had expected, was not wholly inefficient. By the exertions of the Prince of Pless, who had been appointed to the government of the province, a considerable corps was collected from the troops stationed in the various fortresses, which appear to have derived some increase of force from the zeal and attachment of the people at large. The troops of the King of Wurtemberg and Bavaria were employed, under Prince Jerome, to reduce them, and about the beginning of the year, inflicted upon them a severe defeat. After this event, the best mode of disposing of the remainder of the army appeared to the Prince of Pless to be their rapid dispersion, by detachments, into different fortresses; a plan which was immediately adopted, and, in consequence of which, he was obliged to abandon to the enemy some of his artillery, and a considerable portion of his baggage. On the 8th of January, the city of Breslau, which had been for some time regularly besieged, surrendered to the enemy, who had begun to batter in breach; the magazines of this fortress were considerable, and its garrison, consisting of five thousand five hundred men, defiled before Prince Jerome as his prisoners of war. The other fortresses in Silesia were in succession rapidly invested; Brieg capitulated in a short time, and Schwiednitz soon followed her example. The Prince of Pless, driven from the positions of Frankenstein and Neurohde by General Lefebvre, took refuge in Glatz, and was, soon afterwards, succeeded in the command by Baron Kleist. The activity and energy of the new commander, kept all the troops under Jerome Bonaparte in sufficient employment; and an unsuccessful attempt was made under the baron to surprise and retake Breslau. The siege of Niesse, before which the French prince was encamped, occupied a considerable time; and, although this and the other fortresses were at length forced to a capitulation, the bravery and perseverance of the troops and commanders employed in their defence, redounded to the credit of their firmness and loyalty. By the prolonged exertions in defence of these places, an object highly desirable was effected—the detention of a great body of forces from joining the French armies in Poland, a striking contrast was exhibited to that precipitation and baseness with which, in other provinces of the unfortunate Prussian monarchy, fortresses, impregnable from their situation, and furnished with every means

of protracted defence, had been surrendered almost upon the first summons.

While Silesia was thus in a state that must ensure its ultimate reduction, unless the fortune of war should exhibit a most important reverse on the great theatre of hostility, the French armies were employed in prosecuting the sieges of Stralsund, Golberg, and Dantzig, the possession of the latter of which cities was justly deemed of extreme importance. The idea of the restoration of the kingdom of Poland, if it had been ever seriously entertained, was now apparently abandoned. Whether it was, that, having been repeatedly deceived by sovereigns, their pledges were no longer received by the inhabitants of that country with any confidence; whether policy was speedily found to require the renunciation of a project by Bonaparte which he really had intended to accomplish; or whether the boasted constitution of Poland had no hold on the poor man's heart to nerve his arm for its recovery; it appears that few of the Poles contributed to swell the French armies; and that, for the restoration of Poland in its former integrity, was substituted a government of the Prussian districts of that country, accompanied with no specious pretensions to liberty and independence, though judiciously enough contrived as a provisional administration.

The representations of Austria, whose military establishments had been placed by the Archduke Charles on a footing of high respectability, could not, it may be presumed, be safely neglected. She had a formidable army in Galicia, convertible to the emergency of circumstances, and capable of almost indefinite increase, from the existing regularity, economy, and resources of her establishments. In the situation of Bonaparte, the interposition of this force might be supposed capable, not merely of preventing the re-establishment of the monarchy of Poland, but of cutting off his retreat to France, and thus subverting for ever the fabric of ambition which he had been so many years in raising. But the perils and labours, the achievements and glories, of so long a period, were not thus rashly to be ventured for an enterprise, which to him was of trifling importance. On the subject of Austria, it may be further observed, that the exertions of the Archduke Charles, in his chief military superintendence of the empire, were incessant and invaluable. Those whose conclusions were generally directed by their wishes, and whose wishes were ardent for the subversion of the colossal power which now threatened to bestride the continent, eagerly inferred that these exertions on the part of Austria, were intended for something

more than to cause her neutrality to be respected, and every rumour of a reverse sustained by Bonaparte was followed by another, circulated with equal confidence, that the Emperor Francis was coming forward to complete the triumphs of the allies. What might have been the result of those reverses, had they actually taken place; and how far they might have induced the Austrian government to deviate from its neutrality, it is impossible to determine. The secrets of cabinets are explored with difficulty, and their mere professions of attachment are certainly little to be relied upon. Austria, however, had felt what it was to fall under the weight of the energies of France. She might, at the same time, not bear so strong a spirit of revenge and antipathy as was imagined, against an enemy, who, after overrunning her provinces and capital, by no means inflicted the extremity of vengeance, and who, though he retained much of his conquest, also restored much that he could never have been compelled to abandon. In addition to all these considerations, the ancient disgusts between the Austrian and Prussian states and governments, must have been still extremely operative; and to this feeling of almost in-born origin, was added, by Austria, that retrospect of events, in the course of which she had been sacrificed to the timid policy, or rather grovelling interest, of the King of Prussia. Bonaparte, whose knowledge of human nature appeared little inferior to his military skill, might feel himself tolerably easy, with respect to the designs of Austria, though providence required that her motions should be observed with that vigilance which is ever alive to contingencies; and, in the course of this campaign, she adhered steadily to her system of neutrality, taking no measures that could reasonably excite offence or alarm.

From the battle of the 26th of December, nothing material occurred between the grand armies, till the 25th of January. The French troops were in cantonments, and the emperor was at Warsaw, regulating every process necessary for the supply of their magazines, and diffusing order and animation, from this point of his residence, through every department of his government. The Prince of Ponte Corvo had taken possession of Elbing, and the country situated on the borders of the Baltic. Being informed that a Russian column had advanced to Liebstadt, beyond the Passarge, and had made prisoners a party of the advanced posts of the cantonments, he immediately quitted Elbing, and arrived at Mohrungen on the 26th of January, just as the general of brigade, Picton, was attacked by the Russians. A village, defended

by three Russian battalions, supported by three others, was immediately ordered by the marshal to be attacked, and the contest which ensued was extremely fierce and animated. The eagle of the ninth regiment of French infantry, was taken by the Russians, who, in the early part of the day, had the prospect of obtaining a most brilliant victory. The sense of disgrace in which the final loss of their standard would have involved the French regiment, produced exertions which gave turn to the fortune of the day. They precipitated themselves with inconceivable ardour on the Russians, who were unable to resist the shock, and in the rout which ensued, were obliged to abandon the captured eagle. During this transaction in one part of the field, the French line was formed in another, and attacked that of the Russians, which was advantageously posted on an eminence. The fire of the musketry was, at what in the language of war is called, pointblank distance, where every shot takes effect; and the firmness and vigour of the action rendered the result highly dubious; when General Dupont suddenly appeared, and took part in the engagement. The right wing of the Russians was turned by this corps, and the impetuosity of the attack made upon them by the 39d regiment was irresistible. The Russians were obliged to fly, and were followed till the advance of night put an end to the pursuit. Several howitzers were left by them upon the field of battle, with about twelve hundred killed and wounded; and thirteen hundred Russians were made prisoners of war.

About the close of the month of January, Bonaparte quitted Warsaw, and joined his army; the corps of Marshal Ney was formed in order of battle on the left, that of Soult on the right, and that of Augereau in the centre, the imperial guard constituting the reserve. Gutstadt was the centre of the Russian magazines, and orders were given to Marshal Soult to march towards it, and to make himself master of the bridge of Bergfried. General Guyot was accordingly despatched with the light cavalry to Gutstadt, where he succeeded in capturing a great part of the Russian baggage, with sixteen hundred prisoners, and, after an obstinate conflict, the bridge of Bergfried was taken. Marshal Ney, in the mean time, made himself master of a wood, which covered the right wing of the Russians. An important position was gained also by the division of St. Hilaire; and several squadrons of dragoons, under the Duke of Berg, cleared the plain of the Russians in front. On the ensuing morning, the different corps of the French army were early on their march towards Lands-

berg, Heilsberg, and Wermdit. In the course of this day, two regiments of Russian infantry were nearly all destroyed or taken, near Glandan, together with their cannon and colours; and Hoff, a place of such importance that ten battalions were appointed by the Russians to defend it, fell into the hands of the enemy.

These contests occurred early in the month of February, and the evening of the 6th came on while both armies were in presence of each other; during the night, the Russians resumed their retreat, and took up their position behind Eylau. At a short distance from this place, there is a flat, at the summit of an eminence, which, as it commands the entrance into the town, it was deemed necessary by the French emperor to gain. The Russian troops, who were in possession of this commanding position, were thrown into considerable confusion, by an attack made upon them under the direction of Marshal Soult; but, by a well-timed and admirably-conducted charge from a body of the Russian cavalry, some of the French battalions thus employed were completely thrown into disorder. During this vicissitude of fortune, the result of which was the continued possession of the eminence by the Russians, the troops came to action in Eylau. Several regiments had been posted in a church and church-yard, which were maintained by the Russians with extraordinary pertinacity, and occasioned on both sides the most dreadful carnage till about ten o'clock at night, when they were abandoned to the French. The division of Le Grand passed the night in front of the village; that of St. Hilaire was on the right; Angereau was posted on the left; the corps of Davoust began its march early on the ensuing morning of the 8th, with a view to fall on the left of the Russians; while that of Ney was on its march to outflank them on the right. At daybreak, the attack commenced, on the part of the Russians, by a cannonade, directed against the division of St. Hilaire. Bonaparte commanded in person at Eylau, and stationed himself at the church, which had been so obstinately defended the preceding day, whence he gave orders for the corps of Augereau to advance with forty pieces of cannon, and to cannonade the eminence which had before been unsuccessfully attempted. The Russian army was formed in columns, and, being only at the distance of half a cannon-shot from the assailants, every ball took effect. To terminate the carnage occasioned by this dreadful cannonade, the Russians attempted to surround the left wing of the enemy. The corps under Davoust were at this moment par-

ceived by the Russian commander to be in a situation highly favourable to an attack, and stood exposed to the danger of being assailed by the whole force of the Russian army; to prevent the disaster that must inevitably have ensued, Angereau advanced in columns across the plain to attack the centre of the Russians, and thus to divide their attention. The division of St. Hilaire approached on the right, and was endeavouring to form a junction with Angereau: during the manoeuvres necessary for effecting this object, a heavy fall of snow intercepted the view of the French divisions; their point of direction was lost; and the columns, deviating to the left, were exposed for a considerable time to extreme uncertainty and danger. On the conclusion of the storm, which lasted for more than half an hour, the Grand-duke of Berg, immediately perceiving the destruction to which the French columns were exposed, and from which nothing but the boldest manoeuvre could rescue them, instantly advanced at the head of his cavalry, with Marshal Bessieres and the imperial guard, to the support of St. Hilaire's division, and attacked the main body of the Russians: by this vigorous and unexpected movement, the Russians were thrown into disorder, and sustained the most dreadful slaughter; two of their lines were penetrated, and the third was preserved entire, only by the support derived from an adjoining wood. This splendid and successful operation was, however, by no means decisive of the fate of the day; the Russian army still resisted with a firmness and perseverance which rendered the contest long doubtful: for twelve hours, three hundred mouths of fire were scattering death in every direction on the scene of conflict and horror. The success of Marshal Davoust at length gave a preponderance to the scale on the side of the French army; his march had been retarded by several falls of snow, and the junction of his columns proved an affair of extreme difficulty, but at length he was enabled to outflank the Russians, and to gain possession of the level on the summit of the eminence. This position was disputed with all the vigour and ardour of military combat; and, after the Russians had been obliged in the first instance to abandon it, they attempted to recover their lost ground with a vehemence bordering upon rage, and a perseverance approaching to desperation; their reiterated attempts were, however, found to be ineffectual, and they were obliged finally to quit the field, and to secure as orderly a retreat as possible.

The battle of Eylau appears to have been one of the most vigorous and obsti-

nately contested engagements in the history of the war: it was celebrated at Warsaw and at Paris, with the usual accompaniments of triumph; and the loss of the Russians was stated in the French bulletin at seven thousand killed, twelve thousand prisoners, and an equal number put *hors de combat*. On the same authority, it is asserted that the Russians lost forty-five pieces of cannon, and eighteen colours; and that the French emperor, neither in this, nor in any other battle where he commanded, ever lost any cannon. The loss of the French was admitted in their own accounts to be very severe, and General Benningen estimates that loss at thirty thousand killed, twelve thousand wounded, and two thousand prisoners!* That the victory rested with the French can scarcely be doubted, as the possession of the town, and of the eminence which commanded it, remained indisputably with them, and they continued on the field of battle for some days after the Russians had found it expedient to retreat behind the river Pregel. That no considerable permanent or immediate advantages resulted from their success is equally clear, as, instead of passing the Pregel in pursuit of a routed army, and pushing on to Konigsberg, they were content to retrace their steps to their former cantonments.

The havoc resulting to both armies from this sanguinary contest, occasioned great exertions to be made for reinforcements. The Emperor Alexander and the Archduke Constantine not long afterwards joined the Russian army with upwards of sixty thousand troops; and the efforts of Napoleon to repair his loss, and accumulate a force equal to the great struggle which still remained, were unremitting. The greater part of the 8th corps of the grand army, which had been employed, under General Mortier, in the north of Germany, was ordered to march to the more critical theatre of hostility; and from the different recruiting stations throughout France, and the conquered countries, reinforcements were continually despatched to join the imperial standard on the Vistula.

The French army now bent its efforts with increased vigour against the fortress of Dantzic. This place had been for some time invested, but the siege was now urged with extreme pressure and perseverance. The garrison consisted of sixteen thousand men, under the command of the Prussian General Kalkreuth, an officer of tried loyalty and skill. The troops who

* Russian official account of the battle of Eylau

surrounded the place, consisted, in a great degree, of the auxiliaries of France, of different prejudices, habits, and languages; but their efforts, under the direction of Marshal Lefebvre, were effectually combined by a happy union of encouragement and discipline, and, in repelling the sorties of the besieged, and in advancing the progress of the works, they displayed astonishing skill and alacrity. The exertions of the commander of the fortress, were, on the other hand, not less striking and meritorious; and his vigilance and energy, in this situation of high responsibility, were in incessant operation. On the 24th of April, the bombardment began. On the night of the 29th, Marshal Lefebvre, having conceived the garrison to be sufficiently weakened, and the fortifications so much impaired as to justify the attempt, ordered the storming of the fortress. The governor, however, was well prepared to resist the assailants, whose stratagems were unable to deceive him with regard to the real point of attack, and repelled the effort made by the enemy, with the most dreadful carnage. This overthrow was far from preventing a renewal of the enterprise, and not less than three separate attempts were made, on this fatal night, to get possession of the citadel. The skill of the commander, however, and the exertions of the garrison, completely defeated each: after the loss of an immense number of lives, the attempt was abandoned, and the assailants were compelled to take shelter under cover of their works. An armistice of four hours was soon afterwards agreed upon between the hostile commanders, and the work of destruction was suspended by a solemn pause for the burial of the dead. The struggles of the garrison were not viewed with indifference by the commanders of the allied armies, and two attempts were made to throw succours into the fortress and to raise the siege, but both of them without success. The moment was now therefore rapidly approaching, in which all the valour and exertions of the garrison would be unavailing; nearly a thousand houses had been destroyed in the town, and the distress of the inhabitants was extreme. The troops, exhausted by a series of efforts, interrupted only by short periods of repose, were not only thinned in numbers, but scarcely able to support any longer those privations and difficulties which daily increased. The works of the enemy were, in the mean time, proceeding with rapidity; the covered way was now completed; the preparations for passing the fosse were finished, and on the 31st of May every thing was prepared for the assault; when

General Kalkreuth intimated to the French commander, that he was willing to capitulate, on the same conditions as he had himself formerly granted to the garrison of Mayence. This proposition was acceded to without hesitation; and, on the 27th of May, the garrison, reduced from sixteen thousand to nine thousand men, with their general at their head, marched out of the fortifications with all the honours of war, and were permitted to go wherever their inclination and convenience dictated, engaging only not to serve against France for the ensuing twelve months. Dantzic, at the time of its surrender, possessed eight hundred pieces of artillery, and magazines and stores of every description. Its principal advantage, however, to the conqueror, lay in its constituting a place of the first order, for strength, on the left wing of the grand army, while the centre was supported by Thorne, and the right by Praga.

But it is time to advert to other incidents of the extended and destructive hostility in which Europe was now involved. The operations of the 8th corps of the grand French army in the north of Germany, under General Mortier, will be long remembered; their exactions and depredations on the devoted towns and territories of this country, left indelible horror on the minds of the unresisting inhabitants. After a system of violence and rapine had been sufficiently organized to proceed with little military impulse in Hamburg, Lubeck, and the various other places which, in their turn, became the victims of imperial plunder, the corps of Mortier was ordered to proceed against Swedish Pomerania, and to co-operate with Lefebvre in the siege of Dantzic. The attempts of Bonaparte to detach the King of Sweden from the confederacy, had been such as would have seduced or terrified to his purpose a man of less firmness and perseverance than were possessed by this young monarch, whose ardour, however, it will be admitted, arose on some occasions to something not very different from frenzy, and who occasionally appeared as intemperate as he had been persevering. The failure of the overtures of the French government, was, in January, followed by the seizure of Anclam. Grissewald was soon taken by the French troops, and Stralsund itself was invested. The Swedish army at Stralsund consisted of thirteen thousand Swedes, and four thousand Prussians; these, the king was almost in daily expectation of seeing joined by a very considerable British force, which might qualify him to take the field for active operations against the enemy, instead

of confining himself within the walls of a fortress. A force was not long afterwards landed in Rugen and Stralsund, consisting of several thousand foreign troops, under a British commander, and constituting the first division of the expected armament; but the arrival of these reinforcements gave no immediate interest to the affairs of the north, and circumstances very speedily occurred which materially changed the aspect of the continent.

Towards the close of the year 1806, war had been declared by the Porte against Russia. The conduct of the Russian government with respect to the Crimea and Georgia; its reiterated attempts to recruit its force in the seven islands from the Turkish provinces in the Adriatic; and the interference of Russia in the provincial administrations of Wallachia and Moldavia; were stated in a manifesto, published by the cabinet of Constantinople, as the grounds of this hostility. The troops of the Asiatic provinces now poured into the capital, the people were animated by the exhortations of the ulemas, and the forms and influence of an impressive superstition, to resort to the standard of Mahomet, which was displayed against its mortal enemies; and an army was ordered to be collected under the grand vizier, with all possible expedition. The straits of the Black Sea were closed against all neutrals. Tenedos was put in a respectable state of defence, and the passage of the Dardanelles committed to the vigilance and guardianship of a Turkish squadron. In the mean while the Russians were advancing in considerable strength, under General Michelson, through Moldavia and Wallachia. The arms of Russia met with little resistance in these provinces. Choczim, Jassey, Bucharest, and various other places, fell an easy prey, and magazines were established in them to facilitate operations, which might be required against the more vital parts of the Turkish empire. To promote the success of Russia, and oblige the Turks to accede to terms of accommodation, by which a force would be released from this southern warfare, and enabled to swell the Russian army in Poland, a British fleet under the command of Sir John Duckworth, advanced through the Dardanelles, and on the 30th of March appeared off Constantinople. Instead of producing accommodation between Russia and the Porte, a new power only was added to the list of England's enemies; commercial relations with Turkey were, of course, immediately closed; the British agents and settlers in the Turkish territories were exposed to considerable annoyance, and the seizure and sequestration of English pro-

perty at Smyrna, Salonica, and other places, were ordered by the Porte, with a promptitude which precluded all opportunity for precaution. The power of France over the divan became materially strengthened; Sebastiani, the French ambassador at Constantinople, was consulted on almost every emergency, and his influence in the Turkish capital became predominant and irresistible. In this war between Russia and the Porte, the former was generally successful, and to add to the disasters of the Turks, an insurrection arose during its progress, owing to some new regulations in the dress and discipline of the troops, which terminated in the deposition and violent death of the Grand Seignior Selim III. and the proclamation of Mustapha IV.

By sea, the Russians were equally successful, as by land, and in an engagement between the Russian and Turkish fleets, fought, on the 1st of July, near the entrance to the Dardanelles, the Turkish squadron, consisting of eleven sail of the line, was nearly annihilated. Circumstances, however, occurred, which speedily led to a termination of these hostilities.

After the battle of Eylau, and during the siege of Dantzic, no exertions were omitted by Bonaparte which could add security to his positions. The left wing of his army was stationed on the Nogat, a river branching from the Vistula near Marienberg, and its position reached over Elbing and Brunsberg, along the left bank of the Passarge, up to Wormdit. The centre was placed in some degree upon the rear, round Leibstadt and Morengen. From Gutstadt, the army stretched itself above Allenstein; and the right wing preserved a communication with the left of Massena's army, whose right was on the Bug, and thence to the mouth of the Narew. The right wing of the allied army was stationed near the Pische Haff, and stretched along the right bank of the Passarge to Wormdit. This wing consisted of Prussian troops, admirable for their loyalty, experience, and discipline. At Wormdit, the position of the Russian army commenced, and stretched over Heilsburg, Bartenstein, and Schippendall. Each wing, as well as the centre of the Russian army, had before it an advanced-guard, and the left wing was commanded by Hettman Platoff, whose activity often led him to push his parties to Ortelzburg, occasioning not unfrequent skirmishes, while, in every other part, there prevailed silent vigilance and solemn preparation. A considerable corps of Russians was also stationed not far from the Narew. On the part of the French, there were also various distributions of force, in

addition to the grand army, whose positions have been mentioned. The corps employed in the siege of Colberg, were the German contingents and Italians, with a certain number of French. In Silesia, the troops of Bavaria and Wurtemberg were employed in reducing the fortresses of Neisse, Cosel, Glatz, and Silberberg. Marshal Brune was collecting an army of observation, to consist of Spaniards, Frenchmen, and Dutch, near Magdeburg: another was formed on the borders of Italy and Germany, connected with a numerous force, under Marmont, in Dalmatia. The surrender of Dantzic added considerably to the disposable force of the French; but did not appear to offer any immediate and effectual inducement to Bonaparte to quit his almost impregnable positions. Two mighty armies, however, when the season was favourable for their operations, could not be long, nearly in view of each other, without coming to the alternative of pacification, or sanguinary and destructive hostility; and as the confidence still entertained by each party prevented any successful attempts at negotiations, circumstances soon occurred which drew on an obstinate and decisive conflict.

On the 5th of June, the grand French army was attacked by the allies at different points of the line. On the right of the allies, and the left of the French, twelve Russian and Prussian regiments, forming two divisions, attacked the *tete du pont* of Spanden, on the Passarge, which was defended by a regiment of light infantry, strongly covered by intrenchments and redoubts. Seven different times they were repulsed, and as often renewed the attack. But, immediately after the last assault, they were charged by a regiment of French dragoons, that had come up to the assistance of the regiment of infantry, and forced to abandon the field of battle, with a severe loss of killed and wounded. Two divisions, belonging to the centre of the allied army, attacked, at the same time, the *tete du pont* of Lomitten, which was defended by a brigade of a corps of Marshal Soult; and, after a gallant struggle, the Russian general, with eleven hundred of his troops, fell in the action, which terminated in favour of the French. At the same time, General Benningen, with the Grand-duke Constantine, the imperial guard, and three divisions of the other troops, attacked the French line at Aldkirchen, Gutstadt, and Wolsdorf, and, after a severe contest, obliged the French general to fall back to Akendorf. On the following day, the allies attacked the 6th corps of the French army, under the command of Marshal Soult and General Marchand,

at Deppen, on the Passarge. The Russians, in the action of this day, lost two thousand killed, and more than three thousand wounded, while the loss of the French, according to their own statement, was extremely trivial, with the exception of two hundred and fifty prisoners, taken by the Cossacks, who, in the morning of the attack, got into the rear of the French army.

Bonaparte, informed of the movement of the allies, left Finkenstein, on the evening of the 5th of June, to place himself at the head of the French army, and, on the morning of the 8th, advanced to Gutstadt, with the corps of Marshal Ney and Lannes, accompanied by this guard, and the cavalry of reserve. Part of the rear-guard of the Russian army, comprising ten thousand cavalry, and fifteen thousand infantry, took a position at Glatzen, and attempted to dispute his passage; but the Grand-duke of Berg, after some skilful manœuvres, drove the Russians from all their positions; and the French, after taking a thousand prisoners, entered Gutstadt, sword in hand, at eight o'clock in the evening. On the 10th, the French army moved towards Heilsberg, and, on its advance to this place, came up with the rear-guard of the allied army, consisting of from fifteen to eighteen thousand cavalry, and several lines of infantry. An attack was immediately commenced, by a division of the French dragoons, and a brigade of light cavalry. The French were repeatedly repulsed, and as often renewed the attack. At two o'clock, the corps under Marshal Soult was formed, two divisions marched to the right, and a third to the left, to seize on the edge of a wood, the occupation of which was necessary in order to support the left of the cavalry. Reinforcements of both infantry and cavalry were sent to the rear-guard, from the main body of the Russian army, which was posted at Heilsberg, and repeated efforts were made by the Russians, supported by more than sixty pieces of cannon, to maintain their position before that town; but all their exertions proved unavailing, and at nine o'clock in the evening, the French troops found themselves under the Russian intrenchments. The fusiliers of the French guard, commanded by General Savary, were put in motion to sustain the division of Verdier; and some of the corps of infantry of the reserve, under Marshal Lannes, attacked the Russians at the close of the day, and succeeded in cutting off their communication with Landsberg. Bonaparte passed the 11th on the field, in front of Heilsberg. He there drew up the different corps and divisions of the army in order of battle, that the war might be

terminated at once by a decisive engagement. The grand army of the Russians was assembled at this place, where the magazines were established, and where they occupied a position strong by nature, and farther strengthened by the labours of four months. At four in the afternoon, Bonaparte ordered Marshal Davoust to charge in front, and pushed forward the left wing of his corps—a movement which brought him upon the lower Alla, and blocked up the road from Eylau. To every corps of the army was assigned its proper station, and thus the Russians found themselves blockaded in their intrenched camp, and offered battle on the ground which they themselves had chosen. At the moment when the French were making their dispositions, the Russians showed themselves ranged in columns in the midst of their intrenchments; but at ten o'clock at night they began to pass the Alla, abandoning the whole of the country to their left, and leaving their magazines and wounded to the disposal of the enemy. In the different actions, from the 5th to the 12th, according to the French accounts, which afford the only official records on the subject of this short campaign, the Russian army was deprived of about thirty thousand fighting men; the number of wounded, left prisoners in the hands of the enemy, amounted to between three and four thousand, while the loss of the French, as stated by themselves, amounted to not more than seven hundred killed, two thousand two hundred wounded, and three hundred prisoners. On the 13th, at four in the morning, the French army entered Heilsberg, where they found in the magazines several thousand quintals of grain, and an immense quantity of different other kinds of provisions. A division of dragoons, and a brigade of light cavalry, pursued the Russians to the right bank of the Alla. In the mean time, the light corps of the French army advanced in various directions, in order to pass the Russians, and, by cutting off their retreat to Königsberg, to place themselves between the Russian army and their magazines. At five o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, the French army had advanced to Eylau, and taken up their headquarters at that place. Here the fields were no longer covered with ice and snow, but, on the contrary, presented one of the most beautiful scenes in nature. The country was everywhere adorned with woods, intersected by lakes, and enlivened by handsome villages. On the 13th, while the Grand-duke of Berg, and the Marshals Soult and Davoust, had orders to manœuvre before Königsberg, Bonaparte, with the corps of Ney, Lannes, Mortier, the impe-

rial guard, and the first corps, commanded by General Victor, advanced to Friedland. On the same day, the 9th regiment of hussars entered that town, but was driven out of it again by three thousand Russian cavalry.

On the 14th, the anniversary of the battle of Marengo, a circumstance of which the French emperor did not fail to remind his troops, and which naturally produced the most enthusiastic recollections and exertions, the grand struggle took place: Ney was on the right wing, supported by the dragoons of Latour Maubourg; Lannes in the centre, with the dragoons of Lahousaye behind him, and the Saxon cuirassiers; Mortier was on the left wing, supported by the cavalry of Grouchy; and the grand reserve was formed of the corps of General Victor, and the imperial guard. The Russian army was fully deployed, the left wing extending to the town of Friedland, and its right reaching a mile and a half in the opposite direction. The position taken by General Benningesen on the left bank of the Alla, presented to the eye the appearance of one continued plain, but it was intersected by a deep ravine full of water, and almost impassable. This ravine ran in a line between Dornow and Friedland, where it formed a lake to the left of that place, and separated the right wing of the Russians from the centre. A thick wood at the distance of about a mile and a half from Friedland, on more elevated ground, fringed the plain of the Alla, nearly in the form of a semicircle, except at its extremity at the left, where there was an open space between the wood and the river. In the front of the wood, about a mile from the town, and nearly opposite the centre of the army, was the small village of Heinrichsdorf. The field of battle lay between the left of this village and the Alla, to the south of Friedland.* Bonaparte, having reconnoitred the position of the enemy, determined to attempt the town of Friedland; and, having changed his front, ordered the extremity of the right wing, under Marshal Ney, to advance to the attack. At half-past five in the morning, the battle commenced; the firing of twenty cannon, from a battery, forming the signal of attack. At that moment, the division under General Marchand, co-operating with Marshal Ney, advanced sword in hand. When the Russians observed Ney to have quitted the wood by which he had been supported, they endeavoured to turn his left by several regiments of cavalry, pre-

* Relation de la Campagne de Pologne, par un témoin oculaire.

ceded by a multitude of Cossacks, but, owing to the firmness of the dragoons of Latour Maubourg, they were repulsed. At this period of the battle, the Russian cavalry made an impetuous and successful attack upon the enemy's cuirassiers, and pursued them as far as Heinrichsdorf.* In the mean time, a battery was erected by General Victor, in his centre, and pushed on four hundred paces by General Lennermont, to the extreme annoyance of the Russians, and which, by attracting their attention to its destructive fire, deranged those manœuvres, which might otherwise have defeated the operations of Ney. The Russian troops which attacked the right wing of this general, were received upon the point of the bayonet, and driven into the river Alla, where thousands perished in the stream, while numbers escaped by swimming. When the left wing of Ney, however, had nearly reached the works which surrounded the town, it was exposed to the most imminent peril. The imperial Russian guard, which had been here concealed in ambuscade, suddenly advanced upon the French, with an impetuosity which threw them into disorder, and had nearly rendered the efforts of the marshal abortive. The division of Dupont, however, which formed the right of the reserve, marched against the Russian guard, who performed prodigies of firmness and valour, but they were unable to resist this effort of the enemy; several other bodies were sent from the centre of the Russian army, for the defence of the position of Friedland; but the impetuosity, and the prompt and skilful operations of the assailants, supported by an immense artillery, triumphed over all opposition. Friedland was taken, and its streets filled with the bodies of the dead. The centre, under Marshal Lannes, was now engaged, and the Russians made several attempts against this corps, similar to those which had failed on the right wing; but the repeated efforts of Russian bravery were unavailing, and served only to continue for a longer period the work of carnage. The battle lasted from half-past five in the morning, till seven at night. Both sides fought with extreme intrepidity and obstinacy, and the superior number of the French, with an impetuous direction of nearly all their force, towards the close of the day, upon the centre of the Russians, decided the fate of the contest. The Russians estimated their own loss at not less than ten thousand men; and in the space of eleven days, they appear to have lost, at least,

twenty-seven generals, more than eighteen hundred officers killed and wounded, and forty thousand men.* On the part of the French, the loss did not exceed five hundred killed, and three thousand wounded. Eighty pieces of cannon, a great number of caissons, and several colours, fell into the hands of the conquerors.† Night did not prevent the pursuit of the Russians, who were followed till eleven o'clock, after which, those of the columns which were cut off endeavoured to avail themselves of the fords over the Alla to pass that river, which exhibited to the victors, on the ensuing day, marks of the total discomfiture of the allied army. On the 15th, the Russians continued their retreat to Wehlau, at the confluence of the Alla and the Pregel, where the columns of the French speedily arrived, and obliged them to withdraw to the banks of the Niemen.

Near this river, several newly formed divisions of the Russian troops had arrived; and General Benningsen still cherished the expectation that he should soon be again able to advance, and to recover from the enemy the advantages which he had obtained.‡ This expectation was however previously disappointed, for on the 18th of June, the retreating army approached the town of Tilsit, and, after transporting its heavy baggage across the Niemen, stationed itself on the great plain on the right of the town. All the bridges were destroyed immediately after the passage of the Russian troops, and all the magazines on the Alla were burned or cast into the river. On the 16th, Bonaparte threw a bridge over the Pregel, and took up a position on the eastern side of that river with his army. The defeat of Friedland served as a signal for the evacuation of Königsberg, and the garrison under General Lestock succeeded, with extreme difficulty, in joining the main body of the Russian army, while the fortress opened its gates on the 16th to the French corps under Marshal Soult. At this place, were found several hundred thousand quintals of corn, more than twenty thousand wounded Russians and Prussians, and all the arms and ammunition that had been sent to the Russians by England, including a hundred and sixty thousand muskets that had not been landed.

On the 19th, at two o'clock in the afternoon, Bonaparte, with his guard, entered Tilsit. The Russians, pursued after the

* General Benningsen's Despatch, dated Wehlau. June 15th, 1807.

* Lord Hutchinson's Speech in the British Senate, February 8, 1808.

† Seventy-ninth French Bulletin, dated Wehlau. June 17, 1807.

‡ General Benningsen's Letter to the Emperor of Russia, dated Schierupischken, June 17th, 1807.

battle of Friedland by the Grand-duke of Berg, at the head of the greater part of the light cavalry, continued their retreat eastward. The Emperor of Russia, who had remained for three weeks with his Prussian majesty at Tilsit, left that place, accompanied by the king, in great haste; and, on the same day, a suspension of hostilities was proposed to the chiefs of the French army by the Russian commander-in-chief. In consequence of this position, an armistice was concluded at Tilsit, on the 22d, by which it was settled, that hostilities should not be resumed on either side without a month's previous notice; that a similar armistice should be concluded between the French and the Prussian armies, in the course of five days; that plenipotentiaries should be instantly appointed by the different parties, for the salutary work of pacification, and that there should be an immediate exchange of prisoners.

No sooner had the armistice received its ratification, than Bonaparte put forth a proclamation to his troops, congratulating them on their brilliant successes, and pronouncing them worthy of their emperor and of themselves.*

On the 25th, an interview took place on the Niemen, between the Emperor Napoleon and the Emperor Alexander: at one

o'clock, Bonaparte, accompanied by a number of his generals, embarked on the banks of the Niemen in a boat prepared for the purpose. They proceeded to the middle of the river, where General Lariboisiere, commanding the artillery of the guard, had caused a raft to be placed, and a pavilion erected upon it, close to which was another raft and pavilion for his majesty's suite. At the same moment, the Emperor Alexander set out from the right bank, accompanied by the Grand duke Constantine, General Bennesen, and a number of the principal officers of his staff. The two boats arrived at the same instant, and the two emperors embraced each other as soon as they set foot on the raft. They entered the saloon together, and remained there during two hours. The conference having terminated with the happiest result, the two emperors embarked, each in his boat, and returned to the opposite shores. "The vast number of persons belonging to each army, who flocked to both banks of the river to view this scene, rendered it more interesting, as the spectators were brave men, who came from the extremities of the world."* While arrangements were making for the preliminaries, the town of Tilsit became the abode of these imperial personages, who, together with the King of Prussia, cultivated mutual intercourse and politeness. Entertainments were given in rapid succession. The troops of Marshal Davoust were reviewed by Bonaparte, in the presence of his brother sovereigns, and occasioned exchanges of compliments in the different parties, probably with feelings of a very opposite description. The guards of the respective monarchs, who occupied appropriate apartments in the town, vied with their sovereigns in marks of respectful attention. A magnificent dinner was given by the guards of Napoleon to those of Alexander and Frederick William; at this entertainment, they exchanged uniforms, and were seen in the streets in motly attire, partly Russian, partly Prussian, and partly French. During these interviews, and attempts at conciliation, to which policy was presumed to be as much conducive as humanity, the arrangements of pacification were completed, and, on the 9th of July a treaty of peace between Russia and France was ratified. The two emperors then separated with mutual expressions of attachment, and after exchanging the decorations of their respective orders. On the same day, peace was signed between France and Prussia.

* PROCLAMATION

Of the Emperor and King to the Grand Army.

"Soldiers,—On the 5th of June we were attacked in our cantonments by the Russian army. The enemy mistook the causes of our inactivity. He found, too late, that our repose was that of the lion—he regrets having disturbed it.

"In the affairs of Guttstadt, Heilsburg, and the ever-memorable one at Friedland—in ten day's campaign, in short, we took one hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, seven standards; killed, wounded, or took sixty thousand Russians; and carried off all the enemy's magazines and hospitals. Königsberg, with the three hundred vessels that were there, laden with all sorts of ammunition, and one hundred and sixty thousand fuses, sent by England to arm our enemies, all fell into our hands.

"From the banks of the Vistula, we have reached the borders of the Niemen, with the rapidity of the eagle. You celebrated at Austerlitz the anniversary of the Coronation—You celebrated this year, in an appropriate manner, the battle of Marengo, which put a period to the second coalition.

"Frenchmen, you have been worthy of yourselves and of me.—You will return to France covered with laurels, and after having obtained a glorious peace, which carries with it the guarantee of its duration. It is time that our country should live at rest, secure from the malignant influence of England. My benefits shall prove to you my gratitude, and the full extent of the love I bear you.

(Signed)

"NAPOLEON."

Tilsit, June 22d, 1807.

VOL. I.

4 G

51

* Eighty-sixth French Bulletin, dated Tilsit June 25th, 1807.

By the latter treaty, Prussia was deprived of all her territories on the left bank of the Elbe, and of all her Polish provinces, except those situated between Pomerania and the Newmark, and ancient Prussia, to the north of the little river Nets. The elector, now become the King of Saxony, in virtue of a treaty entered into with the Emperor Napoleon, took also the title of Duke of Warsaw, and was to have free communication, by a military road, between Saxony and his new dominions, which were to consist of Thorn, Warsaw, and the rest of Prussian Poland, except that part which is to the north of the Bug, and which, under the idea of establishing natural boundaries between Russia and the duchy of Warsaw, was incorporated with the dominions of the Emperor Alexander. Dantzic was in future to be an independent town: east Friesland was added to the kingdom of Holland: a new kingdom, under the designation of the kingdom of Westphalia, was formed of the provinces ceded by the Prussian monarch, and others in the possession of the French emperor. The recognition of Jerome Bonaparte, as the sovereign of this new state, also of the kings of Holland and Naples, and of all the present and future members of the confederation of the Rhine, was yielded on the part of Prussia, with the consent to close her ports, and become a party in the maritime war against England. By the publication of the treaty with Russia, which was for some time delayed, it appeared that the two emperors mutually guaranteed to each other the integrity of their possessions, and of those of the other powers included in the treaty. The Kings of Holland, Naples, and Westphalia, were to be recognised by Russia; the offer of a mediation to effect a peace between France and England was accepted, on the condition that, within one month from the ratification, England should admit this mediation. It was also stipulated that hostilities should immediately cease between Russia and the Ottoman Porte; and the Emperor of Russia agreed to accept the mediation of the Emperor of France, for the conclusion of a peace between the two powers. The independence of Dantzic; the military highway between Saxony and the duchy of Warsaw; the annexation

of part of Prussian Poland to the empire of Russia; formed also articles in the Prussian treaty. The restoration of the dukes of Saxe Cobourg, Oldenburg, and Mecklenburg Schwerin, to the quiet possession of their dominions, was acceded to by France. The confederation of the Rhine was explicitly acknowledged by the Emperor of Russia; who engaged equally to acknowledge the princes or states that might hereafter be added to this union, on the communication of such change by the French government.

The great sacrifice to peace was of course made by the kingdom of Prussia, which was reduced at once from the rank of a primary to the situation of a secondary power of Europe; and all that had been done for the augmentation and aggrandizement of the monarchy by the great Frederick, in the course of twenty years, was resigned in one day. The King of Prussia, by the peace of Tilsit, together with an immense territory, lost nearly the half of his yearly revenues, and five millions of his subjects. On the whole, Prussia was brought back nearly to the state in which she stood on the 1st of January, 1772, before the balance of Europe had been destroyed by the infamous partition of Poland. It could not but be noticed that no provisions were introduced into the published treaty respecting Cattaro; but by a secret treaty Russia agreed to cede Corfu, and the Seven Islands, to France, and became a party to that part of the treaty between France and Prussia, by which the vessels and trade of Great Britain were to be excluded from the ports of the Baltic. These circumstances render it clear, that at the time of the execution of the treaty of Tilsit, many of its provisions remained to be explored, and served to show that the secret articles of treaties are not unfrequently of more importance than those exposed to public view.

The King of Sweden refused to accede to the treaty of Tilsit, and attempted the defence of Pomerania; but, being abandoned to his fate by his continental allies, his efforts were unavailing. Gustavus, however, succeeded in withdrawing his forces from Stralsund before the enemy was apprized of his intention, after which he crossed the Baltic, and returned into Sweden.



MAR 9 - 1950



